Per K. Sørensen

Tibetan Buddhist Historiography

THE MIRROR ILLUMINATING THE ROYAL GENEALOGIES

An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long

Harrassowitz Verlag

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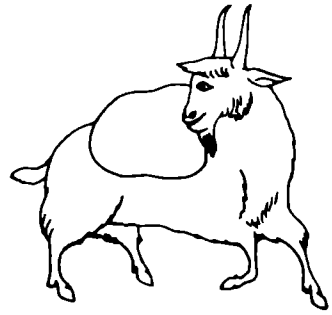

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The signet shows the mythical goat, a symbol for Lhasa (as depicted in a mural in the Potala).
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Erik Haarh
- in memoriam

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Bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan.
(1312–1375 A.D.)

Preface

The present annotated translation can look back on a long and tortuous way in its making. My interest for the text was initially aroused through discussions with my former teacher, the late Professor Erik Haarh. A preliminary study of the text, now superseded by the present book, was conducted by me in 1982 and was subsequently published in 1986. Decisive for the final completion of the present translation was a generous allotment of an Alexander von Humboldt Research Fellowship at the Zentralasiatisches Seminar, University of Bonn, 1991-1992, which enabled me to devote the text my undivided attention.

The chronicle *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long* compiled by Bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375 A.D.) occupies a normative position in Tibetan Buddhist historiography and its general popularity as a source as well as the numerous topics delineated and historical incidences narrated in this chronicle are bound to render a richly annotated translation into a Western language useful. Real progress for undertaking a thorough assessment and analysis of the text and its sources has moreover improved palpably in the light of the recent wave of publications of rare Tibetan historical sources which have surfaced within the last years. An attempt has duly been made to incorporate these latest publications issued in Lhasa, Tibet, in the People's Republic of China as well as from Bhutan, Nepal and India and it is my modest hope that the present study in this regard shall prove exhaustive, at least *au courant*. The incorporation of new fundamental texts, all from the earliest centuries of the current millennium, shall permit us to acquire a less nebulous picture of the basic sources and the textual fundament behind central parts of the Buddhist historiographical tradition. The present book offers in this respect, for the first time within Tibetology, a cumulative and comprehensive study, providing the relevant textual references for a series of historical data that eventually shall allow the reader and fellow researcher easy access to conduct an evaluation of the development of a number of historical events recorded in this literature. Should the present book eventually merit a modicum of acclaim, however paltry, it is barely more than the rich fruits harvested by me from gleaning and studying the papers of my predecessors, the true trailblazers in our field. Without these pioneering contributions from the pen of scholars such as G. Tucci, G. Uray, E. Haarh, H. E. Richardson, L. Petech and A. Macdonald - to mention only a few - this book would have looked much different.

In Bonn with its thriving academic milieu, I had the good fortune to avail myself of a library affluently equipped with extensive holdings of original Asian, mainly Tibetan sources and an almost exhaustive stock of secondary Western literature. Conjointly with my private library, it altogether provided a sound platform of original and secondary sources for my research. The protean task set by me turned out to be a laborious, but, it is my conviction, rewarding one.

I have incurred debts of gratitude from a number of persons and colleagues. To my hosts in Bonn, Professor Klaus Sagaster of Zentralasiatisches Seminar, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for the genuine hospitality extended me, officially as well as privately, making my days there less lonesome, for stimulating discussions and for constructive advices on how to improve on the running and final result. To Dr. Helmut

Eimer of Indologisches Seminar, Bonn, I am equally beholden for his spontaneous readiness to comment on my research, his meticulousness and unfeigned enthusiasm and for his generosity in supplying me with his own publications as well as that of others.

The competent and learned Tibetan scholars active in Bonn, *dge-bshes* Blo-ldan Shes-rab Brag-g.yab Rin-po-che (L. S. Dagyab Rinpoche) and *dge-bshes* Padma Tshe-ring (Pema Tsering) my heartfelt thanks must be extended for finding time to discuss and enlighten me on a few particularly intricate textual conundrums. Finally, a warm appreciation for the reception roundly tendered me by students, colleagues and staff, too many to single out individually, must not go unmentioned, but none are forgotten.

The learned bKra-shis Tshe-ring mThil-sgo (T.T. Thingo), alias mNga'-ris Rin-po-che, went with me through a unique and recondite piece of rDzogs-chen literature embedded in our text and for his elucidating comments I am equally obliged.

To the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, Bonn-Bad Godesberg which hosted me as a Research Fellow and provided the financial basis for the printing of the book and thus made it all possible, I feel deeply indebted. I should like to express my heartfelt gratitude to this institution. The AvH-Stiftung gave me the financial support and thereby the freedom to deal with my project exclusively, in a time when it stood in the greatest need of both. The classical and philological disciplines within the Humanities must worldwide fight in order to survive or, equally unworthy, are not seldom compelled to readapt or redefine themselves in order to suit new or ephemeral academic trends. In this light, it is particularly rewarding and gratifying to experience the respect and priority with which these century-old disciplines are still cultivated and to witness how Geisteswissenschaft in Germany is met with anything else than indifference and encroachment.

A special debt of gratitude I owe to Dr. Susanne von der Heide, who secured for me in Köln an ideal refugium. It thus enabled me to cover the last leg of my work in Germany.

CESMEO and Dr. E. Lo Bue of Torino, Italy must be thanked for supplying me with a picture of a statue representing the author of our text and for allowing me to reproduce it in this book. Mr. Gregor Verhufen, M.A., Bonn brought my manus in a better readable form for the final print than I myself could do and thus saved it from not a few technical flaws. Needless to say, should remaining inconcinnities and solecisms still mar the book and thus vex the readership I can only crave indulgence, such imperfections rest with me alone.

A very special thank, finally, I should like to extend to Prof. Walther Heissig, the great doyen of Central Asian Studies for his kindness and readiness to include the present book in his flourishing *Asiatische Forschungen*.

Bonn/Köln 1993 Per K. Sørensen

ཅ། །བྱམ་དམ་པའཕགས་པའསྐུལ་མཆོག་ཞབས། །

Presupposition and Cultural Ambience

Before we embark upon a discussion of the author and date of **rGyal-rabs [chos-'byung] gsal-ba'i me-long** as a necessary preamble to our annotated translation offered in the present book, it is deemed imperative to discuss, at some length and from the very outset, the literary and scriptural background behind the main bulk of literature found embedded in our text in order to assess properly the literary tradition in which our author stands.

We shall probably never be able to answer exhaustively the most crucial questions as to exactly when, how and, in particular, who was ultimately the author(s) or compiler(s) behind the bulky, predominantly legendary Vita-narratives dedicated to the life and feats of king Srong-btsan sgam-po, and, for that matter, the Vita-cycles of Padmasambhava, while both Vita-traditions have a number of literary features and narrative themes in common, as more than a few references in the present study shall amply verify. Common points, it moreover would appear, that the question of borrowing and even plagiarism rather shall give way for the assumption that both *gter-ma* cycles at some point have been through the same editorial or redactional hands. And indeed a small group of reputed gTer-ston-s is known to exist, key figures who took a vivid interest in the dissemination of these traditions.

Judged from a literary point of view, the embryo for these Vitas may most probably be traced back to an oral and popular narrative tradition, a living narrative possibly also bardic tradition,[1] which in Tibet since documented time constituted the art of story-telling *par excellence* and which never ceased being a cherished source and means of myth-making.

Oral recitation with historic and mythic (often heroic) themes in pre-literate Tibet, rooted in pre-Buddhist times but blossoming well into times with increasing Buddhist supremacy, once maintained a key function in preserving the Tibetan state and in upholding its cultural, religious and social structure. In Tibet's pre-historic and early historic times the power and royal authority (*chab srid*) was, as recorded by a chain of monk-historians also,[2] in fact governed (*bsgyur*) (i.e. guided and legitimized) by a living narrative, recitational or elocutional tradition, predominantly by way of sundry forms of story-telling (*sgrung*), riddle-telling (*lde'u*) and songs.[3] This can be witnessed by the rich and disparate mythological material which has come down to us, mainly preserved in the Dunhuang dossiers, but otherwise layered in the bulky mythographical writings partly dealt with in this study. Albeit here predominantly retained in an utmost fragmented condition, a mere perusal discloses that the material is replete with narratives of euhemerization and reverse euhemerization. The principal actors involved in disclosing these elocutional narratives and oratory dramas were sacerdotal guardians and national bards, possibly with overlapping functions, and their main task was primary religious, only it is far from evident to what extent.

---

1 The transmission of an oral narrative tradition, in forms such as the bardic *sgrung* and etiological *lde'u* but also rhetoric, gnomic and vatic *shags* (prose and verse) etc. as documented in the Dunhuang material and in later literature, was perhaps the foremost medium for narration employed in Tibet in the incunabular part of the dynastic period. However, solid knowledge on these themes, due to lack of detailed and substantial data, is still next to naught.

2 Cf. e.g. **GBCHBY** 249.4-6; **DCHBY** 105.5-6, 163.6; **YLJBCHBY** 47.1-2. For details, cf. note 391 *infra*.

3 For samples of these traditions prevailing at an early point in the Tibetan cultural history and even chronicled to have been depicted artistically on walls (*rgyud ris*, *ldebs ris*) for edifying reasons, cf. e.g. **KCHKKHM-2** 5.15-6.18, 252.12-253.13, 254.11-256.8; **CHBYMTNYP** 269a5-b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 9a1, 44a1-3, 44a7-b2 etc. For further details, cf. e.g. the notes 391 and 874 *infra*.

By means of retelling and replicating and thereby reviving and actualizing origin-myths, clan or royal genealogies and sundry power-affirming tales and historic myths considered vital for people and society, the daily rituals as well as the sacred and temporal affairs pertaining to state and people were maintained. These narrative sources were typologically designated as *mi chos* or 'popular (or mundane, i.e. non-divine) convention', in contrast to *lha chos* (i.e. *lha yi chos lugs*), or 'divine or sacred (i.e. supramundane) convention' (first later = Buddhism). The very act of recounting e.g. the historic past and feats of mythical significance doubtlessly became a crucial ritual act of confirmation and legitimation. The narrative content and thematic aspects employed in these genres were often etiological, didactic, forenic or rhetoric in nature and diction, seeking to account for (and eventually gain mastery over) the origin and meaning behind the phenomena of things and behind historic, often mythical, events. Associated with the coeval sacerdotal Bon-religion, those embodying the medium between the past and the present by way of these mythical and sacral recitations or mimetic replications were, as said, mainly professional guardian priests, bards, story-tellers and diviners.[4]

In passing it is worth noting that one cannot help acquiring the impression that the Buddhist conquest and conversion of Tibet at least in one missionary pursuit was artistic or pictorial rather than scriptural in nature, in particular in its initial phase. As unanimously documented in the narrative expositions describing the wall-paintings or murals of the largest edifices raised in the dynastic period, the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang (i.e. Jo-khang) and later bSam-yas,[5] it is adduced how not only the above mentioned themes *sgrung* and *lde'u* were represented in an artistic and pictorial fashion, but equally so these contemporary murals and frescoes were executed with edifying scenes and extracts from a large number of illustrative key **sūtra**-s portrayed or being depicted for propaedeutic reasons. This was the work, the same sources tell us, of foreign artists and craftsmen, among which the Nepalese, Khotanese and Chinese were strongly represented. This is not an insignificant point to make. The Buddhist culture, not to speak of its scriptural complexity and its rich mental and doctrinal stock of ideas remained for long a highly alien factor in dynastic Tibet. The Buddhist transformation of Tibet, both cultural and mental, was a painful and radical process which in the end paved the way for the collapse of the dynasty with a centralistic royal power. In this process, with an alphabet barely having been invented and facing immense technical

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4 Cf. e.g. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, pp. 191-198; Kvaerne, 1972, p. 34; and for similar or parallel traditions in later local Tibetan cultures, where e.g. the traditions of a bardic and oral *porte-parole*, such as *molla* (T. *mol ba*), *tamba* (T. *gtam pa*, *ston pa*?) and *pe* (T. *dpe*) still are found to persist, cf. Jackson, *The Mollas of Mustang*, pp. 83-86; B. Steinmann (1987) and S. S. Strickland (1983, *Kailash*, X (3-4); *JRAS*, 1987; further ref., A. W. Macdonald, 1989, *Kailash*, XV (3-4), pp. 175-177).

The central mythical domain of a(ny) society remains an area of special authority. When appropriated, it becomes the core of a system of beliefs, values and ideas which gradually and imperceptibly permeate the entire society. Cf. e.g. the reflections by Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance*, 1976, pp. 6-27.

This process can be observed in many places and cultures of all periods. These power-affirming cults and myths in turn impose a consensus, while they contain elements which justify and account for the existing order of things. In hindsight, we should possibly not see these as deliberate power-sustaining contrivances of a ruling class designed to secure its own privileges only, but assume that they were originally rooted in a set of beliefs commonly considered of divine origin.

5 Cf. Chap. XV (note 874) and Chap. XVIII (note 1240ff.) *infra*.

difficulties in translating these exotic and complex Buddhist concepts, it is small wonder that recourse was initially taken to preach and spread the Buddhist creed by simplified illustrative and artistic means in form of murals.

Returning again to the seminal beginning of literate Tibet in the VIIth and VIIIth century, there are reasons to assume that a number of narrative traditions and texts, similar to the genealogical and genesis accounts retained e.g. in the Vita-cycle of Srong-btsan sgam-po, can seek their roots in this bardic and scriptural tradition.[6] Here as elsewhere, it is not easy to penetrate beyond the thick-layered veneer left behind by the later Buddhist tradition. This holds true for the Srong-Vita rather than, if at all, for the more fanciful and glorifying (i.e. predominantly hagiographical) aspects traced in the biography of the Tantric Magician Padmasambhava. The rich biographical tradition attributed to him and his life is decidedly more literary conceived and artificial, at least in the versions which have come down to us, when not repetitive and stereotype in its concept and composition compared to the ditto narrative dedicated to the exploits and feats of king Srong-btsan sgam-po, in particular when we restrict ourselves to the purely biographical themes.

The original kernel of the Padmasambhava biographies was possibly sketched out already in the late part of the dynastic period, arguably in the wake of the erection of the bSam-yas *vihāra* (763-775 A.D., consecration 779 A.D.), at the inception of the IXth century, although to what extent Padmasambhava did play any major or even factual role in its erection and inauguration still is far from clarified and documented. One of the greater mysteries of Tibetan dynastic history has always been centered around the fact that credible information about his person and his alleged activities are lacking in the traditional documents and

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6 **BZH** (Stein ed. 53.5-8, Chin. ed. 62.8-12) = **CHBYMTNYP** 422a5-6 = **MBNTH** 120a6-b1 = **YLJBCHBY** 61.6-11 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 111b5-7, 112a4-5 all chronicle a similar-worded passage which informs us about the existence of a number of *mi chos* texts dealing foremost with genealogical matters during the reign of king Khri-srong lde-btsan (742-797 A.D.). During his reign the Buddhist tradition gained increasingly a firm foot in Tibet. In order, no doubt, to reconcile and neutralize the growing resentment to this development, the minister mGos (Khri-bzang yab-lhag) is recorded to have requested, probably around 780-785 A.D., the king to effectuate the composition and compilation of a series of *skye bo mi chos kyi lo rgyus*, i.e. texts and accounts of the ruler's genealogy (*rje'i gdung rabs*), on social (or territorial) division (*sa bcad*) of the people and narratives on conventions, etiquette and protocol vis-à-vis the nobility (*ya rabs*), but also stories (*gtam sgrung*), accounts and expositions on general good social deportment and on the heritage and virtues of the royal ancestors etc. including possibly also a general guideline for an ancestor cult or worship. Cf. also note 21.

A similar attempt was made during the reign of king Ral-pa-can (rl. *ca.* 817-836 A.D.), cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 75.9-12) = **CHBYMTNYP** 460a4-6. Here it is related how this king, himself an ardent Buddhist, attempted, probably around 830 A.D., to systematize or regulate (*gtan la phab*) and thus distinguish the *mi chos* tradition, be it narrative (oral or scriptural) and otherwise from the now very dominant ditto *lha chos* = Buddhist tradition. This exertion was doubtlessly also intended to counter a still-growing dissatisfaction in leading circles and among the people still hostile to the new religion. This, among other things, led to the compilation of a number of authoritative accounts and genealogical sources, which came to constitute the scriptural backbone for later Tibetan genealogical theories and accounts. These original sources, we may conjecture, circulated in Tibet until, at least, the XIIIth century. For a fuller discussion, cf. Appendix, note 359 and note 1488 *infra*.

records.[7] Contemporary historical data and records are in fact conspicuously silent on his person, which rather than denying his historicity perhaps only shows that he was far from popular in leading court circles and that his person and creed must have been met with severe opposition, a fact also acknowledged in later literature. But whether his spectacular personality became down-played by contemporary official documents either for reasons of his advocacy of unusual teachings and apotropaic techniques alien to contemporary Tibetan creed and mentality (although later apologetic literature, again, tends to draw the opposite picture), for reasons of religious antagonism encountered by him and his followers or due, perhaps, to the fact that the role he played after all was a modest one indeed, there is no cogent reason to oppugn his historicity. On the contrary, it is likely that an immensely glorifying and legitimizing popularity did set in after he had left the scene in Tibet, when he became the subject of gross magnification and veneration particularly among his spiritual devotees and adherents, foremost the rNying-ma-pas. Leaving out here any assessment of the religious and scriptural heritage purportedly left behind by him in form of *bka'-ma* and *gter-ma* transmitted teachings, it makes sense to assume that the pre-hagiographical literature centered around his person and his more mundane activities arguably was first conceived in a metrical, oratory-song or similar oral form, but soon put to writing by his most ardent proselytes, some narratives glorifying his figure being retained in purely metrical or verse form, others in the mixed prose-metrical form and, for all we know, then transmitted or concealed in scroll-form (*thang yig*, *shog* [*d*]*ril*),[8] before they were redactionally worked over and subjected to further hypertrophy and mythopoetic excrescencies at the point of their (numerous) detection(s) or reformulation(s) in the *phyi-dar* period.

While on one side a number of parallel narrative elements and incidences between the Vita dedicated to Srong-btsan sgam-po and Padmasambhava may ultimately point to the fact that they have been through the same redactional hands,[9] many narrative components of the Srong-btsan sgam-po biography on the other hand, despite occasional narrative repetitions,[10] appear in language, diction as well as in narrative resourcefulness to be far more oral and popular in origin. This may be reflected e.g. in the witty portions depicting the exploits of the shrewd minister mGar (d. 667 A.D.) during his mission to the Tang court.[11] In the wake of this successful and spectacular mission and the ensuing bridal escort of the Chinese princess in 640-641 A.D., a rich oral story-telling doubtlessly grew forth, recapturing and colouring this historical event, to such an extent that e.g. an extraordinary tale about the

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7 Cf. also Bishoff, 1971. Aside from PT 44, a late dynastic work describing the practice of the *kīla*-ritual by Padmasambhava in Tibet, our best and most credible source is in fact **sBa-bzhed** (abbr. **BZH**) (Stein ed. 18.7ff., Chin. ed. 22.21ff.), a source and witness of considerable antiquity. But also therein his role is a modest one, at least compared against later hagiographical trappings, being restricted to the demesne of exorcism. In his time, no doubt, Tantrism was, when not unpopular, still accorded a rather insignificant role. The validity of this testimony in **BZH**, moreover, is subject to the proviso that the passages which mention Padmasambhava pertain to the original core of this IXth-century historical source. But there is no ground to doubt this.

8 The hitherto oldest scroll-biography of the Indian Master, the Zangs-gling-ma, traced/compiled by Nyang-ral was in fact 'found' in bSam-yas. Cf. also note 24 *infra*.

9 For cases of parallelism, cf. e.g. the notes 266, 455, 726 and 790 *infra*. Cf. also note 19 *infra*.

10 Cf. the almost identical narrative structure of the initial part of **GLR** Chap. XII and XIII *infra*; confer also the parallel ode in Chap. X *ad* note 528 and Chap. XVIII *ad* note 1318.

11 Cf. the notes 608 and 626 *infra*. Chinese sources independently confirm the Tibetan minister's ingenuity and intelligence.

Chinese princess giving birth to the child of the minister mGar at some point even found its way into the biography.[12]

Decidedly more literary in concept and structure (at least in its final form), the origin myth of the Tibetan race from a union of a monkey and a rock demoness, another cherished legend (*gtam sgrung*) of great antiquity, even making out an entire chapter in **GLR** as elsewhere and later rather than simultaneously perhaps embedded into or closely bound up with the Avalokiteśvara-cult, may in fact have originated in the *snga-dar* period too in some form. The king's Vita-tradition is replete with descriptions as to how many scenes from the king's life, also the above origin myth of the Tibetan people, were limned on frescoes in a number of temples associated with the king.[13] The crucial question is: to which period can the (majority of) murals actually be ascribed? This pictorial dimension could have taken place, partially or fully, prior to the point when his biographical tradition assumed a more final literary form at the inception of the *phyi-dar* period, but plausibly already in the dynastic period. All along, it cannot be excluded, in fact it appears to be a more sensible solution altogether, that the so-called biography of the king served as *Vorlage* or model for the execution of the paintings, and that both are the literary and artistic product of the XI-XIIth century, although we shall attempt to argue that a small part of the most ancient murals executed in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang in the VIIth century actually was the result of contemporary Newari artisans.

The possible roots of at least parts of this Vita are consequently to be searched in a floating poetic and oral historical narration treasured by the common people or by bards, rather than being conceived, at least in the beginning, as the literary outcome produced by some Buddhist gTer-ston-s, possibly composed and revised over a long period, conceived orally in the late VIIth and VIIIth century, before being written down and thereby assuming a literary form. But as it may be gleaned from the numerous subjoined notes and the discussions offered in the present work, a number of data may produce more questions than answers, given the scantiness of convincing and telling testimonies. Unknown quantities still preclude us from gaining a full overview of the Vita text-tradition, especially in question of its very origin.

One important clue conducive to the dating of these Vitas could in fact have been the language and diction employed in these texts, and relevant for the present study primarily the **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma** (abbr. **KCHKKHM**) and the **Ma-ni bKa'-'bum** (abbr. **MNKB**). But an investigation yields in my eyes disappointingly little clarity, as the language in many

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12 Cf. note 704 *infra*. A central plot extracted from the Vita even turned into a most cherished drama-play (*a lce lha mo*) named *rGya-bza' Bal-bza'*. Cf. chapter XII and XIII *infra*. This fact also strengthens our assumption that the origins of the biography of the king are rooted in a popular narrative tradition.

13 Cf. foremost the Appendix, notes 84, 92, 329, 391, 874 *infra*. It is worth noting that Ral-pa-can, during the construction of his spiritual bond (i.e. *thugs dam*, tutelary) temple at 'U-shang-rdo, possibly erected around 823-824 A.D., paid respect to his *mes po* Srong-btsan sgam-po by providing Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang with a number of artistic or architectural refinements. He ordered frescoes of one hundred and eight silk-painted *be'u bum* be executed (dPa'-bo in his testimony of the same passage even appears to maintain that the frescoes (merely?) underwent restoration, thus implying that the original paintings predated 800 A.D., perhaps even being contemporary with the erection of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang around 640-645 A.D.). These frescoes or murals may well have included the above tales and riddles, but also glorifying scenes from the *mes po*'s life. Cf. the notes 874, 1145, 1448 *infra*.

versions appear fairly uniform, at least in the texts which have come down to us, being couched in a diction not radically different from traditional classical and medieval religious narrative Tibetan,[14] a sure indication that they were or had been massively reworked, rather than being overall composed, at the beginning of this millennium. The latter mentioned text tradition does display some archaic traits, but the linguistic oddities seem to restrict themselves mainly in rendering stray names and a few cases of archaism or medieval dialecticism.

A number of papers has attempted to encircle the religious ambience and cultural background of the gTer-ston-s ultimately responsible for the detection (or: compilation) of these Vita-s. While the very mechanism of treasury-finding, the very *modus operandi* of recovery (*spyan 'dren*) involved probably never shall be exhaustively clarified, remaining, as it does, in the misty borderland between inner motivation and divine revelation versus outer confirmation and acknowledgement, we are probably not much amiss if we allow ourselves to assume that the actual function of these treasury-finders not infrequently was that of writing down, compiling and reshaping, as indicated above, already existing *Vorlage*, be it *bka'-ma* or *gter-ma*, into final versions. On these points we shall currently only add little, while we lack conclusive information which may shed new light into the matter.

As already shown by Blondeau and Kapstein in a number of papers[15] and further documented here, the rDzogs-chen religious tinting or coating of parts of Srong-btsan sgam-po's alleged writings and narratives as found embedded in **MṆKB**, when not massively present, is nevertheless quite tangible.[16]

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14 This language is on one side heavily influenced by traditional and medieval *chos skad* known primarily from the canonical *sūtra* literature, on the other side it shows a remarkable semblance to the language and diction known from historical sources from the XI-XIIth century, occasionally laced with contemporary vernacular and dialectical idioms. The linguistic testimony or language retained in **KCHKKHM** appears unrevised compared to the language of **MṆKB**. It should be noted also that the language found in the first Tibetan *lo rgyus*, the *bKa'-mchid* of Khri-srong lde-btsan (from ca. 780 A.D.) already contains elements pointing towards a classical diction that moves away from the unmistakable archaic diction found and documented in other coeval inscriptions and Dunhuang records.

15 Blondeau, 1979, 1984, 1985 and Kapstein, 1992.

16 In the **Lo-rgyus chen-mo**, the initial part of the *Sūtra*-section of **MṆKB**, the chapters XVII and XVIII introduce the legendary king Dza/Ja, a cherished figure and mythical king important in the mythical transmission of Tantra in India according to the rNying-ma and the rDzogs-chen tradition. Of significant importance, we can now add, this royal figure was assigned a key role in the legend anent the first introduction of Buddhism to Tibet, the story about 'the Rain of Books that fell upon the Palace-Roof of king lHa Tho-tho-ri gnyan-btsan', a legend conserved already in the even older **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma** (abbr. **KCHKKHM**), and thus inserted into the king's writings. Arguably, one suspects here the redactional hands of the rNying-ma/rDzogs-chen gTer-ston-s. The paradoxical point is only that this Testament cannot be ascribed to these Treasury-finders, but must, without any doubt, be associated with Atiśa and his milieu, as seen below. In the last analysis, it remains to be clarified to what extent this version of the myth represents the earliest version or just a station *en route* the development of this legend. Cf. Appendix, note 409 for details.

As adduced by Kapstein, 1992, *op. cit.* pp. 90-93, **MṆKB** as a whole but particularly the sections E (D), E (E) and WAM (F) and (G), which are made to constitute a sort of religious legacy or manifesto of the king, display a rich syncretism in terms of doctrinal tenets and religious view-points. Apparently incompatible doctrines nourished by different denominations are delineated or mixed: the nine successive stages (*theg pa rim pa dgu*), as propounded in the rNying-ma-pa

While the central role of the Avalokiteśvara-cult, in particular its *sādhana* tradition, among the gTer-ston-s responsible for the detection and initial dissemination of **MNKB** is well known, the actual role played by Atiśa in the promotion of this cult is initially somewhat more nubilous, yet the material at our disposal now allows us to gain a fairer picture. The overall doctrinal concept in the religious literature of the gTer-ston king *par excellence* in Tibet, Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (1124-1192 A.D.)[17] is best epitomized by the triad-

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tradition. The pan-Mahāyāna theory of the two truths (*bden gnyis*), Mahāmūdra (WAM (F) 144b6-145a1, 290a4-291b1) and rDzogs-pa chen-po (WAM (F) 144b2-3, 291b1-292b6), the stages on the path (*lam rim*); the triad: ground, path and result (*gzhi lam 'bras bu gsum*); the fourfold scheme: view, meditation, action and fruit[ion] (*lta sgom spyod 'bras bzhi*). In the exposition of Mahākārunika or Mahākarunā as Reality itself (*chos nyid don kyi thugs rje chen po*), cf. E (D) 1b3ff., the tenets are predominantly those of the yogic rNying-ma tradition. Cf. note 967.

KCHKKHM-2 202.19 futhermore employs the expression *thod [b]rgal ba* ('crossing over', for this untranslatable term, cf. most conveniently Ruegg, 1989, pp. 164-65; Ehrhard, 1990, pp. 66-70) as a qualifying epithet for a *bodhisattva*. It is normally a specific technical term in yogic meditation, a term (although originally of Indian origin: Skt. *vyutkrānta* etc. and known from different religious contexts) which was foremost cherished by the adherents of rDzogs-chen.

Otherwise, we find in this *gter-ma* of Atiśa, traced some one hundred years before **MNKB** came into being, far fewer rDzogs-chen vestiges than in the **MNKB** compiled by gTer-ston-s.

The **MNKB**-section **Gab-pa mngon-phyung** (cf. note 961 *infra*) was e.g. written in a diction tinted by the rNying-ma and rDzogs-chen tradition, ultimately pointing to the sectarian denomination of its gTer-ston-s. In fact the section is an original piece of rDzogs-chen literature. The underlying anchoring and inspiration of these cycles are thus clearly discernible.

17 For the biography of Nyang-ral, cf. most conveniently Dargyay, 1977, pp. 97-119 translating the biographical excerpts from 'Jigs-bral Ye-shes rdo-rje's **rNying-ma'i chos-'byung** (cf. also Dorje & Kapstein, 1991, pp. 755-759), but see also the Nyang-ral biography in 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul's **gTer-brgya'i rnam-thar**, vol. KA of **Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo** and vol. KA of **Nyang-gter bKa'-brgyad bDe-gshegs 'dus-pa'i chos-skor** entitled **sPrul-sku mNga'-bdag chen-po'i skyes-rabs rnam-thar Dri-ma med-pa** etc. His chronological data have long been disputed with vacillating dates between 1124-1192/1136-1204 A.D., cf. e.g. Meisezahl, 1985, Intro.

Here we shall follow the rNying-ma tradition. Considered an emanational embodiment of king Khri-srong lde-btsan (742-797 A.D.) and ranked as the first (out of five) noted gTer-ston kings in Tibet, he was born in gTam-shul of lHo-brag, Southern Tibet in a wood-dragon year (1124 A.D). He there turned up in the prominent local clan-family of Myang/Nyang which since long adhered to the rNying-ma-pa denomination, and a family which could boast of having fostered an unbroken line of total eighteen earlier *grub-thob*-s incl. also Myang Ting-nge-'dzin (VIIIth cent.), who together with the contemporary Vimalamitra have been ascribed the paternity of the rDzogs-chen tradition.

His father was Myang-ston Chos kyi 'khor-lo (also called rDo-rje dBang-phyugs-rtsal) and his mother Jo-mo Ye-shes sgron (also Padma bDe-chen-rtsal). His early life is depicted as being replete with wonders: At the age of eight he had visions of Śākyamuni, Avalokiteśvara and Guru Rin-po-che. His father bestowed upon him the empowerment of Hayagrīva. Padmasambhava manifested himself visionally to him and entrusted him with (i.e. gave him inspiration to compose/compile?) a list of *gter ma*-s to reveal. Hence his many-sided activities as treasury-revealer: The most notable being the famous **bKa'-brgyad bDe-gshegs 'dus-pa**, a cycle of teachings focussing on the eight Heruka-*sādhana*-s and a biography of Padmasambhava (i.e. **KTHZGM**) etc. He passed away at an age of sixty-nine (= 1192 A.D.).

The now obsolete assumption advanced by Macdoanld, 1971, p. 203, n. 59, that Nyi-ma 'od-zer and mNga'-bdag Myang/Nyang-ral should be two distinct individuals cannot under any circumstance be endorsed. Assessing the biographical data of his and the written material from his

compound *bla rdzogs thugs gsum*, which alludes to *bla ma sgrub pa*, *sādhana*-instruction aiming at the meditative identification or consubstantiation of the adept's person with the Guru, i.e. Padmasambhava. The element *rdzogs* indicates the teachings of the rDzogs-chen school and *thugs* i.e. *thugs kyi sgrub pa* alludes to the *sādhana*-s (i.e. *sgrub thabs*) related to Avalokiteśvara (in form of Mahākāruṇika or Thugs-rje chen-po).[18]

With this doctrinal backcloth it is small wonder to find, as explicated in **MṆKB** E (dKar-chag) 11a5-12b5, the tradition behind the cycle authorized and legitimized in the following *Trikāya*-based emanational or incarnational nexus listed prior to the transmission-line of the entire cycle:[19]

Dharmakāya: Amitābha
Saṃbhogakāya: Avalokiteśvara
Nirmāṇakāya: king Srong-btsan sgam-po/slob-dpon Padma 'byung-gnas

The role assigned to *ācārya* Padmasambhava in connection with the writings of Srong-btsan sgam-po is formally restricted to be the person showing the scrolls with the king's *zhal gdams* and *sgrub thabs* cycles,[20] purportedly earlier hidden by king Srong-btsan sgam-po, to king Khri-srong lde-btsan, whereafter the writings were concealed again, to be found later by *grub-thob* dNgos-grub, Nyang-ral and rJe-btsun Shākya bzang-po, the original XIIth-century triumvirate of gTer-ston-s behind the detection and protracted compilation of **MṆKB**. To what extent this intermezzo with Padmasambhava and the king reflects historical fact, we have no way to tell. A sound guess would be that it is a historical reconstruction or idealization contrived by the gTer-ston-s in order to tinge the cycles successively found or compiled by them with historical and spiritual-royal legitimation. But it is nevertheless

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pen leaves us with no residual doubt on this point. Nyang-ral and Nyi-ma 'od-zer are one and the same person. Cf. also Kapstein, 1992, pp. 165-166.

18 Cf. Dargyay, 1977, pp. 67-70 and Ehrhard, 1990, pp. 3-4, 84-85. Cf. also **MṆKB** E (dKar-chag) 9a1-3.

19 Cf. also the Vth Dalai Lama, **gSan-yig**, III, 150.6-151.3 (= 55b6-56a1), for the *abhiṣeka* transmission line (*dbang brgyud pa*). Cf. also note 43 *infra*.

In the proemical salutation to his Padma-Vita, **KTHZGM** 1.1-3, Nyang-ral provides the same emanational nexus: Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, Padmasambhava, leaving out here naturally Srong-btsan sgam-po. This, more than anything, shows the direct religious and spiritual affiliation behind the composition/compilation of the two Vita-traditions. This is also confirmed by the lengthy exposition on Ārya Avalokita's famous Six-syllabic formula, so intimately associated with king Srong-btsan sgam-po, offered by Nyang-ral in his **CHBYMTNYP** and **KTHZGM** and in **MṆKB**. The exposition is there delivered by Padmasambhava as a set of advices to the Tibetan king (here Mu-tig btsan-po) and his subjects, cf. Chap. IV, note 266ff. *infra*.

20 O-rgyan gling-pa, **KTHDNG** (KHA) *op. cit.* Chap. XVIII, 161.13-162.8, adds that aside from these instruction- and *sādhana*-cycles (as shown above with a strong rDzogs-chen propensity) etc., the *lha-sa'i lo-rgyus*, i.e. 'the story (about the erection) of lHa-sa (i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang)' was also found by Padmasambhava (in Jo-khang). This can only refer to proto-**KCHKKHM** which is repeatedly (**KCHKKHM-2** 3.15-19, 5.7, 316.2-3) called *lHa-sa bzhengs-pa'i lo-rgyus kyi yi-ge* etc. These writings were then shown to king Khri-srong lde-btsan and then again concealed in Jo-khang, later, as is known, to be found by Atiśa and the gTer-ston-s in the *phyi-dar* period. Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 149a6-7.

tempting to speculate that some scroll (*thang yig*) or writings (*yi ge*)[21] describing the story about the erection of the first (at least major) religious building in Tibet, the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, was put to writing at the behest of king Khri-srong lde-btsan, compiled in an act of commemorating his own *mes po*[22] and his founding enterprise for the promotion of Buddhism in Tibet. Speculating along this line, one could suggest that the composition or compilation of the history of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, in other words the main bulk of the biography of king Srong-btsan sgam-po could be seen as a sort of pendant to the documented story anent the erection of bSam-yas (**sBa-bzhed** (abbr. **BZH**), Chin. ed. 82.16-17: *bSam-yas bzhengs-pa'i gtam-rgyud*), in case of which it is tempting to conjecture that both respective stories of the erection went though the same hands.

The Grand Histories of bSam-yas and lHa-sa

In Tibetan Buddhist historiography we can observe a striking case of scriptural parallelism:

Centered around the two most prominent royal figures in the dynastic period: king Srong-btsan sgam-po (569-649 A.D.) and Khri-srong lde'u-btsan (742-797 A.D.), during whose reign the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang *gtsug lag khang* and the dPal bSam-yas *gtsug lag khang* were erected, two fundamental records grew forth:

lHa-sa [b]Ka['']-gtsigs chen-mo,[23]

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21 As stated by **BZH** (Stein ed. 53.5-8, Chin. ed. 62.8-12) and Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 422a2-6, during Khri-srong lde-btsan's reign, many *bka'i thang yig*, *bka'i gtsigs kyi yi ge* and *rgyal rabs* (i.e. *mi chos*) texts were in circulation. Cf. also note 6 above for further details. The testimony of the king's famous *bKa'-mchid*, also termed a *lo drung* (i.e. *lo* [*rgyus dang*] *sgrung*) *gi yi ge*) (cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 110a3-4), the oldest documented religious Tibetan-written narrative (compiled ca. 779-780 A.D.) which has come down to us, suggests also that these traditions were alive in this period.

22 It is worthy of note to recall that **sBa-bzhed** in fact opens with a direct quote from a testamentary prophecy allegedly tendered by Srong-btsan sgam-po and foreseeing the advent, in the fifth generation from himself, of king Khri-lde gtsug-btsan, alias Mes-Ag-tshom(s), (704-754 A.D.) as a Buddhist champion and doyen. This opening is doubtlessly a simple act of legitimization. This piece of *ex eventu* prophecy has moreover been conceived, at the earliest, during the time of the very same king or rather during his son, Khri-srong lde-btsan (742-797 A.D.) during whose reign the **sBa-bzhed** was compiled. Cf. note 954 *infra*. The same king, in his famed *bKa'-mchid*, a narrative collateral to his *bKa'-gtsigs* or edict (both dating from ca. 779-780 A.D.) and both conserved by dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 108b1-111b5, expresses not only this gratitude to the *mes po* Srong-btsan sgam-po, but corroborates also the prophecy of the span of five generations between these two previously mentioned kings and testifies thereby, in my eyes, to the antiquity and validity of the above textual segment in **BZH**.

Parallel testaments and predictions (forecasting the advent of religious figures up to and incl. Atiśa) are moreover found in the Vita of Srong-btsan sgam-po (cf. the notes 954 and 1044 *infra*), an observation which naturally indicates that all these predictions are the fabrication of the *phyi-dar* period, added into the text in the wake of this master's sojourn in Central Tibet.

23 Cf. e.g. **GLR** itself, the notes 434-35, where Bla-ma dam-pa in a list of sources for Chap. VIII, mentions **Ka-tshigs chen-mo** and **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma** as two distinct texts. But see also the notes 950 and 1379 *infra* and Bla-ma dam-pa's own colophon. No doubt, during Bla-ma dam-pa's

bSam-yas [b]Ka[']-gtsigs chen-mo.[24]

They both purportedly constitute the written Testaments of the respective rulers, while at the same time they functioned as a sort of record or chronicle (*bka' gtsigs/ka gtsigs = lo rgyus*)[25] delineating the erection of the two royal key edifices of the dynastic period. In question of the *Great Chronicle of bSam-yas* or **BZH** in some early form (= **rGyal-bzhed**?), its genuinity as a document hailing from the dynastic period should be outside the realm of doubt. As to the *Great Chronicle of lHa-sa*, while we cannot conclusively accord it the same age as the bSam-yas ditto, it is noteworthy that e.g. Nyang-ral, the first historian to employ the king's Vita extensively, coins king Srong-btsan sgam-po's Testament found in Jo-khang by Atiśa: **bKa'-rtsis [= gtsigs] chen-mo**, i.e. the lHa-sa ditto. As shown, this was arguably either a commonly used epithet or rather a secondary title for (the oldest?) of the numerous versions of **KCHKKHM**. Or all along a record or chronicle carrying this title and

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time these two works were thus in circulation as distinct works. Nyang-ral designates king Srong-btsan sgam-po's Vita unearthed by Jo-bo-rje: **bKa'-gtsi[g]s chen-mo** and a brief passage cited by Nyang-ral indicates that this title refers to **KCHKKHM**, cf. note 38 *infra*, also corroborated by an entry in **DTHMP** 15b3-4, where a work titled **lHa-sa'i Ka-tshigs Ka-khol-ma** is cited.

Given the meager data at our disposal, the upshot of our considerations in the sequel shall deplorably compel us to conclude that we cannot settle conclusively this most important question as to the origin of the *Great Chronicle of lHa-sa* and its affiliation or even identity with the king's Vita.

24 **BZH** (Chin. ed. 82.10-18); **CHBYMTNYP** 439b3-6, where Nyang-ral evidently cites a passage (or shares the passage in common) from the **BZH**-colophon also found in the Chin. ed. of **BZH**; Tucci, (*TPS*, I, p. 143 citing Rva Lo-tsā-ba's **rNam-thar**: *mNga'-bdag Khri-srong lde'u-btsan gyi zhal-chems bSam-yas Ka-brtsigs chen-mo*; cf. Sørensen, 1986, pp. 264-65. As can be adduced from the notes 1202, 1240 and 1379 *infra*, this work was at additional points different from the **BZH**-versions which have come down to us. It is perhaps an important observation to make that most (two? exceptions are Sa-skya Pandita, in **Thub-pa'i dgongs Rab-tu gsal-ba** and his **sKyes-bu dam-pa la sprin-pa'i yi-ge**, cf. Ruegg, 1989, p. 69) pre-XIVth century Tibetan historiographies, incl. the **GLR**, never use the title **sBa-bzhed**, but almost exclusively appellations such as **bSam-yas Ka-gtsigs chen-mo** or the like for what turns out to be **BZH**. See also the reflections on **sBa-bzhed** in the bibliographical section to the present work.

It is also worth paying attention to the information proffered by O-rgyan gling-pa, **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. 19, 227.18-21 (the colophon), how the noted *lo tsā ba* lDan-ma rtse-mang, upon the request of Padmasambhava, king Mu-tig btsan-po (here = Sad-na-legs?) and consort, wrote down the *rGyal-po'i dkar-chag Thang-yig chen-mo* (also called *sNang-srid gtan-'bebs thang-yig*) possibly at the beginning of the IXth century and which supposedly served as *Vorlage* for O-rgyan gling-pa's own homonymous *gter-ma*. The same text, *op. cit.*, 215.7-10, chronicles the burial of this text and other sources such as the *Slob-dpon rGyal-po'i rnam-thar chen-po* (serving as model or source for O-rgyan gling-pa's **PMKTH**?) and *rGyal-po'i thugs-dam bSam-yas dkar-chag*. It will be recalled that one of the (supplementary) titles of **BZH** is *bSam-yas kyi dkar-chag chen-mo*, cf. e.g. **HBCHBY** (JA) 89b6. Although O-rgyan gling-pa's pentad is classified as a *gter-ma* text, it is brimming with material culled from very old sources. The relationship, however, of these deplorably lost works with the extant Padma-Vitas and **BZH** cannot be clarified. But the relationship between the figure Padmasambhava, bSam-yas and the king was, at least seen with later eyes, a close one, to the effect that O-rgyan gling-pa even designated his **PMKTH** by the supplementary title *Khri-srong lde-btsan bka'-chems*, cf. *id.* 711.2-4. Cf. also note 500 *infra*.

25 Lit. 'edict', but doubtlessly it lost its original meaning or, at some early point, came to designate a common historical record = *lo rgyus* or *bka' mchid*, possibly while it contained edictal matters.

delineating the erection of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang existed and at some early point, while largely covering the same ground as the **Ka-khol-ma**, it fused with the latter-mentioned to form a separate work.[26] But this is sheer conjecture. Being on the safe side, the Vita itself came into existence at the beginning of the *phyi-dar* period, being compiled into a final form at least, during Atiśa's sojourn in lHa-sa and near-by sNye-thang sometime in the period between 1047 and 1052 A.D., when the anonymous compiler(s), being motivated by Jo-bo-rje, may have had access to local texts or records kept in the Jo-khang in order to produce this document. Or perhaps - a fascinating albeit hardly tenable conjecture - the *Great Chronicle of lHa-sa* has, similar to the *Great Chronicle of bSam-yas*, its root in the late dynastic period as hinted at above. But, as said, with the meager material at our disposal our deliberations yield for the moment more moot questions than clarifying answers are found.

But as it shall be seen from the discussion of **KCHKKHM** below, further conspicuous parallels between the two grand biographical Testaments can be wrung from the material at our disposal: They both were conceived or executed in three sizes (*che* (or: *rgyas*) *'bring bsdus*) and, moreover, in three versions. They were both, it appears, centered around an Indian master and his sojourn in the respective sanctuaries: Bodhisattva Śāntaraksita/Padmasambhava and bSam-yas and Jo-bo-rje Atiśa and the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang temple. Both temples were patterned respective upon a Nepalese and an Indian model and the role played by these masters, which in case of bSam-yas consisted in performing the geomantic probe and the terrestrial rituals (*sa dpyod, sa cho ga mdzad*) prior to its erection and the subsequent consecration and abbatial responsibility after its erection and in case of Ra-sa consisted, for all we know, in the instigation to record the story of its erection (*bzhengs pa'i lo rgyus*), therefore seems to be that of adding glory and legitimation to the sanctuaries.

The importance of these two parallel records throughout later Tibetan (Buddhist) historiographical tradition cannot in any way be overrated. It is tremendous. They are constantly and copiously quoted, a fact documented in the present study alone. If we restrict ourselves to the sections that deal with the period in the dynastic history covering these two rulers as found in almost any extant historical treatise of any note produced in Tibet such as Nyang-ral's monumental **Chos-'byung chen-mo** (abbr. **CHBYMTNYP**), the two **lDe'u Chos-'byung**-s (abbr. resp. **GBCHBY** and **DCHBY**), Bla-ma dam-pa's **rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long** (abbr. **GLR**), dPa'-bo gTsug-lag's **lHo-brag chos-'byung** (abbr. **HBCHBY**), the Vth Dalai Lama's **Bod kyi rgyal-rabs deb-ther rdzogs-ldan gzhon-nu-ma** (abbr. **DTHZHG**), etc. we shall find the textual correspondence and dependency striking. True, major works such as the one by Nyang-ral and the works by the lDe'u-s are basically *chos 'byung*-s which have a fairly well-defined topos focussing on the dissemination of Buddhism in India and Tibet and, in addition, by doing so present us with *new* dynastic material of greatest rarity and historicity drawn from hitherto unknown sources. It is nevertheless a fact

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26 As may be deduced from note 435 *infra*, the (or one version of) **lHa-sa [b]Ka[']-tshigs chen-mo**, contrary to **KCHKKHM**, contained chronological calculations and historical comparative material. Attempts at dating the span of time elapsing between individual royal figures (originally collateral, no doubt, to the attempt at calculating the duration of the Doctrine (*bstan rtsis*)) are a unique trait of the *phyi-dar* period. This suggests that the **lHa-sa [b]Ka[']-gtsigs chen-mo** is the product of the early *phyi-dar* period, say the XIth century. That numerous versions or copies of the **Ka-khol-ma** moreover were in circulation is attested e.g. by dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 6a7, where we are informed that the original Mss (*phyi mo*), at some point disappeared and that new copies of the (original?) had to be recopied, probably in the late XIIIth or XIVth century, when the text in its transmission-line came in the custody of the Jo-khang caretakers (*dkon gnyer ba*). Cf. note 55 *infra*.

that *while rendering the general dynastic history*, we find a clear thematic and textually sequential correspondence between Nyang-ral's and the two lDe'u-s historical opera and e.g. Bla-ma dam-pa's **GLR** and dPa'-bo's history. Restricting ourselves to the historical sections (and leaving out again historical passages such as those found in the **chos 'byung** of the two lDe'u-s, foremost in **GBCHBY** and to some extent rendered by dPa'-bo also, and drawn from hitherto unknown or non-extant sources), they all basically draw from these two common sources, albeit they rely upon or quote these sources with diverging intensity. We of course also find exceptions to the above trend, to mention a few: Nel-pa's **Me-tog phreng-ba** (abbr. **NGTMTPH**), **Yar-lung Jo-bo chos-'byung** (abbr. **YLJBCHBY**, to a large extent a calque on **DTHMP** and **GLR** in the dynastic section) and dPal-'byor bzang-po's **rGya-Bod yig-tshang** (abbr. **GBYTSH**). But either their scope and emphasis or even topical speciality are different altogether, being either predominantly sectarian, doctrinal, cultural historical or purely genealogical oriented. Even then, in the pertinent textual and thematic passages and sections of these works the influence is tangible and obvious.

A mere perusal of Tibetan historiographical writings shall even induce us to risk passing the verdict that neither originality nor scriptural or literary novelty highlight this genre of Tibetan literature. The cases of plagiarism with page-long quotations, most often uncritically and haphazardly rephrased, are well-nigh legion. Nor is a critical attitude a dominant feature among Tibetan monk-historians, though we, again, can enjoy a few refreshing exceptions to the rule, such as, in part, Nel-pa, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, bSod-nams grags-pa, Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu and, approaching our time, Sum-pa mkhan-po.[27]

Returning again to the narrative Vita tradition of king Srong-btsan sgam-po and recognizing the paramount import of these traditions and teachings focussing on Avalokiteśvara and on Padmasambhava for these *gter-ma* masters, it is small wonder thus to find not only Nyang-ral but also his teacher dNgos-grub[28] and later Gu-ru Chos [kyi] dbang[-phyug] (1212-1270/73 A.D.)[29] recorded to have rendered great service to Jo-khang, the central temple in Lhasa raised by Srong-btsan sgam-po and by then housing the two

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27 Within Buddhist religious historiography the unique concern for chronology was almost singularly and most impressively pursued by gZhon-nu-dpal. This approach was followed, taking his pursuit as a model, by numerous Tibetan sect-historians. Any careful reader of **Deb-ther sngon-po** (abbr. **DTHNGP**) will fully appreciate the invaluable efforts demonstrated by this monk-historian in his attempt to set the rich and complex sectarian and biographical history of Tibet annalistically right. Without his work (with due *homage* to G.N. Roerich and dGe-'dun chos-'phel for their almost flawless rendition), much of our knowledge of early and medieval Tibetan religious history would still be shrouded or floundering in darkness.

28 Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** (Meisezahl, Tafel 363.2.6) mentions that he employed the *gter yig* found in Jo-khang by *grub-thob* dNgos-grub. This most probably refers to the cyclic sections which later found its way into **MṆKB**. The same writings were e.g. transmitted to Shes-rab 'od in 1184-85 A.D., cf. note 39 *infra*. Cf. also Aris, 1979, pp. 8-10; Blondeau, 1984, pp. 77-79.

29 Guru Chos-dbang is e.g. famous for having executed an important biography of Padmasambhava titled **rNam-thar mdzad-pa bcu-gcig-pa**. Unfortunately, this important chain in the history and dissemination of the biographical tradition of Padmasambhava has not come down to us. This makes it far from easy to attempt to sketch out the history of the mutual relationship between the numerous Padma-Vitas. Some good, preliminary attempts to gain an overview of the literature have already been conducted by Blondeau.

famed Jo-bo statues, both directly associated with the king and his two consorts.[30]

Recent research has hinted at a possible hybrid Buddhist-Bon ambience behind the enterprise of some of the gTer-ston-s. It should be recalled that the texts went through many hands, but in the versions which have reached us, the elements of Bon influence seem scarce,[31] being more, it transpires, accidental than consciously introduced. This would seem to disprove the testimonies of some later Bon-historians, who maintain that the Buddhist *grub-thob* dNgos-grub, a key figure behind the discovery (or: compilation) of **MNKB**, could be identified with a Bon sage named bZhod-ston *grub-thob* dNgos-grub.[32]

It nevertheless remains a high-priority *desideratum* and a rewarding task indeed for future research to attempt to trace and to sketch out not only the internal literary history, transmission-lineage(s) but also the general dissemination of **MNKB** from its beginning in the XIIth century until modern times. It is beyond the scope of the present study to conduct such a literary historical investigation, although the present book may constitute a good step in this direction. To conduct such an analysis, it shall require not only direct access to all available redactions of this bulky and heterogenous *gter-ma* cycle, but also a thorough study of the many scholarly comments glossing its transmission. Its journey through a number of redactions has decidedly altered its form, mainly by way of omissions and contractions.

So had **Lo-rgyus chen-mo**, a key source for the Avalokiteśvara cult in the *Sūtra*-section of this *gter-ma*, originally forty-four, then forty-one and in more recent redactions of **MNKB**

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30 Cf. **TSLKHKCH** 14a5, 18a3. **MNKB** E dKar-chag 11b4-5 adds how rJe-btsun Shākya bzang-po, who is recorded to be responsible for the detection of the **Gab-pa mngon-phyung**-cycle (= WAM (G), cf. note 961 *infra*) and the important *Sūtra*-cycle (= E (A + C)), merited himself by restoring the embarkments and by securing that Jo-khang underwent restoration work (*ra sa'i chu rags dang zhig gsos*); cf. also Aris, 1979, p. 9. For the importance of constructing embarkments in order to protect the Jo-khang, cf. the notes 952 and 1023 *infra*. This tradition of installing barricades and restoring the site of Jo-khang, a tradition which was initiated already in the later part of the dynastic period, continued throughout the first centuries of the *phyi-dar* period as recorded in numerous sources. For it importance, it can be noted that Atiśa too is recorded to have secured the erection of a water-barricade in one place against the gTsang-po river, cf. **DTHNGP** (I, 314.11-12, Roerich, p. 256).

31 The mention of Bon and Bon-elements are found meagerly scattered in **MNKB**, and there mostly reduced to themes also found in **KCHKKHM**, suggesting that the relevant biographical part (i.e. E (Ca) and (Cd)), contrary to other sections such as E (D) and WAM (F) (G) which are strongly laced with rDzogs-chen diction, relied heavily upon this text-tradition. In **KCHKKHM**, representing as such the biographical narrative of the king *par excellence* and as a *gter-ma* of Atiśa originating in a different religious milieu than the one surrounding the gTer-ston-s, the Bon presence is equally paltry, but, stray mention of the term *g.yung drung Bon* and *bon* in combination with the pregnant key concepts *sgrung*, *lde'u* and *bon* (cf. note 874 *infra* for details) are met with along with a lengthy Bon origin-myth given in connection with the description of the progenitor gNya'-khri btsan-po, cf. e.g. **KCKKKHM-2** 6.3-7.3, 78.14-82.16, 254.8-256.8 and Appendix, note 357 *infra*. To what extent possible earlier (pro-)Bon elements have been censured away or rewritten by the successive (pro-)Buddhist redactors of these Vita-s, at least in the light of those which have come down to us, remains ultimately to be settled.

32 Cf. Blondeau, 1984. Is this identification in later Bon-writings due either to a syncretistic or eclectic attempt, foremost introduced by the Buddhist Kong-sprul, himself with a Bon-background as suggested by Blondeau, or is it originally due to a simple confusion of names, while both were active in approximately the same period, being occasionally active in the same region and finally both operative in the rDzogs-chen tradition albeit with different denominations?

only thirty-six chapters.[33] The **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma** is maintained once to be (or was intended to have been?) part of **MṆKB**,[34] but all along it was simultaneously (? or perhaps exclusively) handed down separately in order, it appears, to avoid cases of literary or thematic tautology. Its transmission line is different and should be treated as an Atiśa *gter-ma*, being fairly older than **MṆKB**. While **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** and the **Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra**, the latter until approximately three hundred years ago part of all **MṆKB**-redactions and both part of the *Sūtra* or 'Canonical' part of **MṆKB**, thus are dedicated to the Avalokiteśvara-cult and contain all the myths and devotional narratives expounding the legends, feats and exploits of this pivotal *Bodhisattva*,[35] the text-tradition of immediate concern to us here is another part of the *Sūtra*-section, i.e. the Vita-cycle of king Srong-btsan sgam-po which constitutes another part of **MṆKB**.

The Mythographical-Biographical Tradition of King Srong-btsan sgam-po

The chapters 2, 4-7, 9-17 of **rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long (GLR)**,[36] in other words the lion share of our text, are devoted to a lengthy biographical narrative of king Srong-btsan sgam-po (569-649 A.D.). In this sense, **GLR** *is* a Srong-btsan sgam-po Vita itself or rather represents a continuation of this biographical literature. Under this king the Tibetan royal Dynasty rose to pre-eminence as a mighty power in Central Asia and this king is by the posterity of Tibetan historians not only unanimously reckoned as the decisive unifier of the Tibetan state, but he is also ascribed the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet, a role which, to be true, was to be singularly promoted and furthered by the present cycles, albeit there set in a predominantly mythological and literary ambience.

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33 Cf. **MṆKB** E dKar-chag 6a1-3; **YLJBCHBY** 53.17-54.12; Vth Dalai Lama's **gSan-yig** III, 66b5-6 (= 132.5-6). Macdonald, 1967, p. 481; 1968/69, p. 528; Aris, 1979, p. 10; Blondeau, 1984, pp. 78-107; Kapstein, 1992. Prior to 1376 A.D., the year Yar-lung Jo-bo compiled his chronicle, the **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** had at least forty-four chapters (not twenty-four as maintained by Macdonald, 1967, p. 481), a number which was systematically reduced in the ensuing centuries, possibly for reasons of avoiding voluminosity and thematic tautology, parts of the content already being found in **KCHKKHM**. It is to be lamented that the larger text-witness of **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** has not (yet) come down to us.

Although we shall generally assume a date for this text around the beginning of the *phyi-dar* period, a tentative *terminus a quo* for the **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** may be had, while the text in a mythological narrative mentions the Indian Pāla Dynasty and king Dharmapāla (ca. 770-810 A.D.). Cf. note 122 *infra*. The same piece of narrative is also shared by the **KCHKKHM** versions, and assuming that it is not a later interpolation inserted into the Vita-tradition *in general* in the *phyi-dar* period, it give us a lower limit for the compilation or composition of (at least parts of) the Vitas. Large sections or chapters of **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** are similarly found in the **KCHKKHM**.

34 **MṆKB** E dKar-chag 6a2 (interlinear gloss). What is meant by this gloss, is that **KCHKKHM** ought to have been included into the *mDo*-section of **MṆKB** from the point of content.

35 Cf. formost, Appendix, notes 84, 92, 121 and 329 for text-segments from these traditions.

36 Not only these chapters in **GLR** pertain directly to the Srong-btsan sgam-po Vita, but also parts of Chaps. 1 and 8 contain narrative segments and passage sharing elements with the Vita-tradition of the king.

This text-tradition and its literary outgrowth were and still are of immense popularity not only among the Tibetan people due to the pervasive Avalokiteśvara-cult, a popularity it cherishes within almost all religious denominations too, but it has also exerted its influence in the neighbouring Tibetan-speaking areas living under strong Tibetan cultural and religious domination.

This Vita tradition consequently remains our point of focus when an attempt is made to evaluate the position and the tradition in which **GLR** itself stands. The *point-d'appui* and the central *gter-ma* dedicated to the Vita of this king is **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma**,[37] the formal discovery of which is attributed to Jo-bo-rje Atiśa, alias Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, around 1048-50 A.D. from beneath the pillar with a bottle-shaped capital (*ka ba bum ba can*) in the Northern Chapel of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang in accordance with a *jñānaḍākinī*'s *lung bstan* or revelatory prophecy.[38]

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37 Rather than seeing in the etymology of Ka-khol-ma a meaning in the sense a 'boiling (*khol ma*) pillar (*ka ba*)' or the 'pillar with [an outlet for smoke (lit. window (*khol ma* = *skar khung*) in] the roof' or even a sensible distortion of **bKa' bskul ma*, the '(king's) behest' (i.e. Testament), we should rather see in the contracted form Ka-khol-ma, in full *ka ba khol ma*, an allusion to a certain architectural feature akin to the term *gdung [ma] khol*, cf. e.g. **MNKB** E (dKar-chag) 11a5 and **HBCHBY** (JA) 149a6, where *khol ma* designates a corner or the side (*zur*, *logs*) at the base of a pillar.

As in almost all other fields, the Bon tradition can similarly boast of a Ka-khol-ma *gter-ma*, in full **bSam-yas Ka-khol-ma**, allegedly found in bSam-yas by one Yon-sgom thar-mo in 962 A.D. (which arguably may be altered to 1022/1082 A.D.?, in the light of the tendency of prochronism found in some Bon chronological works, cf. Kvaerne 1990). Its content, however, is mainly *sādhana*-s, cf. Karmay, 1972, pp. 122-123, 215-216. The crucial question is, if we here shall allow for a case of direct influence, which tradition took over from the other? Incidences of plagiarism and parallelism between the Buddhist and the post-dynastic Bon tradition are legion indeed, mainly with the Buddhist one being the donor.

38 Cf. **GLR** itself, the notes 960, 1057 *infra*. For an almost similar-worded account (*lo rgyus*), albeit of different length, of the text's *Entstehungsgeschichte* (*byung khungs*) and its transmission-line: **KCHKKHM-1** 615.2-619.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 1.11-5.10, 265.5-10, 315.1-321.19; **KCHKKHM-3** 366.3-367.5.

Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** Tafel 363.2.2-5: **bKa'-rtsi[g]s chen-mo**; **YLJBCHBY** 53.8-10; **HBCHBY** (JA) 154b6; gZhon-nu-dpal, **DTHNGP** (I, 316.9-15, Roerich, p. 258); Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung gSal-ba'i sgron-me**, 54b6-55b2; **TSLKHKCH** 4a1, 13a2, 14b5-6; bTsong-kha-pa's **rNam-thar** IV. 10a5 (ed. and tr. Kaschewsky); **PSJZ** 138.4, 138.22; **gSang-sngags rnying-ma'i chos-'byung legs-bshad** by Gu-ru bKra-shis (pp. 490-93 of the mod. Chin. ed., 1990); further Savitskij, 1967; Chattopadhyaya, 1967, App. A, sect. 2; Eimer, **rNam-thar rgyas-pa**, sect. 328, 337 (pp. 261ff.); Eimer, 1983 (mainly translating the relevant testimony in **KCHKKHM-1** above); Vostrikov, 1970, pp. 28-32.

As foremost recorded in the king's Testament, it was on directions given to Atiśa by an old woman that the Indian master was able to find the texts two-and-a-half fathoms down below the *ka ba bum pa can* pillar. This sybilline lady is by contemporary literature depicted to assume protean garbs and identities while she was variously called Mu-'gram Se'o [*sic*], but also the mad female-beggar or 'Mad Woman of lHa-sa' (*lHa sa'i smyon ma*) (who, gZhon-nu-dpal informs us, **DTHNGP** (II, 1143.12-14, Roerich, pp. 984-985) was a gCod-practitioner and an elder contemporary of the XIth century Ma-gcig Lab-sgron-ma (1055-?1149 A.D.), famed *inter alia* for settling religious disputes in her time). In reality, as the Vita tells us, she turned out not only to be Atiśa's *yoginī* and a disguised *jñānaḍākinī*, but also a reincarnation of the king's Chinese queen Kong-jo.

At the place in question inside Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang/Jo-khang, Atiśa allegedly extracted as the

The **Ka-khol-ma** version is the oldest among the biographical narratives attributed to the king. Albeit the versions of this work that have reached us at first glance leave a compositionally heterogeneous impression behind, being made up of a variety of biographical, cosmographical, devotional and mythological narrative fragments which individually may claim separate provenience, the work altogether nevertheless appears homogenous. Turning to the **Ma-ṇi bka'-'bum**, the picture is, as already noted by Aris, *op. cit.*, 1979, p. 10, a muddle, a state of affair obviously accounted for by the fact that the cycle is a conglomerate that has been through too many redactional hands. The major part of the *Sūtra*-section of **MṆKB** E (C) denoted *Chos-skyong-ba'i rgyal-po Srong-btsan sgam-po'i mdzad-pa rnam-thar*, also coined *mDzad-pa lo-rgyus kyi skor*, the 'Cycle of the Biographical Narrative' (of the King) and a collateral cycle titled *gSung-chos man-ngag gi skor*, contain in their sub-sections two briefer biographical narratives, respectively:

(Ca) *Sangs-rgyas Śākya thub-pa'i bstan-pa la mdzad-pa'i lo-rgyus* (16 *skabs*) and
(Cd) *rGyal-po'i mdzad-pa nyi-shu rtsa gcig-pa* (21 *le'u*).

These versions, though of varying length, comprise over a number of chapters an almost similar-worded narrative of the king's life. Both are in fact cognate redactions displaying a wording which is fairly close, albeit in no way so detailed, to the one conserved in **KCHKKHM**, although a scrutiny would unravel minor and possibly decisive discrepancies that more precisely shall account for the extent of textual affiliation between the individual versions. It would be a laudable task to undertake a thorough investigation of these cognate biographies, a task which to some extent has been explored in the annotations to the present study, but it is outside the scope of the present book to provide a minute collation of the textual evidences of these bulky biographies. It would, as already pointed out, require the inclusion of all relevant textual testimonies characterizing the various redactions of **MṆKB**. This must consequently be reserved a serious philological analysis of the internal history of **MṆKB** and **KCHKKHM**. A brief impression of the extent of congruity may nevertheless be acquired through the numerous references to corresponding and parallel passages listed in the notes attached to the present study. But the picture is more complex, all the while we have reason to assume that a number of textual links in the stemma is lacking or while, as

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first, a text-scroll (*shog [d]ril*) known as the [bKa'-chems] **Zla-ba'i 'dod-'jo** composed by the king's ministers. He thereafter extracted the [bKa'-chems] **Dar-dkar gsal-ba'i me-long** written by the king's queens and finally he recovered the king's **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma**. They are all thus to be designated *gter ma*-s.

The first two writings are deplorably no more extant, but probaby still existed in the XII-XIIIth cent. (they were at least, it appears, used by or known to Nyang-ral), whereafter they somehow disappeared, their content being superseded(?) or generally represented by the main Testament of the king: **KCHKKHM**. At least, they appear to be unknown to Bla-ma dam-pa, who, like dPa'-bo, definitely would have employed them when or if he and subsequent historians would have had access to them. The content of parts of these texts were incorporated or perhaps already found delineated in the larger version of **KCHKKHM** and through this also in **CHBYMTNYP** as indicated in Appendix, note 770. The final section of **KCHKKHM-2** 315.7-14 describes briefly the topic of these two now-lost testaments of the ministers and queens, maintaining that the **Zla-ba'i 'dod-'jo** and **Dar-dkar gsal-ba** *inter alia* gave details about how the (king's) queens competed with one another (on dowry and seniority) and how service was rendered by all the ministers and the king's *dbon po rnams* (i.e. the king's successors in the royal line?) in the presence of the king and how they erected tombs etc.

is the case with any kind of Tibetan scriptural material, a fair degree of carelessness in (re)copying and interpolation hastaken place. No doubt, the gTer-ston-s responsible[39] for the purely biographical part of **MṆKB** must have taken recourse to the original **KCHKKHM** (= **lHa-sa [b]Ka[']-tshigs chen-mo**?) discovered or compiled during Atiśa's time for the compilation of these sections of their *gter-ma* rather than we shall assume that they both draw from a common proto-version. Where the final compilation of **MṆKB** arguably took form around 1170-1200 A.D., the **KCHKKHM** came into being some one hundred years earlier, say approximately 1055-1060 A.D. For instance, Nyang-ral shows, as already noted, in the appendix to his magnum opus, while briefly describing the king's Testament, which he, as discussed above, designated **bKa'-rtsi[g]s chen-mo**, that the work in reality is nothing but the **KCHKKHM**.[40]

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39 Either *grub-thob* dNgos-grub or Shākya 'od/bzang-po, the glosses commenting the transmission and dissemination of **MṆKB** differ, cf. **MṆKB** E dKar-chag, 6a1-12a1; Ratna gling-pa, **gTer-'byung chen-mo**, KA, 54.5-56.5 (= 27b5-28b5); 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal **DTHNGP** (II 1073.1-1175.5, Roerich, II, pp. 1006-08); dPa'-bo's **HBCHBY** (JA) 149a4-b1; The Vth Dalai Lama, **gSan-yig**, III, 130.5-151.3 (= 65b5-76a3); cf. Aris, 1979, pp. 8-12, but also Blondeau, 1984 and Kapstein, 1992 *passim*.

The earliest testimonies or references to (parts of) the **MṆKB** being transmitted are e.g. chronicled in **DTHNGP** (II, 1095.12-13, Roerich, pp. 941-42), where Shes-rab 'od (1166-1244 A.D.) in 1184-85 A.D. received the three cycles of Avalokiteśvara from dNgos-grub. Cf. also note 28 above. An almost comtemporary witness is provided by Pho-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po (1184-1251 A.D.), in whose youth (around 1190-95 A.D.?), according to Aris, 1979, *op. cit.*, p. 11, the existence of **MṆKB** can be adduced. Another part of **MṆKB**, the section **Gab-pa mngon-phyung** (cf. note 961) was, as recorded by dPa'-bo and gZhon-nu-dpal (cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 148b6-149a1; **DTHNGP** (I, 165.17-166.12, 170.13-180.1, 180.13-188.10, Roerich, pp. 129-30, 133-141, 142-148)), transmitted from the noted rDzogs-chen saint Zhig-po bDud-rtsi (1149-1199 A.D.), a famous pupil of Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer and a colleague of lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum, himself a prominent **MṆKB** text-transmitter, and a key figure in the dissemination of rDzogs-chen precepts in Tibet. We can observe that the latter text along with collateral precepts, an exposition on its meditative procedure (*man ngag sgom sdebs su bshad pa*) were conferred upon one rTa-ston Jo-yes (1163-1230 A.D.) by Zhig-po bDud-rtsi, between the years 1190-1199 A.D. Zhig-po bDud-rtsi, on his side, had listened to and received teachings from this text, along with other rDzogs-chen precepts, from dBus-pa sTon-shāk, alias Dam-pa Se-Brag-pa (? - 1164-65 A.D.), when he was sixteen years of age in 1164-65 A.D. This may also add weight to our attempted identification of dBus-pa sTon-shāk with the **MṆKB** gTer-ston rJe-btsun [= dBu-ru/dBus sTon-pa?] Shākya bzang-po, who is recorded to be the discoverer of this cycle in Jo-khang. Shākya bzang-po and Shākya 'od must therefore be distinct personages. Cf. also Prats, 1984, pp. 199-200.

Incidences where, on one side, local lords who were descendants and scions of the ancient Yar-klung kings and thus ultimately boasting descent from king Srong-btsan sgam-po and, on the other side, spiritual text-holders transmitting the Vita-tradition of this king are reported to have met could possibly be cited at greater length. Suffice it to refer to one such incidence, where the above-mentioned Shes-rab 'od, to whom parts of the **MṆKB** were transmitted, in 1195-96 A.D. is reported to have attended teachings proffered by two text-holders of **KCHKKHM**, the Dharmasvāmin 'Bri-gung-pa (1143-1217 A.D.) and rGya-ma Rin-chen sgang-pa, alias dBon-ston (1138-1210 A.D.) at the Yar-klung court of Jo-bo rNal-'byor, a scion of the old dynasty. Cf. note 1796 *infra*. We need not confess any difficulty in envisaging how in such an environment with spiritual and ancestral interests coinciding, the cult and legacy of Srong-btsan sgam-po would find genial soil for its promotion.

40 **CHBYMTNYP** Tafel 363.2.2-5: *de yang rgyal po bka' chems kyi yi ge 'di yang | mthong ba dang | thos pa dang | rnyed pa dka' bas ste | ji[l]tar dka' na | sngon bsod nams bsags pa'i gang [za]g*

The extant versions of **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma** at our disposal are all later copied apographs (*dpe chung bshus pa*), differently sized, of the original text-scrolls (*phyi mo shog dril*) extracted by Atiśa in Jo-khang. In the largest (*rgyas shos*) version of the three copies made from the original,[41] the *general* transmission-line of the king's Testament(s) is delineated to comprise ten religious figures:[42]

From Atiśa (982-1054 A.D.) the (set of three?) Vita-copy(ies) was/were transmitted to Bang-ston, then to sTod-lungs-pa, to sPyan-snga-pa, to sNe'u-zur-pa, to 'Bri-gung-pa, then to rGya-ma-pa, to Rva-sgreng-pa, to dKon-bzang, from whom it was given to rDo-rje tshul-khrims, who finally handed it over to the final (anonymous) text-holder. Many of these figures, as seen below, are predominantly illustrous and prominent bKa'-gdams-pa masters of their time, a fact which not only points to the general import accorded the Vita-tradition, but also signals the religious milieu that furthered and transmitted it.

Attempting to identify the individual text-holders, we can observe that from Atiśa, who, it is stipulated,[43] was regarded as the very epitome of Ārya Avalokiteśvara Mahākāruṇika

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m[a]yin[pa]s mi thos ‖ dad pa yang mi[s]kye ‖ skal pa dman pas mi go.

The almost similar passage in **KCHKKHM-2** 320.1-5: *bka' chems kyi yi ge 'di yang mthong bar dka' ‖ thos par dka' ba ‖ rnyed par dka' ba yin te ‖ de ji ltar dka' zhe na ‖ ye shes mkha' 'gro mas lung bstan las ‖ gzhan gyis rnyed pa dang bstan par nus par dka' bas so*; cf. also **KCHKKHM-1** 619.2-3; **KCHKKHM-3** 364.6-365.1.

41 Without access to additional versions and to further information beyond the data given in the colophons, it is hardly possible to declare satisfactorily the actual procedure behind the transmission of the text. **KCHKKHM-2**, *op. cit.* 319.14-320.6, 321.10-19, informs us that three sizes (*rgyas 'bring bsdus*) of the matrix, the original Ms-scrolls (*phyi mo shog dril gsum po*) of the testament(s) were properly executed. This possibly refers to the three testaments found by Atiśa, cf. note 38 *supra*.

Another line of transmission, retained in all three extant versions, contains three names, cf. note 53 *infra*. It is stated how four or even five *phyi mo*-s were collected, then revised linguistically, and how *dge-bshes* rNal-'byor copied the text and handed it over to the two next text-holders. Cf. also note 960 *infra*.

42 Cf. the colophon to **KCHKKHM-1** 618.5-619.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 320.6-11, 321.9-19; cf. also **KCHKKHM-3** 367.4-5.

43 **KCHKKHM-2** 2.3-5, 315.14-316.1. This is doubtlessly a posthumous ascription produced in order to cement the spiritual anchoring and the emanational nexus alluded to *ad* note 19 above.

On the importance of Avalokiteśvara for Atiśa and on *gdams ngag*, *sādhana*-s and related teachings on his cult within the bKa'-gdams-pa school transmitted to Atiśa from his contemporary Rāhulaguptavajra and then again from Atiśa to Nag-tsho and Lag-sor-pa etc., cf. Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung gsal-ba'i sgron-me**, 338b1-340b1. Cf. also Atiśa's biographical tradition, Eimer, **rNam-thar rgyas-pa**, sect. 376-377 (pp. 276-277).

Kapstein, 1992, *op. cit.* p. 85ff., has recently supplied us with some material, much of which go back to the earliest post-dynastic period and which shed some light on the *genesis* as to how Tibet became this *bodhisattva*'s *buddhakṣetra* and how his Six-syllabic *mantra* was destined to become the country's *lha skal* etc., the scriptural authority of which was **sūtra**-s like **Kāraṇḍavyūha**. As already noted by Kapstein, it is most revealing indeed to observe the missionary and appealing diction (retained aplenty in **MNKB** also) with which these literary pieces was couched in order to bolster this tradition. This proselytizing and devotional-apologetic tone found its way into **MNKB** (but reminiscences can also be traced in **KCHKKHM**), where these views were fully endorsed. The role of Atiśa in this formative phase, being the first great figure in promoting the practice in Tibet of meditational techniques focussing on Avalokiteśvara, should therefore not be underestimated. Kapstein draws in this respect our attention to three major systems of *khrid* on the

and an incarnation of king Srong-btsan sgam-po, the text-tradition then went to his disciple
Bang-ston Shes-rab Rin-chen,[44] and from him in succession to
kalyāṇamitra (*dge bshes*) sTod-lungs-pa [chen-po], alias Rin-chen snying-po (1032-1116 A.D.),[45]
sPyan-snga[-pa], alias Tshul-khrims-'bar (birth name sTag-tshab/tshag-'bar) (1038-1103 A.D.),[46]
kalyāṇamitra sNe'u-zur-pa, alias Rin-po-che Ye-shes-'bar (1042-1118/19 A.D.),[47]
'Bri-gung-pa, alias Chos-rje 'Jig-rten mgon-po (1143-1217 A.D.),[48]

Avalokiteśvara-*sādhana*-s originating from this Bengali master: *bKa' gdams lha bzhi'i spyan ras gzigs*, *sKyer sgang* (i.e. sKyer-gang-pa Dharma seng-ge) *lugs kyi spyan ras gzigs* and *dPal mo* (or Lakṣmī) *lugs kyi spyan ras gzigs*. In fact, in the XIth-XIIth century the picture of the teachings pertaining to the Avalokiteśvara cycle had already become fairly complex. Ba-ri Lo-tsā-ba (b. 1040 A.D.), for instance, is also recorded to have been a central figure in the dissemination of related teachings as delineated in the *Blue Annals* (Roerich, pp. 1020-21) and the latter (identical? here called Ba-ri dBang-ba dPal-gyi yon-tan!) is also mentioned in an interlinear gloss in **KCHKKHM-2** 278.7, where he is prophesied once to have been an embodiment of a *sngags pa* extolled in retrospect for the assassination of the demonic anti-Buddhist king and ministers who caused the abolition of Buddhism around 841 A.D. The same work, *op. cit.* 286.19-287.1, in another interlinear gloss, mentions Bla-ma Zhang and Dvags-po sGom-tshul, the latter was a disciple of lHa-rje sGam-po-pa (1079-1153 A.D.).

Noteworthy finally is, as also pointed out by Kapstein, the popularity and special approbation accorded **MNKB** and the Avalokiteśvara and Srong-btsan sgam-po cult in the bKa'-gdams-pa and later dGe-lugs-pa circles. Where in the first post-dynastic centuries Avalokiteśvara, by now already a symbol for Tibet as a national protector and palladium, was extolled as the central figure in the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon and Jo-khang constantly held in undivided esteem by all denominations as a religious heritage of national import, the dGe-lugs-pa-s, and in particular the Vth Dalai Lama, seem to have stressed the religious aspects. While the latter is recorded to have studied these teachings with enthusiasm and approval, with all its concomitant religious or mythical implications, it certainly also carried political and historical significance, crucial for the notion and legitimation of divine kingship in Tibet, inasmuch as the Dalai-Lama institutionalization in form of his own person's emanational nexus or rapport with this divinity was to become decisively cemented precisely during his reign.

44 Or Bang-ston Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan. A prominent pupil and benefactor of Atiśa, who e.g. invited him to sNye-thang, cf. Eimer, **rNam-thar rgyas-pa**, s.v. index; **DTHNGP** (I, 315.16-18, Roerich, p. 256); **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 79a3-b6. He established the temple of 'Or (the district in which sNye-thang is located) after Atiśa's death. No chronology of him has survived.

45 Cf. **YLJBCHBY** 119.7-10; **DTHNGP** (I, 348.16-349.5, Roerich, p. 286); **HBCHBY** (Chin. ed. I, 718.19-20); see also among numerous bKa'-gdams-pa histories, Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 166b2, 168b3-170b3; Eimer, *ib.*, s.v. index.

46 Cf. **DTHMP** 26a1; **YLJBCHBY** 99.5-6, 118.15-119.6; **DTHNGP** (I, 322.5-9, 347.1-348.16, Roerich, pp. 263, 284-286); **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 164b1-168b3; **HBCHBY** (Chin. ed. I, 710.11-12); Eimer, *ib.*, s.v. index. Famous pupil of Atiśa, in 1195 A.D. he built the temple of Lo.

47 Cf. **DTHNGP** (I, 377.2-380.15, Roerich, pp. 311-314); **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 120a6ff., 155a2-b5; **HBCHBY** (Chin. ed. I, 707.16-17); Eimer, *ib.*, s.v. index. The lineage of sPyan-snga and sNe'u-zur-pa within bKa'-gdams-pa is known as the so-called line of Precept-holders (*gdams ngag pa*).

48 Cf. e.g. **DTHNGP** (II, 702.1-708.3, Roerich, pp. 596-601). It is tempting to assume here a corruption for lHa 'Bri-sgang-pa (?ca. 1100/10-1190), cf. Eimer, 1991, pp. 164-165 and **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 227a6-b3. The royal house of lHa 'Bri-sgang could in fact boast descent from the ancient kings of Yar-lung and thereby to king Srong-btsan sgam-po, cf. the notes 1597 and 1811

rGya-ma-pa, alias dBon-ston Rin-po-che (1138-1210 A.D.),[49] then to
Rva-sgreng-pa,[50]
dKon[-mchog] bzang[-po],[51] and
rDo-rje tshul-khrims, alias? the 'Bri-gung mKhan-po Rin-po-che, (1154-1221 A.D.).[52]

Simultanously, the colophons of the three differently sized extant versions list[53] another line of in total three figures copying and transmitting the text based upon the original found by Atiśa. While being present in all three versions, this may specifically allude to the transmission of the extant **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma**:

From Atiśa to his pupil
kalyāṇamitra rNal-'byor chen-po, alias A-mes [chen-po] Byang-chub 'byung-gnas or Byang-chub rin-chen (1015-1078 A.D.)[54] to
kalyāṇamitra sPyan-snga[-pa], alias Tshul-khrims-'bar (1038-1103 A.D.), who then gave it to his pupil
kalyāṇamitra Bya-yul-pa, alias gZhon-nu-'od (birth-name 'Bum-stag) (1075-1138 A.D.).[55]

From the above material it is evident that the last bKa'-gdams-pa copyist and text-holder can be situated respectively in the middle of the XIIth and the XIIIth century.

Aside from the above biographical material which hitherto has come down to us, further

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infra.

49 Alias rGya-ma Rin-chen sgang-pa. Cf. e.g. **DTHNGP** (I, 380.5-382.11, Roerich, 315-316).

50 It is currently impossible unerringly to identify the person among the holders of the abbatial see of Ra-sgreng.

51 Currently unidentified.

52 This is most probably the 1st hierarch or the holder of the abbatial see (*gdan sa*) of 'Bri-gung, cf. **DTHNGP** (II. 715.17-716.2, Roerich, pp. 608-609), holding the chair from 1217-1221 A.D. Cf. also H. Sato, "The Lineage of the 'Bri-gung-pa in Tibet during the Ming Period", *Tōyō Gakuhō* 45, 1962/63, pp. 434-452.

53 Cf. **KCHKKHM-1** 615.2-619.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 321.14-20; **KCHKKHM-3** 366.3-367.5. Cf. also Eimer, **rNam-thar rgyas-pa**, sect. 337, (p. 264); Eimer, 1983. Cf. also note 55 *infra*.

54 Abbot of Rva-sgreng, cf. e.g. **HBCHBY** (Chin. ed. I, 683.22-23); **DTHNGP** (I, 321.2-3, 324.10-11, Roerich, pp. 262, 265); **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 107b1-108b2; Eimer, **rNam-thar rgyas-pa**, s.v. index. A prominent pupil of Atiśa who also sponsored the master's sojourn in bSam-yas and sNye-thang.

55 Cf. e.g. **YLJBCHBY** 119.10-121.5; **DTHNGP** (I, 349.5-356.7, Roerich, pp. 286-292); **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 155a4, 171b2-177b3; **HBCHBY** (Chin. ed. I, 718.21-22).

The list in **rNam-thar rgyas-pa**, sect. 337, mentions two more generations of text-holder, aside from the above three, one Ri-sgom, who eventually handed it over to the custodian(s) of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang/Jo-khang, who, we may presume, from then on continued to be text-holders and guardians of the Vita, cf. ref. to dPa'-bo *ad* note 26 *supra*.

This is an important observation to make. Precisely, and hence perhaps not unsurprisingly, the Jo-khang custodians were the ones who motivated local rulers to have the *editio princeps* of **GLR** printed in lHa-sa in 1478 A.D. What could have been a more natural milieu to promote the Srong-btsan sgam-po cult than in the temple raised by himself.

confusion leaps to the fore while **KCHKKHM-2**[56] apparently enumerates additional titles of testaments ascribable to the king:

bKa'-chems mTho-mthong-ma,[57]
rNam-thar bKa'-chems gSer gyi phreng-ba,
rNam-thar phyi-ma bKa'-chems gSer gyi yang-zhun,
bKa'-chems Me-tog 'phreng-ba.

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56 *Op. cit.* 309.14-16, 313.17-314.5, 315.1-2.

57 This testament and the **Ka-khol-ma** are said to have been depicted (later?) (by way of mural-illlustrations, obviously) on the walls of the tomb of the king in the Valley of Yar-klungs 'Phyong-rgyas. Cf. note 1088 *infra*. This text is already mentioned in an interlinear scholium in the dKar-chag of **MNKB** (6a2), where it, here titled **bKa'-chems mThon-mthong-ma**, together with text-cycles such as **Me-tog rgyan-pa'i zhing-bkod** and the present **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma** were declared with certainty to pertain to the writings (*bka'*) of the king and suitable therefore to be included in the *mDo* section of **MNKB**, an inclusion which however never happened.

Assuming the alliterative mTho-mthong to be a simple corruption for mTho-mthing, the most curious note in this matter is offered by Ratna gling-pa (1403-78 A.D.), **gTer-'byung chen-mo**, (KA) 54.4-5 (= 27b4-5), who presents us, while briefly delineating the Vita-traditions attributed to king Srong-btsan sgam-po, with the statement *Pan chen Shākya Shrī la sogs kyi bka' chems mTho lding ma*. With the proviso that the text referred to is identical (which is far from certain), we can observe that it is here written mTho-lding-ma (? to be understood as a sort of mTho-lding Ms from the famous monastery in Guge, passed by Kha-che Pan-chen on his way from Kashmir to Central Tibet?) in lieu of mTho[n]-mthong-ma. We can moreover observe that mTho[n]-mthing-ma *eo ipso* is a good reading while, akin to Ka-khol-ma, this form similarly alludes to an architectural or ornamental feature (associated with azure-blue or (*indra*)*nīla*-coloured pillars) as indicated e.g. by Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 323b3 (*mthon mthing gser gyi ka ba ka gzhu*, describing *in casu* bSam-yas). The equation between mTho-ling and mThon-mthing is nevertheless warranted, while **GLR** has retained the latter form as name for this famous temple, cf. note 1668 *infra*.

Now, the fact that a text known as **bKa'-chems Tho-ling-ma** is recorded to have existed containing a famous prophecy (allegedly ascribed to the king) and forecasting that Chos-rje g.Yam/g.Ya'-bzang (alias Chos sMon-lam, 1169-1233 A.D., who considered himself to be an incarnation of king Srong-btsan sgam-po), would turn up four hundred and twenty-five years after the passing of the king, would suggest that this text very well may be associated with Kha-che Pan-chen (1127/?1140'es-1225 A.D.), cf. **DTHNGP** (II, 767.10-771.14, Roerich, pp. 653-56), Kah-thog's **DSYML** 58.4-59.13. The Chos-rje acted as *yon bdag* or patron for the Kashmirian master when the latter came to Tibet in 1204 A.D. and Chos-rje g.Yam-bzang is recorded to have propounded narratives of the erection of Khra-'brug, the *thugs dam* or personal tutelary chapel of the king and other stories related to the king. No doubt, the **bKa'-chems [m]Tho-l[d]ing-ma** originated in this milieu. The fact moreover that the **bKa'-chems mTho-mthong-ma** is mentioned in the part of **KCHKKHM-2** dealing with the passing and the tomb of the king would suggest that either material from this text or reference to it was briefly made by one of the last text-holders of **KCHKKHM**. Beyond that, it is impossible to verify or reject altogether whether the renown Kha-che Pan-chen did have an active hand in the compilation of a biography of the king in the sense perhaps, analogous to the rapport between **Ka-khol-ma** itself and Atiśa and a local benefactor in lHa-sa, that a testament was 'found' by yet another noted Indian master, an attempt then possibly contrived in order to tinge a tradition with scriptural or spiritual authenticity and possibly made in deference to the expressed wish of Chos-rje g.Yam-bzang. In default of more substantial material or until new material surfaces, this interesting point cannot be pursued further.

Another lead may point to the **Kho-thing gi gter-ma**, a text similarly containing prophecies also about the king and his temple, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 150a1ff. and note 1023 *infra*.

The titles of some of these listed here most probably refer to additional or supplementary designations of one and the same work, the **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma** while these titles often appear in succession and thus indicate supplementary appellations.[58]

Summing up, the upshot of our reflections allows us to reason that the compilation and dissemination of the king's Vita are to be found in the milieu around Atiśa, possible also bolstered by the increasingly popular Avalokiteśvara-cult prevailing by then, the decisive initiative conceivably coming from a local ruler or *dānapati* in lHa-sa responsible for the care of the temple.[59] Yet in the final analysis, we shall not be able to clarify conclusively whether or not Atiśa was factually engaged in the discovery or recovery of the king's Vita or whether it was first discovered, i.e. finally compiled after the master's passing and posthumously connected with his name and universal repute.

The parallels between the two royal biographies and the story of the erection of two temples of Ra-sa and bSam-yas are so numerous and evident that a certain measure of affinity can be inferred. The concrete incentive to execute the king's biography and his temple's *Entstehungsgeschichte* may have materialized in connection with a belated or reconfirmatory consecration of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and bSam-yas conceivably conducted by Atiśa during his repeated sojourns at these sites, a direct testimony of which we do not possess, but which indirectly can be assumed from a note chronicled by dPa'-bo. This historian states[60] that until Atiśa's time, the earlier attempts to consecrate lHa-sa and bSam-yas respectively, performed in the wake of their erection[61] had been inchoate, while it restricted itself mainly to the expression of *maṅgala* etc. and the proper ritual procedure of consecration was first introduced with or from the period of Atiśa.

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58 Cf. e.g. *op. cit.* 313.17-314.4: *Bod kyi rgyal po chen po srong btsan sgam po'i rnam thar bka' chems gser gyi 'phreng ba zhes kyang bya | jo bo thugs rje chen po 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gi lo rgyus dang | rnam thar phyi ma bka' chems gser gyi yang zhun zhes kyang bya | rgyal po chen po srong btsan sgam po bod yul dbus su dam pa chos kyi srol gzhung btod nas | chos 'khor lha sa bzhengs pa'i lo rgyus rgyal po'i bka' chems kha khol ma zhes bya ba.*

59 A good parallel would be the role played by lHa-btsun sNgon-mo reigning in bSam-yas and who lived in the beginning and middle part of the XIIth century (cf. note 1595 *infra*). He was a scion of Yum-brtan and himself recognized as a gTer-ston by being regarded as a key disseminator in the transmission or lineage of a number of biographical treasuries pertaining to the tradition of Padmasambhava.

60 *Op. cit.*, **HBCHBY** (JA) 53a6-b2.

61 Cf. the notes 897 and 1319 *infra*.

King Srong-btsan sgam-po's Role Reappraised: Historical Tailoring, Posthumous Apparel and Mythographical Trappings

Neither contemporary data and records nor more recent Western research have always, and not without cogent reasons, supported the view massively endorsed by this autochthonous literature and its often stereotype historiographical tradition such as the one found in **GLR**, that king Khri Srong-b[r]tsan alias Srong-btsan sgam-po (569-649 A.D.)[62] was the ruler who set Buddhism on a firm footing in Tibet, at least on a larger scale.[63]

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62 Throughout the later part of the dynastic period his name is recorded as 'Phrul gyi lha (i.e. sage-king; for this metonym, cf. note 642 *infra*) Khri (= *khri pa*, i.e. throne-holder, king) Srong-brtsan/btsan. While the later soubriquet or hypocoristic complement sgam-po added to his name already ascribed to him (and other kings) in the *Chronicle*, *op. cit.* 118.6 *et passim* and later (a Buddhist predicate arguably reflecting Skt. *gambhīra* and qualifying the king's (regarded on a par with Buddha) thought and intent (*dgongs pa*, *thugs*, *samdhi*), cf. e.g. note 961ff. *infra*) was prevalent from the *phyi-dar* period, the full form Srong-btsan sgam-po is also attested from the last part of the dynastic period, cf. e.g. the Dunhuang *Chronicle* (date uncertain, possibly Xth century; Bacot *et al.*, pp. 118.23-24, 161) and **sBa-bzhed**. Incidentally, the *Chronicle* has also retained the original form Khri Srong-brtsan, suggesting that this dossier is an uneven and concocted *cento* of differently dated narratives. If the king's full form nevertheless can be further substantiated in pre-Xth century material, it is yet another viable element in underpinning our contention that the posthumous depiction and Buddhist transformation of the king as an embodiment of Avalokiteśvara, so forcefully and uniformly propounded in the king's biographical writings, has its root in the later part of dynastic period.

For a discussion of his dates, still conclusively unsettled, cf. the notes 449, 1046 *infra*.

63 Buddhist post-dynastic historians have attempted to classify the general (non-Tantric) introduction of Dharma in Tibet: One tradition speaks about the very early (mythic) introduction or beginning (*dbu brnyes*) of Buddhism in Tibet, invariably ascribed to lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal (cf. note 356 *infra*). This ascription appears to be post-dynastic, while no pre-Xth cent. material seems to warrant this depiction. Another (or parallel) tradition, this time connected with king Srong-btsan sgam-po, speaks about the introduction or opening of the tradition of Saddharma (in Tibet) (*dam pa'i chos srol phye ba*), its (subsequent) anchoring (*srol btod pa*) or establishment (rather than taking this phase to stand for the formative part) and its (final) full mastering (*srol 'dzin pa*). Cases of a combination (at least succession) of the phases i.e. *dbu brnyes srol btod* is e.g. found in Nyang-ral's **CHBYMTNYP** 175a6, 292a3. Albeit this phasic division in its final form was formulated in the XIIth century at the earliest (and parallels a well-known similar division describing the *phyi-dar* period, cf. e.g. Vitali, 1990, pp. 37, 62), the ascription to the king appears nevertheless to have originated in the dynastic period itself, while Khri-stong lde-btsan in his *bKa'-mchid* (composed *ca.* 779-780 A.D.) ascribes the phase *sangs rgyas kyi chos thog mar mdzad* to Khri Srong-btsan [sgam-po], cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 110a5.

The king's Vita itself (mid-XIth century) repeatedly stipulates this glorifying aspect of king Srong-btsan sgam-po, cf. **KCKHKHM-2** 314.2-3, 315.6-7 and 318.3-4. There the king is merited for *bod yul dbus su dam pa chos kyi srol gzhung btod pa*. Signally, this phrase is similarly vouched by the Xth cent. *Chronicle* (Bacot, p. 118.21-23). Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 188b6, 297a2, 405a1 and 452a6, and the Sa-skya masters such as Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's **BGR** 199b2 and 'Phags-pa Bla-ma in his **Shes-bya rab-gsal**, *op. cit.* 19a2-3 and later O-rgyan gling-pa, **KTHDNG** (NGA) 402.5, among many others adopt this ascription and thus credit Srong-btsan sgam-po and his epoch with the phase of the anchoring or thethering (*srol btod pa*) of the Buddhist tradition in Tibet rather than perhaps being considered its original initiator. To note also is that lDe'u Jo-sras, **DCHBY** 115.12-13 in contrast speaks about the king's *chos khrims kyi srol bstod* (= *b[r]tod*).

Tibetan historical and literary sources that may be accorded some validity, while not entirely silent on this point either restrict themselves to confirm a modicum of Buddhist activity during the reign of this king, religious activity mainly practised by non-Tibetan persons and possibly restricted to the court, or these works tend to focus on the king's legislative and civilizing feats altogether.[64] But the majority of Tibetan historiographies, including not seldom a number of fairly reliable sources, instead have taken recourse to peddle (parts or) entire sections of the above legendary and mythologized biographical narrative of this king and his religious and national feats ascribed to him by posterity.

In the light of the present study, although predominantly dealing with this bulk of mythographical material, this opinion may possibly be altered slightly. Browsing through the narratives of his Vita-s leaves us with the indelible impression of a king recast or redressed in an outfit manufactured by his posterity in order to create a mythic figure endued with supernatural endowments as it becomes for an august monarch of national stature. In respect to the picture of the king's politico-mythical creed that has been gleaned foremost from the Dunhuang material and which has been demonstrated in recent research, the mythological and legendary material filtered here in this study has only little or nothing to tell. Still, in these legend-tinted Vita traditions we have nevertheless traced new information and data that either were unknown to earlier research or were written off altogether as purely legendary and ahistorical. True, large parts when not entire accounts are steeped in narrative ornamentations and his person has by posterity always been clothed or shrouded in an abundance of speculation throughout all the strange permutations of his biography. Sifting fact from myths in this literature is a problematic and painstaking enterprise, occasionally a forlorn hope. Thanks to a systematic scrutiny of this material, some findings may nevertheless now equip us with supplementary verifiable information or the data found are themselves verified and paralleled by historically reliable sources.

One such thing, in my eyes, yielded by this far too long ignored literature, is the information that the first temple or rather chapel in Tibet, being more or less vaguely associated with Buddhist vestige, was neither Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang nor Ra-mo-che, indubitably two of the very oldest temples in Tibet raised in the mid-VIIth century,[65] but arguably that of Khra-'brug situated in the heart of the Yar-klung[s] Valley, a sanctuary which was till now

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For a good survey of the mythic role, the creed and religious ambience of the king, not discussed here, see the epoch-making study by A. Macdonald, 1971 and for another readable summary, A.W. Macdonald, 1984.

64 A number of contemporary dynastic sources acknowledges that Buddhist activity flourished during king (*khri*) Srong-b[r]tsan. Khri-srong lde-btsan, both in his *bKa'-gtsigs* and his *bKa'-mchid* (of 779-780 A.D.), as well as the sKar-c[h]ung *rdo-ring*[*s*] dating, no doubt, from the inception of the IXth century (i.e. ca. 800-815 A.D.) and the *bKa'-gtsigs* or reconfirmatory edict by Sad-na-legs, all record that the temples such as the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang or, as it was also known, Ra-sa Bi-har/ha-ra (= *vihāra*) and the rGya-btags (= rGya-stag, cf. note 831 *infra*) Ra-mo-che etc. (*la stsogs pa* = *la sogs pa*) were erected during his reign. Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 109a1-2, 110a4-5, 128b4-5 and Richardson, 1985, pp. 74-75. Cf. also the previous note and the opening passage in **sBa-bzhed**, where the occurence of *dam pa'i lha chos* is ascribed to the period of king Khri-lde gtsug-btsan according to a prophecy allegedly found in king Srong-btsan sgam-po's *bka' chems*. Naturally, this *ex eventu* prophecy itself originated at the earliest from the period of king Khri-lde gtsug-btsan. It does however tell us that at that point Srong-btsan sgam-po was conceived as a Buddhist monarch.

65 Cf. Chap. XIV *passim* and note 831.

barely more than customarily ascribed to this king.[66] All sources which unanimously claim Khra-'brug the first chapel or temple erected in Tibet may ultimately go back to a common, single textual authority, a testimony, to be true, which we currently cannot trace beyond the threshold of the XIth century, yet a set of circumstances, in my eyes, underpins the assumption that this information reflects reality and that this pivotal spiritual bond (*thugs dam*) chapel of the king soon after his passing sunk into semi-oblivion, a fact which in part accounts for its relative anonymity in contemporary dynastic annals and records.

Another significant information to be gleaned from the present material is the description of the presence of Nepalese/Newari artists, craftsmen and religious teachers etc. in the earlier years of this king's court,[67] circumstances, of course, which have been known to scholars for long, but the overall picture now to be painted suggests that not only the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang *gtsug lag khang* was Nepalese in artistic expression, concept and origin, but that the Nepalese cultural presence in other earlier constructions can be both assumed and documented too. This, more than anything else, adds further circumstantial arguments to the well-nigh endless discussion concerning the historicity and possible existence of the Nepalese princess Khri-btsun.[68]

Already Tucci,[69] in order to disprove the existence of Khri-btsun or in order perhaps to account for her overwhelming presence in later Tibetan historical works, has drawn attention to a possible symmetrical parallel and triad, which was allegedly contrived by later Tibetan historians in order to provide a link or analogy to the two wifes of Padmasambhava. Rather than attempting to supply further justification for this analogy, and with the intention to expand this scheme, without however clarifying to what extend it is a later fabrication, we might as well add the two Tibetan ministers whose feats during his reign were equally oriented towards cementing this alleged triad, as indirectly suggested in **KCHKKHM-2**:[70]

It has generally been argued that among those figures placed circumjecently around the king, the ones given in the left column, i.e. queen Khri-btsun but also minister Thon-mi lack a historical foundation or rather indisputable proofs of their historicity are still largely absent, whereas the figures in the right column are well-founded historically:

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66 Cf. note 836 *infra*.

67 Cf. most recently Vitali, 1990, p. 71ff.

68 Cf. note 560 *infra*.

69 Tucci, 1962 and Sørensen, 1986, pp. 84-85.

70 This source, *op. cit.* 320.11-15 has a strange passage which may serve at least to expand the scheme: *rgya gar dang rgya nag nas bod du dam pa'i chos bsgyur pa'i lo tstsha pa blon po chen po gnyis ni | thon mi sam bho ṭa dang | 'gar stong btsan yul bzung gnyis yin cing rgyal po srong btsan sgam po'i spyan sngar bsgyur pa'i lo tstsha chen por grags so.*

Information that the famous VIIth century minister and general mGar, a popular protagonist in the Vita of Srong-btsan sgam-po, should have functioned as Sino-Tibetan Dharma translator is nowhere documented. This is a piece of post-dynastic fiction. On the other hand, there is no reason to doubt that the minister mastered the Chinese language, spending, as he did, most of his later years in the vast borderland and territories between Tibet and China.

INDIA/NEPAL (*nub/lho*)	TIBET (*dbus*)	CHINA (*shar*)
Khri-btsun (Bhṛkuṭī) (queen)	Srong-btsan sgam-po (king)	Kong-jo (Wenzheng) (queen)
[Śyāmā Tārā]	[Ārya Avalokiteśvara]	[Sita Tārā]
Thon-mi Sambhoṭa (minister)		mGar sTong-btsan yul-bzung (minister)

While convincing contemporary evidence is generally lacking in the early historical records, documents and inscriptions as well in the earlier Tibetan Buddhist tradition embodying older strata of historical data to regard Srong-btsan sgam-po as an embodiment of an Indian Bodhisattva,[71] other clues are not entirely absent.

Albeit scriptural evidence of the Avalokiteśvara cult and teachings connected with this divinity therefore may appear signally sparse in the earliest period,[72] it is not necessarily indicative of the absence of any archaeological and artistic testimony as generally assumed. As alluded to above, the artistic representation of Buddhist vestige and idolatry, not unimportant in any missionary quest and campaign, appears to have supplemented, when not altogether eclipsing, the ditto scriptural and textual dissemination. Vestige of the cult's popularity therefore appears to have prevailed. Our earliest lead to this seems to be traced in **BZH**, the matrix of which was compiled *ca.* 800 A.D. On one hand the text records that Srong-btsan sgam-po was regarded as an incarnation of Ārya Lo-ke-ta, i.e. Lokeśvara, (cf. e.g. Chin. ed. 2.14-15). It remains to be settled whether this piece of information pertains to the original core of **BZH** or whether it was later interpolated into the text, while **BZH** underwent a number of redactional revisions in the *phyi-dar* period. Another solid piece of argument, also chronicled in **BZH**,[73] and this time unequivocally originating from the core-part of this ancient document, may be seen in the chapel (*gling*) dedicated to Ārya-palo and raised in bSam-yas (763-775 A.D., inaugurated 779 A.D.) during king Khri-srong lde-btsan (742-797 A.D.). In this chapel, the principal image of which was Khasarpaṇa, a well-known form of Avalokiteśvara widely prevalent already from the dynastic period, murals were executed with illustrative scenes gleaned e.g. from the **Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra**, the

71 Later tradition as well as Tibetans themselves employ as the most authoritative and conclusive argument a 'story about two monks' from Li-yul or Khotan for the divine equation or incarnational nexus between the king and Avalokiteśvara, cf. note 920 *infra*.

72 The **Kāraṇḍavyūha** was registered in the oldest Catalogue of 812 A.D., but another tradition claims tenaciously that the otherwise nebulous script-inventor Thon-mi translated a number of Avalokiteśvara-related texts incl. the above **sūtra** over a century before. Cf. note 490 and Appendix, note 92. In the light of the incontestable Nepalese presence during the king's reign and deeming the general popularity of the Avalokiteśvara cult in the Licchavi period (ca. 300-879 A.D.) in Nepal and northern India, an earlier introduction to Tibet of his cult is altogether feasible. Cf. Slusser, 1972, pp. 272, 280-283.

73 Cf. note 1283 *infra*.

mythological cult-text of Avalokita *par excellence*. No doubt, it was foremost through these forms that his cult permeated Tibet. A set of trustworthy texts even adduces that an effigy of the king, i.e. Srong-btsan sgam-po, was installed in the chapel. There is no cogent reason to question neither the antiquity of this chapel nor the genuinity of this piece of information.

In retrospect, Srong-btsan sgam-po, an able warrior-king and a ruler of a loosely knitted tribal and normadic state, was in essence hardly any devoted Buddhist, at least it was a religious tradition which he first came to know of, possibly only rudimentarily, towards the end of his life. His confession and beliefs, foremost demonstrated by Macdonald in her penetrating study from 1971 and further elucidated by R. Stein in a string of trenchant semantic analyses, were grounded in and around a complex cultic, most credibly institutionalized tradition based upon a set of magico-religious ideas (autochthonous as well as Tibetanized concepts of possible Chinese origin expressed *via* terms such as *gtsug/gtsug lag*, *sku bla*, *'phrul* etc.), at the centre of which stood an elaborate emperor and ancestral cult having evident parallels with or bearings on the Chinese ditto. Moreover, as already alluded to and demonstrated elsewhere[74] and further corroborated in this study, the Newari cultural and religious influence in Tibet during king Srong-btsan sgam-po can be richly documented. King Narendradeva, with his Licchavi-court in exile in Lhasa until 641 A.D., i.e. until the end of the king's first term of rule, *could* in some seminal form arguably have introduced or transplanted the Lokeśvara and the Avalokiteśvara (later fused with the Matsyendranāth) cult, enjoying extensive popularity in contemporary Nepal during the Licchavi period, to Tibet during these years of exile in Tibet. Or most evidently through his putative daughter, Khri-btsun, when or if we one day can provide irrefutable proofs of her historicity, the validity of which becomes, albeit still shadowy, increasingly evident in our historical reappraisal. Unfortunately, her name is utterly absent from the usual reliable contemporary sources and only indirectly verifiable through the artistic traces purportedly left behind by her in form of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang.[75]

From Chinese side, Beckwith[76] has pointed out that king Srong-btsan sgam-po from the Tang-emperor Gao-zong (649-683 A.D.), in the wake of the emperor's enthronement in 649 A.D. was honoured with the title *Bao-wang*, i.e. 'Precious King' or 'King of Jewels', a special imperial prerogative of the 'King of the West' and in Chinese culture often employed to refer to Amitābha. Transmuting this imperial appellation to a Buddhist one could rather early, already perhaps in the later part of the VIIIth or the beginning of the IXth century, have contributed to pave the way for the recognition of this king as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, the spiritual emanation of Amitābha. This post-festum titularization or Buddhist incarnational deification of king Srong-btsan sgam-po therefore coincided with the period when, once the Indian-oriented Buddhist tradition had became the established religion in Tibet, the king in retrospect became regarded as the founder of Buddhism in Tibet. But while the nexus between the king and the tutelary *bodhisattva* and its cult-building were soundly established already in the beginning of the *phyi-dar* period as shown above and henceforth both immensely and universally promoted, there are now sound reasons to assume that its imprint was already set in the later phase of the dynasty.

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74 Vitali, 1990, pp. 70-74 and more generally on Newār artistic influence in Tibet, cf. Lo Bue, 1989, "The Newār Artists of the Nepal Valley", *Oriental Art* 31, pp. 262-277, 356-384. It should also not go unmentioned that the celebrated six-syllabic *dhāraṇī* of Avalokita has been traced in the Dunhuang material.

75 Cf. the discussion *ad* note 560 *infra* and Chap. XIV and XV.

76 Beckwith, 1987, *op. cit.* p. 24, n. 71. This point however deserves further scrutiny.

rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long: Provenance and Conception

Before we focus on **rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long**[77] and the ideological milieu in which it originated, seen on the background of its literary presuppositions debated at some length above, the key questions as to its authorship and dating must naturally be addressed first.

Author and Date

We shall here abstain from reiterating in full the now seemingly overdebated topic as to the authorship and date of **GLR**. For details on past research conducted on **GLR** or what may be called its *Forschungsgeschichte*, it may suffice therefore to refer to A. Vostrikov, 1970, pp. 67-78 and C. Vogel, 1981, pp. 3-9. The detailed solution to the relevant problems was made public by P.K. Sørensen, 1986, pp. 29-64 and independent thereof by Z. Yamaguchi, 1985(a), pp. 1043-1066 also.

However, since scholars still draw wrong and now outdated conclusions from the material,[78] it is deemed worthwhile to recap in a piecemeal fashion the background for the ambigious data that hitherto have blurred a proper identification of the authorship and the correlative question of its dating.

From the author's colophon (*byang*) we are informed that Sa-skya-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan successfully compiled (*legs par bsgrigs pa*) his work at the *mahāvihāra* of bSam-yas in an earth-male-dragon year (*sa pho 'brug*).

This year-indication has long remained a minor conundrum, while it can only refer to 1328 A.D. within the life-span of Sa-skya-pa Bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan who lived from 1312 until 1375 A.D. This has on one side prompted some scholars to assume that Bla-ma dam-pa *started compiling* his work in 1328 only to complete it towards the end of his life,[79] in case of which it indeed could be considered a prolonged compilation of quite an uncommon length. As we shall see in the sequel this assumption is totally unfounded. Even allowing for a certain mental precocity among Tibetan monk-scholars, a young monk-novice aged sixteen would most certainly not initiate the compilation of such a mature work at this early point of his career.

Alternatively, Vostrikov, supporting himself upon a number of strange scholia, has attempted to seek another solution to the chronological knot. He proposed that the real author

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77 This is the most common title and the one we shall opt for while it is the title found referred to in numerous sources. In the author's colophon we also find **Chos-'byung gsal-ba'i me-long** and **rGyal-rabs chos-'byung gsal-ba'i me-long**. The front-page of the sDe-dge edition even reads **rGyal-rabs rnams kyi byung-tshul gsal-ba'i me-long**, which clearly is a late enlargement of the title.

78 Vogel, 1981, p. 5 and most recently 1991, p. 407, n. 42, where Vogel again falsely argues that Bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan started to compile **GLR** in 1328 A.D. Vogel has failed to understand the chronological figures and calculation given in **GLR** Chap. 1 (see below) even though it is the topic of his recent article.

79 Cf. e.g. Kuznetsov, 1966, Introduction and Vogel, 1981, p. 5; 1991, p. 407. The reflections of Kuznetsov on the proper understanding of *legs par bsgrigs pa* are totally unfounded.

was Jo-bo'i dKon-gnyer-dpon Legs-pa'i shes-rab.[80] These scholia have already been rendered in full by Vostrikov, Vogel and Sørensen and need not be repeated here. They ultimately go back to the Vth Dalai Lama, the first to claim, for still unknown reason, that Legs-pa'i shes-rab was the author (*rtsom pa po*) of **GLR**.[81] This is absolutely unfounded and must be rejected from the very outset. As we can conclude from the printing colophon (*par byang*) of the lHa-sa *editio princeps* of 1478 A.D., it is abundantly clear that the Jo-khang steward Legs-pa'i shes-rab was the printer or rather the editor of this xylographic print, *ni plus ni moins*. Legs-pa'i shes-rab in fact commences this colophon of his, a small metrical piece couched in elaborate medieval literary Tibetan quite unlike Bla-ma dam-pa's diction, by paying his respects to the actual author of **GLR** Bla-ma dam-pa by repeatedly alluding to his name and epithets in the usual eulogistic manner, a simple observation evidently or perhaps deliberately ignored by Vostrikov.

The author of **GLR** is thus unequivocally Bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan.

Before continuing the genesis of **GLR**, we shall briefly sketch out our author's vita.[82] bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, one of the true luminaries of the XIVth century, being on a par with Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1364) and Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa Tshul-khrims blo-gros (1308-1363), was known through a number of epithets and honorific appellations:

Sa-skya dPal-ldan,

'Gro-ba'i bla-ma (or mgon-po, i.e. Jagadguru, -nātha), Chos-rje (Dharmasvāmin),

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80 Vostrikov, 1970, pp. 73-75. The chronological assessment by Vostrikov of the genealogical expositions of the post-dynastic ruling houses of Central Tibet is also wrong. Regrettably, the same line of argumentation is pursued by Chab-spel in a draft-paper (delivered at Fagernes, 1992, as yet unpublished) discussing the author and date of **GLR** and entitled *Bod kyi lo-rgyus deb-ther kha-cig dang 'brel-yod gnad-don zhig gleng-ba*. Cf. *op. cit.* p. 5. Chab-spel even claims that Legs-pa'i shes-rab was a contemporary of Bla-ma dam-pa and possibly one of his pupils. This is positively wrong.

81 The Vth Dalai Lama, if no deeper reason should be sought, has evidently confounded (due to a cursory misreading?) the statement given in the author's colophon that the work had been successfully compiled (*legs par bsgrigs pa*) (by Bla-ma dam-pa) with the statement in the editor's colophon that the work *inter alia* had been successfully executed (*legs par sgrubs pa*; i.e. successfully printed; *legs par* [[*s*]*par du*] *sgrubs*) (by Legs-pa'i shes-rab).

82 Sources consulted on his life include: **YLJBCHBY** 163.9-170.11; Bu-ston's **rNam-thar** 19a3, 20b5, 22a7, 22b6, 27a5, 30a6 (ed. and tr. Ruegg); **GBYTSH**, II, 26b4-27a4; **Lam-'bras slob-bshad** (Vol. KHA 1b1-237a6); cf. 193b4-203b2 incl. the Bla-ma dam-pa biography written by Bla-ma dPal-ldan tshul-khrims; **Sa-skya gdung-rabs chen-mo** written by A-m[y]es-zhabs (1597-1659 A.D.) (of 1629 A.D.) (ed. Dolanji 1975) 1b1-334a6; cf. 161a1-180b1, where A-myes-zhabs has based his biographical sketch upon partly extant (cf. note 87 *infra*) and partly non-extant *rnam thar*-s and *gdung rabs* written by some of Bla-ma dam-pa's pupils such as lo-tsā-ba Byang-chub rtse-mo (1303-1380 A.D.), Chos-rje Nyi-lde, gTsang Byams-pa rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan, Shes-rab rdo-rje, Karma Byams Chos-pa Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan; **DTHZHG** 100.11-16; **rJe-btsun Thams-cad mkhyen-po lCang-skya Rol-pa'i rdo-rje'i 'khrung-rabs** by 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje (1648-1722 A.D.), vol. KHA of *gSung-'bum*, IXth section (*yol-'dab*) 33b3-45a3. Cf. also Tucci, 1949, II, p. 627; cf. also mKhas-btsun bzang-po, *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet*, X, pp. 294-322; K.H. Everding, 1988, pp. 113-121; Sørensen, 1986, pp. 33-37; Jackson, 1989, pp. 89, 173, 258; Petech, 1990, *passim*.

The reliquary or ossuary *mchod rten* containing the remnants of Bla-ma dam-pa was until 1959 found in sNye-thang close to lHa-sa. It did not survive the vandalism during the Cultural Revolution, cf. Dowman, 1988, p. 136.

rDo-rje 'dzin(-pa) (Vajradhara)
and often with the appellation -dPal-bzang-po, like with other members of the 'Khon clan, affixed to his name.

The most commonly used epithet and one used throughout this work by us, was Bla-ma dam-pa (*Sadguru).

Bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po was born in the water-male-rat year of the Vth *prabhava*, corresponding to 1312 A.D., on the eighth day of the fourth month (= 16.5.1312) in the *Bla brang gong ma* pertaining to the Rin-chen-sgang branch[83] of the Sa-skya principality as the third (out of nine brothers and half-brothers in all) and last son of bDag-nyid chen-po dPal-bzang-po (1262-1322/1323 A.D.)[84] and one of his wifes Zha-lu Ma-gcig gZhon-nu-'bum (b. 1285). He passed away at bSam-yas age sixty-three in the wood-female-hare year of the VIth *prabhava*, corresponding to 1375 A.D., on the twenty-fifth day of the sixth month (= 23.7.1375).

The particulars of his religious training and career follow almost costumarily the tenor of the standard hagiographical writings of his days. Early in his religious training as infant at Rin-chen-sgang, it is recorded that he listened to and received the initiations of Cakrasaṃvara ('Khor-lo bDe-mchog) according to the system of Ghaṇṭāpā (Dril-bu-pā). Age three, mKhas-grub chen-po Rong-pa Shes-rab seng-ge (1251-1315 A.D.) rendered him service while the infant boy received and listened to the initiation of Yamāntaka (gShin-rje'i gshed). He further received initiation, authorization and instructions from Bla-ma bSam-sdings Zhang and Bla-ma bzang-po of sGro Mon-can. In the presence of Bla-ma Rin-chen dpal-bzang-po (1239-1319 A.D.), he listened to the *mūlatantra* of Hevajra (brTag gnyis). Aged eight, amidst a circle of learned *pitakadhara*-s at Rin-chen-sgang he demonstrated the skill of elucidating and reciting by heart large portions of textual passages from the theoretical writings of the previous ancestral (*yab mes*) Sa-skya-pa Gong-ma-s.

At the age of eleven, in 1322, he requested for and received the *saṃvara* of an Upāsaka in the presence of Bla-chen Kun-dga' blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1299-1327),[85] and received consecutively various initiations in the cycles of Saṃvara, Hevajra and Tārā etc. along with their appropriate instruction (*upadeśa*), authorization (*lung*) and *khrid*.

At the age of seventeen, 1328 A.D., he formally renounced (the world) (*pravrajyā*), i.e. became ordained, and as a *śramaṇera* he received his religious name bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, his birth-name having until then been Nyi-ma bde-ba'i blo-gros.

At the age of twenty in 1331 A.D. he completed his *upasaṃpadā* in the *vihāra* of Bo-dong E (of) Bya-rgod (in) gShangs together with his elder brother Don-yod rgyal-mtshan (1310-1344 A.D.), thus becoming a fully ordained *bhikṣu*.

During the following years he pursued his adult religious career becoming well-versed in the curriculum of both Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna. Ultimately he proved full proficiency of the three intellectual endeavours of any monk-scholar: didactic exposition, doctrinal disputation and scriptural composition (*'chad rtsod rtsom gsum*). To quote the Vth Dalai Lama: "The glorious Bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan...distinguished himself

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83 Sources such as **YLJBCHBY** and **Sa-skya gdung-rabs chen-mo** etc. claim that he was born at Zha lu khang gsar.

84 On the colourful career and changing fortunes of this figure, cf. Petech, 1990, pp. 71-78 (also for further ref.).

85 He himself had arrived back in dBus for a short stint in 1322 in order to take his final ordination (cf. below), arriving from China where he held the position of imperial preceptor (1314-1327).

by gaining eminence in all the *vidyāsthāna*-s, assumed the lofty position of Vajradhara and thus became a true *cūḍālaṃkara* among all the Sa-skya bsTan-'dzin-s....."[86] By the age of twenty-six in 1338 A.D. he had already made himself a name near and far.

He occupied the throne of the great see (abbatial seat) (*gdan sa chen po*) of the Sa-skya hierarchy (*go sa*), i.e. Sa-skya gZhi-thog Gong-ma from 1343-1344 until 1347, as the XIVth Abbot of Sa-skya, leaving the throne rather abruptly for reasons still unknown to us. The ensuing years were characterized by his numerous journeys, making halts all over Central Tibet such as at bSam-yas where he conferred endless instructions and expositions upon various disciples. Worthy of note is that he over a span of years acted as preceptor for the Gong-ma sDe-srid Phag-mo-gru-pa, alias Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan and at the end of his life, in 1373 A.D., he is even recorded to have acted as teacher for the young promising neophyte bTsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa (1357-1419 A.D.).

Among his writings (*rtsom pa*), he is recorded to have left behind numerous commentaries, such as on **Pramāṇavārttika**, **Abhisamayālaṃkāra**, **Bodhi[sattva]-caryāvatāra** as well as commentaries on all the main treatises ascribed to Nāgārjuna. He is also registered to have written **chos-'byung**-s. In the hagiographical literature and in the extant catalogues, it should be noted, there is no direct registration found alluding to his compilation of **rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long**.[87]

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86 Bla-ma dam-pa adhered to the lineage upholding the esoteric Mantra-tradition of the Sa-skya-pas (*sa skya'i gsang sngags kyi bstan 'dzin*) in contrast to the holders of the Sūtra-tradition (*sa skya'i mdo phyogs bstan 'dzin*), cf. e.g. **Grub-mtha' shel gyi me-long** 7a6, 9a1ff. (ed. Ngawang Gelek Demo).

87 **Sa-skya gdung-rabs chen-mo**, 172b4 (= 344.4). This *may* allude to **GLR**, but more obviously to **Lam-'bras chos-'byung ngo-mtshar snang-ba** = **Bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-par thar-pa ngo-mtshar snang-ba** (cf. Lam-'bras slob-bshad, Rajpur, 1983; Pod nag Vol. 17 (MA)) written by Bla-ma dam-pa. Jackson, 1989, p. 258 mentions **Lam-'bras khog-phub** indited by our author. Bla-ma dam-pa is also registered to be the main sponsor for the first Sa-skya bka'-'bum compilation, cf. Jackson, *ibid.* p. 89.

The relevant extant biographical material on Bla-ma dam-pa is silent on **GLR**. As it shall be discussed by L. W. van der Kuijp (*Berliner Indologische Studien*, 7 & 8, forthcoming), who surveys some of the earlier biographies of Bla-ma dam-pa (cf. note 82 above), written by his foremost disciples as well as an incomplete collection of Bla-ma dam-pa's own miscellaneous writings kept in Beijing (Library of Minzu wenhua gong), this silence has prompted van der Kuijp to question the ascription of the authorship or compilership of **GLR** to Bla-ma dam-pa.

True, it is signally conspicuous that none of the currently extant biographies dedicated the life of Bla-ma dam-pa mentions **GLR** among his surviving writings. An obvious, albeit not conclusive, reason for its absence in the catalogues compiled by his disciples listing Bla-ma dam-pa's oeuvres and its absence in these biographies may in fact be that any recording of **GLR**, which may be classified as a piece of secular *historical* writing, possibly was deemed insignificant or unfit (albeit, admittedly, this is *not* always the case in other catalogues of the writings of holy saints) to be included or to be listed in a hagiographical Vita, however complete, devoted almost exclusively to the *religious life* of a highranking saint like bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan. This assumption of ours is also vouched by the fact that, to my knowledge, the selfsame biographies are, in accordance with the nature of such writings, blissfully silent about the more 'political' activities of Bla-ma dam-pa, such as, *inter alia*, his recorded role and function as peace-keeping arbitrator in the on-going military clashes in Central Tibet.

However, without some groundbreaking or conclusive new information, the ascription to Bla-ma dam-pa is otherwise completely watertight: As it is documented by us, the colophon unerringly records the name of the compiler of the work; the lHa-sa editor unequivocally ascribes the work

Prosecuting our discussion of **GLR**'s date after this biographical digression, it is evident that another reason for the odd and inaccurate indication *sa pho 'brug* therefore must be sought. Acknowledging the inadmissibility of 1328 A.D. and equally rejecting the assumption that it refers to 1388 A.D., i.e. thirteen years after the author's passing, an equally untenable theory much cherished among contemporary Chinese scholars, a closer scrutiny of **GLR** itself offers both irrefutable and conclusive information to solve the question of the dating.

The key to the solution is found in the final part of the first Chapter of **GLR** which deals with the fixing of the dates of *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, a compulsory theme in almost any historiographical treatise. The particulars of the calculation and details on the favourite chronological system employed[88] have already been amply discussed elsewhere[89] and here we shall only draw the conclusions. After having quoted the well-known chronological systems of Atiśa and of the Sa-skya-pa masters, Bla-ma dam-pa actually computes, combining this 5000-years duration theory with the Sa-skya-pa calculation of Buddha's *nirvāṇa* and pursuing Bu-ston's own computation and procedure, the precise number of years elapsed from Buddha's *nirvāṇa* up to the current year of writing.

As can be noted from our translation of **GLR**, Bla-ma dam-pa first reckoned, citing here Bu-ston minutely, that until the year water-male-dog year (i.e. 1322 A.D., quoting Bu-ston), which marked the arrival of Bla-ma Ti-shri Kun-dga' blo-gros rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1299-1327 A.D.) in dBus for his final ordination (*upasampadā*), 3455 years had expired since Buddha's *nirvāṇa* and our author states, faithful to Bu-ston's text, that one was now in the 3456th year (i.e. 1323 A.D. when Bu-ston wrote his treatise). In the next step Bla-ma dam-pa calculates, taking as point of departure his own year of writing, the number of years that already had passed, i.e. 3502 years of the decuple 5000-years system and how many years that still remain of Saddharma to last, i.e. 998 and 500 years, in all 1498 years that yet were to come. Thereby we can adduce the actual date of **GLR**'s compilation in two ways: 3502 years minus 2134 (the Sa-skya-pa *nirvāṇa* year) = 1368 or 1369 (both years included). Or indirectly by computing via Bu-ston's data, 3502 minus 3455 = 47 years; 1322 (Bu-ston's date) + 47 = 1368 (both years included) or 1369.

Both procedures irrefutably establish that **GLR** was compiled in 1368 A.D.

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to Bla-ma dam-pa in the printer's colophon; the work was undebatably and incontestably compiled at bSam-yas in 1368 A.D. Bla-ma dam-pa had, as the leading authority there no doubt, over a span of years, and precisely in these years, been active at this holy site. In addition, the circumstances leading to its compilation finally bear out the conclusion reached by us. Speculating therefore that someone else could have compiled the work in the *name* (posthumous or as a sort of ghostwriter) of Bla-ma dam-pa is preposterous and at best utterly conjectural. In sum, devoid of substantial counterproof, the irrefutable facts proffered by us therefore compel us to conclude that Bla-ma dam-pa doubtlessly was the compiler of **GLR**.

88 Our author follows Bu-ston's exposition and the latter's preference for the 5000-years theory of the duration (*gnas pa*, *avasthāna*) of the Law before its disappearance (*rnam 'jig*, *vipralopa*) (in recurring series of rises and declines), while this theory by this polyhistor is considered the only system which hermeneutically conveys the direct meaning (*nges don*, *nītārtha*). The 5000-year theory in fact originated from Buddhaghosa and his school in Ceylon, being formulated in the Vth century of our era and adopted by Pāli-chronicles. The source for the Tibetans was the commentary on the Three Prajñāpāramitā-s, alias **Ārya-Śatasāhasrikā-pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-Bṛhaṭṭīkā** in short **Yum-gsum gnod-'joms** written by Damstrāsena (or mChe-ba'i sde) in the VIIth cent. Cf. also now Vogel, 1992.

89 Macdonald, 1963, p. 118 sq.; Yamaguchi, 1985; Sørensen, 1986, pp. 39-51.

That the date is correct may be corroborated by other data. As we have demonstrated elsewhere,[90] Bla-ma dam-pa is *inter alia* recorded to have been enthusiastically engaged (*legs par lhur bzhes mdzad pa*) in rendering religious service and in paying tribute to bSam-yas in form of large-scale renewals (*gsar bskrun*), restoration-work and repair (*zhig gso, nyams gso, bgegs bsos*) at the bSam-yas *vihāra* and the date for the completion and the collateral *pratiṣṭhā* are recorded to have been 1368 A.D. Our author in fact spent, over the last twenty years of his life, longer sojourns at bSam-yas[91] to fulfill not only the completion of these merit-accumulating activities but also, it can be assumed, to carry through the compilation of **GLR**, where he doubtlessly had the rare opportunity to avail himself of rare records and writings kept in the archives and library of bSam-yas. Our author even passed away there.

Another solid clue is offered in Bla-ma dam-pa's own colophon where we see that he compiled his work in compliance with the behest (*bskul ba'i ngor*), or rather summons, of one lHa-btsun Rin-chen-dpal. We have argued that this prince-monk (*lha btsun*) is none other than Nam-mkha' bstan-pa'i (or brtan-pa'i) rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po, alias (religious name) Rin-chen dpal-bzang-po. He apparently functioned in two terms as Sa-skya dPon-chen (from 1357 and until 1364 A.D., but most likely beyond this date also), at a point when, incidentally, the authority or mandatory fiat of this institution was more nominal than real. He adhered to the Byang-pa principality and myriarchy (situated in La-stod Byang in the western part of gTsang), whose ancestors claimed descent from the sixth emperor rGyal-rgod of Xi-xia or Mi-nyag.[92] Petech, 1990, *op. cit.* p. 132, n. 186, questions the identification of lHa-btsun Rin-chen-dpal with this Byang-pa ruler, maintaining that the title *lha btsun* normally was reserved to the monks descending from the old Tibetan kings and not, as here, from other or alien royal families. But this argument is not tenable. To quote one example employed in **GLR** and numerous parallel sources: The figure known in Tibet as sMan-rtse lHa-btsun, i.e. the last emperor of Nan Song (1127-1279 A.D.), imperial name Bing-di (rl. 1278-1279 A.D) who was sent to Sa-skya for religious training and where he became universally known as the 'Prince-Monk of South China'.[93]

Closing the ring, the puzzle with the enigmatic *sa pho 'brug*, which initially sparked off the whole misery, requires to be accounted for. In the new light, it appears to be a deplorable *lapsus calami* (*bris nor*) or *lapsus xylographi* (*brkos nor*) committed by some

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90 Sørensen, 1986, pp. 51-54.

91 **Si-tu'i bKa'-chems** of Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan records *inter alia* a number of the prolonged stays at bSam-yas by Bla-ma dam-pa, especially in the period between 1350-1362 A.D. Cf. e.g. Sørensen, 1986, pp. 61-62.

92 Cf. e.g. Bu-ston's **rNam-thar** (ed. and tr. Ruegg) 28b4-5, 35b1, 40a5-6; **DTHMPSM** 54b5, 57b3-58b3, 73a4-b4; **PSJZ** 159.7, 160.10-13. Cf. Sørensen, 1986, pp. 63-64; further details on him, cf. Petech, 1990, pp. 120-121, 132-136. For the Mi-nyag emperor, cf. also note 181.

93 Cf. note 172 *infra*. Bla-ma dam-pa's use of this local lord's religious name Rin-chen-dpal in lieu of his secular name may either be explained by the fact that Nam-mkha' bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan in 1368 had retired from the office as Sa-skya dpon-chen and withdrawn from temporal life and at this point was engaged in religious pursuits. Or, if still holding the office at Sa-skya (which is likely cf. Petech, 1990, p. 136), it may simply reflect Bla-ma dam-pa's preference to address this personality by his religious name. This was also the case when Bla-ma dam-pa mentions the author of **DTHMP**, where he addresses him with his religious name dGe-ba'i blo-gros and not Kun-dga' rdo-rje. Although occasionally acting as mediator and arbiter between the conflicting parties during the numerous military and political clashes in the mid-XIVth century, Bla-ma dam-pa, one of the greatest religious personalities of his century, was exclusively occupied with religious matters.

scribe. This arguably took place at the point when the Ms version (*dpe*, *dpe yig*), which was in circulation for some one hundred and ten years[94] and which served as *Vorlage* (*gzhi ma*), was copied by the woodcarvers in 1478 A.D. while making the blocks for the lHa-sa 'Phrul-snang print. Two explanations may be given for this most unfortunate blunder: Deeming the chronic carelessness displayed by the Tibetans in the process of text-copying, we shall anticipate that this graphic miswriting already, i.e. prior to 1478 A.D., may have crept into the Ms which came to constitute the copy-*Vorlage* for the lHa-sa editors. *En revanche*, the mistake may equally well have occured in form of a sort of a slip of the tongue or by way of simple misspelling or misreading of the original Ms, causing the lapsus during the dictation or reading of the text in the process of its copying (*bshus*) in 1478 A.D. Either way, the correct *sa pho spre'u* (1368 A.D.) was falsely rendered as *sa pho 'brug*, the difference as seen only being minor.[95]

Motivation and Concept

Without engaging ourselves here in any discussion as to the nature of the apparently strained relationship or even animosity which reigned between the local Byang-pa chief alias Rin-chen-dpal, registered to have requested our author to compile his historical treatise and the real ruler of Tibet (dBus-gTsang) Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (1302-1364 A.D.),[96] there can be only little doubt that the original, or at least, ideological *primus motor* behind the conception to write **rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long** originated with the brilliant Phag-mo-gru-pa ruler. It must be recalled that Bla-ma dam-pa was the principal preceptor and guru (*yongs 'dzin, mchog gi bla ma*) of Ta'i Si-tu,[97] and that Bla-ma dam-pa was the only figure in the Sa-skya camp who could boast of commanding Ta'i Si-tu's undivided respect. The rapport between these two figures, despite Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan's open political antagonism against the prevailing Sa-skya supremacy and even after his political and military foray had eventually spelt ruin to Sa-skya rulership in Central Tibet, remained amicable and hearty down to the latter's death in 1364. It is beyond the compass of this study to dilate on this sovereign ruler's patriotic policy of political and national renaissance with his outspoken ambition to restore and emulate the glorious heydays of the old dynasty. His realistic and pragmatic approach in his dealings with the Yuan court secured his own survival and in the long run his triumph, yet through his actions and writings the contour of a nationally and independently minded politician emerges. The testimonies of this are legion and his own and his clan's written records abound in allusions to this national quest.[98] His own provenance

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94 According to Jackson, 1989, I, p. 89, in those days (XIII-XIVth century) hand-written book-copies were hard to get by anyway. Having moreover been hand-copied several times, they were, once acquired, almost costumarily vitiated by scribal errors (*skyon chags*).

95 As may be deduced from the notes 242-243 *infra*, we cannot conclusively reject the possibility that Bla-ma dam-pa first finished his work in 1372-1373, but the main work incl. the colophon was finished in 1368.

96 Cf. Petech, *ibid.*, pp. 120-121 and van der Kuijp, 1991.

97 Sørensen, *ibid.*, pp. 59-64; Petech, *ibid.*, pp. 116-120.

98 Such as the Rlangs-clan's etiological and ancestral chronicle **Po-ti bSe-ru** and his bulky **Si-tu'i bKa'-chems**. Cf. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, pp. 110-115; Stein, 1962, *passim*; Sørensen, 1986, pp. 61-64; Petech, 1990, p. 130. This most important theme on Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan's

with roots back to the milieu around Padmasambhava in the dynastic period, his active patronage to bolster the recovery of *gter-ma*-s glorifying the most illustrious figures from these days, and as a unifier of Central Tibet his codification of a set of laws resembling the ditto code executed by king Srong-btsan sgam-po as well as the execution of a written testament, a literary pastiche or pendant resembling outwardly the same king's alleged **KCHKKHM** and **MṆKB**, all speak their own clear language.

The compilation of **GLR** dovetailed perfectly with these patriotic tones and sentiments. In 1353 A.D. the bSam-yas *vihāra* suffered one of its numerous devastating destructions and demolitions, a lot which was to haunt this monastery and symbol of national independence and pride down through the ensuing centuries. This time it happened in the wake of a final conserted (but as it should turn out abortive) attempt from the side of Sa-skya and 'Bri-gung to wrest from the hands of Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan the full power over Central Tibet.[99] It was to be the task, and obviously a gratifying and meritorious one, of Bla-ma dam-pa, by now already one of the most illustrious and celebrated scholars of the XIVth century, within a few years to engage himself in extensive restoration works at bSam-yas under the patronage and approval, no doubt, of Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan. What would be more natural, being active at this edifice, a vivid symbol of Tibetan dynastic history, to conceive and effectuate the compilation of a royal genealogy written along ideological lines and focussing on the national tutelary divinity of the Tibetan state? This work, albeit first materializing after the passing of the reviver Ta'i Si-tu, was clearly produced in deference to the national quest of his.

The ideological and proselyting aspects are repeatedly expressed by our author, both at the inception of the work as well as in the colophon where the author details on his *prayojana* and enumerates the sources employed. His selection and use of sources reveals moreover the compilatory and compositional nature of his work. It is in no way an original work, but exactly what it is meant to be: A successfully accomplished compilation (*legs par bsgrigs pa*). His own words in the short summery given in the colophon as to his objectives and sources hardly require any comment. Bla-ma dam-pa's work is in fact a well-balanced compilation of sources used by the author, passages and themes being carefully chosen, quoted and again patched together by him so as to form a new consecutive unity. The author is telling a continuous story. In this respect dPa'-bo, albeit occasionally being more detailed and using another diction altogether, has in his royal genealogy (vol. JA) chosen a narrative sequence and procedure directly patterned upon Bla-ma dam-pa. Our author fulfills two objectives: By presenting and combining genuine historical data with popular and legendary material, his work secured a fair measure of respect among his fellow historians and simultaneously an overwhelming popularity among the general audience. This has doubtlessly been conducive to accomplish what has been the author's main goal, to spread and propagate the message of Buddha. The success of **GLR** as an historical chronicle and as an instrument in the service of Buddhist proselytism is best attested by its popularity in Mongolia into which language it was repeatedly translated.[100]

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intended reforms in fact commands the closest study.

99 Cf. Petech, *ibid.*, p. 116.

100 For the two Mongolian versions **Gegen toli** (Clear Mirror) from 1610-1630 A.D. and the western Oirat or Kalmuck version **Gegen toli** or (erroneously) **Bodhi-mör** of 1648, cf. Heissig, 1959, pp. 34-40; Sørensen, 1986, II. At least two modern Chinese translations are known to exist. In Japanese scholarship, finally, it should be noted that **GLR** usually is known as Ōtōkyō.

The Printed Editions

A brief note on the two printed editions of **GLR**.

A second volume, to be seen as a companion to the present translation,[101] is envisaged to be published in order to provide the reader and fellow scholar with a new reliable critical edition of the text. This will include a more detailed assessment of the textual constitution of the two extant editions.

Neither the edition issued 1966 by Kuznetsov in Scripta Tibetana (Leiden),[102] nor the recent and slightly more reliable Chinese edition published in Beijing[103] can constitute an adequate basis for serious research.

Almost one hundred and ten years elapsed after the completion in 1368 A.D. before the manuscript version of **rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long** was found mature to be printed or the financial basis for its printing was provided:

GLR A: The lHa-sa 'Phrul-snang edition, 1b1-101a
Printed ([*s*]*par du brkos*) in an earth-male-dog year (1478 A.D.) on the fourth day of the sixth month (= 3.7.1478) by the editor Jo-bo'i dKon-gnyer Legs-pa'i shes-rab.[104] The lHa-sa edition was mainly sponsored by Chos-rgyal dPal-'byor rgyal-po (of sNel-pa).[105]
The only extant version of this xylograph: Formerly St. Petersburg inventory No. 25181 (569); subsequently, Institut Narodov Azii (Old Coll.) 438a, now in possession of the Library of East Asian Faculty of St. Petersburg University inventory No. 1931/173. dBu-can xyl. print claimed to be in an almost illegible state.[106]

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101 Tadesu Mitsushima has published an English translation of **GLR**, but it is rather an incomplete paraphrase of our text, superficial, unannotated and hardly one sentence reflects the Tibetan original truthfully or even remotely adequate.

102 Kuznetsov's edition in transliteration is a collation of **GLR** A with **GLR** B. The result was devastatingly poor. It is an encyclopedia of errors. Kuznetsov failed to read his Tibetan original properly. As indicated in the long list of corrections and emendations published by J. Kolmaš ("In the Margin of B.I. Kuznetsov's edition of the Clear Mirror of Royal Genealogies", *Archiv Orientalni*, 1967 (XXXV), pp. 467-476), this edition abounds in errors due to the editor's poor reading of the Tibetan texts. but even Kolmaš has overlooked a large number of Kuznetsov's misreadings. They surpass over one thousand in number and makes his depreciated edition quite useless and unreliable. In addition, Kuznetsov has repeatedly failed to identify metrical passages and text-segments and shows a very weak command and understanding of Tibetan, a fact also attested in his Russian rendition of large portions of the last chapter of **GLR**.

103 Modern book edition based upon the sDe-dge xyl. print published by Mi-rigs dPe-skrun-khang, 1981.

104 His *floruit* is unknown, but must be situated in the second half of the XVth century. The key role played by the stewards of Jo-khang in the dissemination of the king's Vita has already been discussed above.

105 The nobleman dPal-'byor rgyal-po and his consort Bu-khrid dpal-'dzom of the sNel or sNe'u family were powerful local figures in the period 1460-1480 A.D. who rendered great service to Dharma, *inter alia* by sponsoring the printing of books. Cf. **DTHMPSM** 86b5, 101a1-102b2 (Tucci, 1971, pp. 223, 241-242); **PSJZ** II, 162.1-4; Tucci, *TPS*, II, p. 646; D. Jackson, 1989, *SCEAR* (Vol. 2), pp. 9-10.

106 Cf. Kuznetsov, 1966, XIX-XX.

GLR B: sDe-dge edition, 1b1-104a6
Printed (*par du bsgrubs*) in the XVIIIth century (ca. 1750-1760 A.D.). Editor Bla-ma chen-po Kun-dga' 'phrin-las rgya-mtsho.[107]
Numerous versions of the pre-modern sDe-dge edition may be consulted. F.ex. 1. British Museum 19999b.9 formerly belonging to H.A. Jäschke. 2. India Office Library, Teichmann Inv. I.
dBu-can xyl. print.

The present translation has been constituted on the basis of the sDe-dge edition with running reference to the lHa-sa edition. Although the former edition is characterized by a thorough standardization of the orthography, the archaic and occasionally corrupt spelling of the lHa-sa edition not to talk about its illegible constitution has been deemed inchoate to form the sound basis for a translation, albeit from a philological and stemmatic point of view an earlier witness in general must be accorded pride of place.

Interlinear Annotation

The glosses (*mchan*) or *secunda manus* found distributed throughout **GLR** cannot be ascribed to Bla-ma dam-pa himself. It could be the work of a single person and or, altogether more sensible, two (or more) glossarists who have been at work successively. One interlinear note (cf. note 243 *infra*) may have been added around 1372 A.D., judged from the nature of its content.[108] It would be tempting and altogether feasible, at least for this single entry, to assume Bla-ma dam-pa's own pen behind this gloss. But generally it must be recognized that a running interlinear annotation most likely took place, being inserted into the Ms version of **GLR** while this was in circulation from 1369 A.D. to 1478 A.D. when the *editio princeps* of the xylographic lHa-sa 'Phrul-snang version was executed and at this point all the glosses were then duly incorporated into the printed version. Two glosses in particular lend credence to this contention. In one gloss (cf. note 1177 *infra*) there is most likely reference to Yar-lung Jo-bo's **YLJBCHBY** written 1376 A.D. and in another gloss (cf. note 820 *infra*) there is a direct reference to rTogs-ldan sNgo-nyal-ma Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, who was a disciple of Bo-dong Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1306-1386 A.D.). This would all in all suggest that the majority(?) of glosses and scholia were intercalated into the Ms version in the early years after the passing of Bla-ma dam-pa in 1375 A.D. and most likely by some anonymous glossarist independent of the author.

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107 The sDe-dge edition was executed on behest of Khams-gsum Chos kyi rgyal-po, E-wam-pa'i *mkhan-po* dPal-ldan chos-skyong (1702-1758/59 A.D.). Cf. **Ngor mkhan-chen dPal-ldan chos-skyong zhabs kyi rnam-thar sna-tshogs ljon-pa stug-po'i 'khri-shing**, the autobiography of the 33th Abbot of Ngor dPal-ldan Chos-skyong, comp. and ed. by Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen of sDe-dge. The editor of the sDe-dge ed. of **GLR** is mentioned repeatedly in the autobiography. Cf. also Kolmaš, *sDe-dge'i rgyal-rabs*, p. 40.

108 This has possibly prompted Macdonald, 1967, p. 479 and 1971 *passim* to date **GLR** to 1373 A.D.

Translation

Initially not planned in that way, the present book has, by way of its detailed, even verbose annotations, developed into a sort of source-book and albeit being selective in that respect it is my hope that it may be useful beyond the point of offering handy cross-references for the reader and fellow researcher. Within *traditional* Tibetan historiographical writings, sources that were written or compiled *before* **GLR** have duly been consulted and, while here hopefully proving exhaustive, all textual data and passages which parallel or prove themselves relevant for **GLR** have been registered. Yet more than a brief scrutiny of numerous biographical, sectarian and doctrinal histories, not consulted in this study, shall no doubt cast much new or supplementary light on a number of historical figures and incidences, especially in the last part of the book dealing with the post-dynastic history and its ramifications in West and Central Tibet.[109]

Historical sources written or compiled *after* **GLR** have on the other hand only arbitrarily been consulted, and if so then quite unsystematically, partly to avoid that the present book grew out of proportions (this may admittedly already have taken place), partly because these sources only to a very limited degree shed new light on the points relevant for an understanding of Bla-ma dam-pa and his use of sources. In cases where a decidedly later source has been deemed of importance or offers a unique witness in the Buddhist historiographical tradition, an attempt has duly been made to incorporate the particular textual evidence. Nevertheless, in this study, which mainly filters historical material from the *phyi-dar* period, the Tibetan sources speak their own language. Needless to say, all the topics introduced by our text cannot here be addressed exhaustively and the few discussions in this study have been selected haphazardly.

Any experienced reader in Tibetan historiography may, possibly with some justification, claim that the material and themes covered by **rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long** have long been known to scholars and students alike. It covers well-trodden ground. This is partly true. All the same, numerous cases of citation and its use in many historical studies have long testified not only to **GLR**'s popularity and its normative importance as a model of Tibetan Buddhist historiographical writings as aptly characterized by Petech and Tucci long ago,[110] but equally to the fact that it verily contains material and data of unique value and witness. This shall hopefully be documented in this present translation. It wielded no small influence as a source internally in Tibet in the wake of its appearance in the later part of the XIVth century, where **Me-long-ma** was profusely cited and occasionally became an object of polemics, but clearly also in Mongolia, where its popularity paved the way for its repeated translation and where

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109 In particular, when of if apparently lost genealogical sources (*gdung rabs*, *rgyal rabs*) that delineate the history and genealogy of the noble and royal houses of Western and Central Tibet in medieval times should surface, texts such as those written by Rin-chen rdo-rje, Byang-ji ston-pa and Tshul-khrims bzang-po, but also sources composed by Gung-ston dPal-mdzes, Gung-thang mNga'-bdag Nor-bu-lde, Blo-ldan Shes-rab-grub, Nam-mkha' chos-dbang and Dus-'khor-ba Mang-thos rdo-rje, the latter ones used by Kah-thog Rig-'dzin in his important works, cf. especially the notes 435, 1651, 1731-32 and 1836-38 *infra*. But also an utmost rare and long-lost text such as the **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** by dGe-bshes Khu-ston brTson-'grus g.yung-drung (1011-1075 A.D.) which was extensively employed e.g. by the lDe'u histories.

110 In the words of Petech, 1939, p. 89, **GLR** constitutes 'the history of Tibet *par excellence*'; Tucci, *TPS*, I, p. 142, 'the model of future historiography'.

its Mongolian renditions became a cherished and oft-quoted source for Mongolian Buddhist historiography.

In my translation, being rather literal than literary, an attempt has been made to remain as faithful as possible to the original. In the metrical segments, for instance, the line-order of the Tibetan text is followed slavishly, albeit the rhythm and sequence of our English rendition to the reader may appear somewhat unusual.

I

[How] the Universe Came into Existence in the [very] Beginning; the Arrival of the Successive Indian Dharmarājas and the Diffusion of the Holy Law after the Appearance of the Teacher Śākya-muni in the World

[Prooemium]

OṂ MAṆI PADME HŪṂ - Respectful homage [we] pay to the Noble Lord of Compassion Avalokiteśvara.

The glorious Origin of [all] wishes and wants, fulfilling the hopes of the worldlings,
The Principal among the Bipeds, the Treasury of all qualities,
To the **King of Śākya**, the Teacher of God and Man,
Respectful homage [we] pay with body (*lus, kāya*), speech (*ngag, vāk*) and mind (*yid, citta*).

Out of [his] abundant compassion which stems from [his] boundless grace and wisdom,
Through his [many protean] emanations converting each according to individual disposition,
Guiding the living beings of the Tibetan country unto the Path of [mental] Maturation and Salvation,
Avalokiteśvara, to him [we] pay homage.

The Lords of Men who spontaneously produce innumerable merits,
The precious lineage of Mahāsaṃmata (*Mang-pos bkur-ba*),
The lineage of Ikṣvāku (*Bu-ram shing-pa*), etc.
To the pure **Royal Lineages of India** [we] pay [our] homage.

Here in the obscure and dark barbarous borderland of Tibet,
Lightening the great lamp of the Holy Law (Saddharma)
Having guided the Tibetan subjects, the sentient beings to virtuousness,
To the [Tibetan] **Kings and Ministers** incarnated, [we] pay homage.

Being embellished by the three higher disciplines, the origin of prosperity,
Translating and systematizing the books of [Buddha's] Word and the doctrinal treatises,
Having propagated the Teaching of Buddha (*buddhaśasanā*) in [all] ten directions,
To the [Indian and Tibetan] **Saint Savants and Translators**, [we] pay homage.

Endowed with endless and unfathomable endowments,
Avalokita and [our] ancestral Dharmarājas,
This abbreviated biographical narrative (*rnam thar*) [expounding] their feats,
Although I am disqualified, indeed - due to [my] inferior intellect, still
[For] those pious individuals who seek knowledge of the Teaching [of Buddha]
For generating immense love and devotion [among them]
I [shall venture to] write [this chronicle] for the [sole] purpose of bestowing a treat for the ear!

So it [should] be said. Now, the fact that the precious Teaching of Buddha forms the basis from which all prosperity and happiness in this world spring and the fact that the conditions for its spread and propagation is [entirely] due to the grace of the Indian and Tibetan *bodhisattva* Dharmarājas, [it has become imperative that] their history be made widely known. In particular, were I to present an epitomized biographical narrative of [how] the *bodhisattva* Ārya Avalokiteśvara, who, by [various] emanations converting each individual in a manner best suited to him, has guided all the sentient beings unto the Path of Enlightenment (*bodhimārga*) and of Salvation (*mokṣa*) here in this Snow-capped, barbarous borderland, in accordance with a prophecy of the Teacher, the most perfect Buddha, and [were I to delineate how] the Buddha's Teaching spread and propagated [there] through the successive royal Dharmarāja ancestors, first and foremost the Patron of the Dharma (*dharmapāla*) king Srong-btsan sgam-po etc., the spiritual emanation of that Ārya [i.e. Avalokiteśvara], - [then such a pious exposition would certainly] outroot scepticism and arouse [true] faith [in the Law]. I [therefore] entreat [everyone] to bear this **Chronicle of the Origin of Religion (Chos 'byung gi lo rgyus**; i.e. **GLR**) in mind!

[I] [Genesis of the Universe]

Now, as to the first [theme],[1] [*ab initio*] this exterior, [inanimate] receptacle of an universe (*snod kyi 'jig rten gyi khams, bhājanalokadhātu*)[2] was endless empty arial space. The [cosmic] wind[s] moved from [all] ten directions, pushing hither and thither, whereby a so-

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1 For a detailed, now somewhat superseded, discussion of this and the following sections of Chap. I and its relation to its sources, cf. Sørensen, 1986, pp. 120ff.

Basic sources for the cosmogonical or cosmographical sections in traditional Tibetan Buddhist historiography were foremost: Canonical (*āgama, lung*): **Abhidharmakośa[-bhāṣya] [AK[-BH]]**, **Lokaprajñāptiśāstra [LP]**; extracanonical: **Shes-bya rab-gsal [SHBRS]**. Cf. also briefly Dietz, 1992. For a mainly non-Buddhist cosmographical exposition in Tibetan, cf. Schuh, 1973, p. 47ff. For the Western sources cf. mainly: L. de La Vallée Poussin, 1919 and 1923-31; W. Kirfel, 1920, pp. 178-207; E. Denis, 1977; R. Kloetzli, 1983.

Bla-ma dam-pa's Genesis-exposition is an abbreviated exposé evincing a well-nigh verbatim dependency on **LP**, **AK[-BH]**, but foremost on **SHBRS** occasionally interspersed with a few yet untraced or personal phrases and passages.

Further Tibetan Buddhist Genesis-material pursuing both traditional material as above or more 'mythological' material: F.ex. pre-**GLR**: **KCHKKHM-1** 655.2ff.; **KCHKKHM-2** 59.17ff.; **KCHKKHM-3** 387.4-388.3; **CHBYMTNYP** 8a3ff., 135a1ff.; **MBNTH** 3bff., 20b2ff.; **DCHBY** 91.14ff.; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. 1, 90.13-94.18; post-**GLR**: **YLJBCHBY** 4ff. (based mainly upon **SHBRS** and **GLR**); **BGRSPH** 153.1ff; **PSJZ** 1.24-2.13.

2 Bla-ma dam-pa here abstains from recording, as do his prime sources, the formative condition (*rkyen, pratyaya*) behind the cyclic creation of the universe (during an Aeon (*kalpa*) of creation (*chags pa, vivarta*) of all the world-systems, i.e. trichilio-megachiliocosm (*stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams, sāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu*)): It became manifested (**GLR**: *chags pa*; **AK-BH**, **SHBRS**: *mngon par grub, abhinirvṛtta*) perforce of the collective cumulative karmic acts (*las kyi dbang gis, karmādhipatya*) of the sentient beings, cf. e.g. **AK-BH** *ad* III 45, 165b6; **LP** 66b3ff.; **SHBRS** 3a2ff.

called 'wind cross' (*rlung rgya gram*),[3] an atmosphere (lit. 'wind disk'; *rlung gi dkyil 'khor*, *vāyumaṇḍala*) [gradually] took shape, being of a pale blue hue, very dense, towering 1.600.000 miles (*dpag tshad*, *yojana*) in height and [virtually] immeasurable in circumfence.[4]

Thereupon a great ocean [emerged] resting upon a [huge] mass of water, being 1.120.000 *yojana*-s in depth and 1.203.450 *yojana*-s in [total] extent.[5]

Thereupon [by gradual evolution][6] a *terra firma* of gold (*gser gyi sa gzhi*, *kañcanamayī mahī*) [emerged], flat like the palm of the hand, being 340.000 *yojana*-s[7] [in depth], in the centre of which Mt. Meru,[8] the King of Mountains, [towers], produced from various precious metals manifesting [itself] spontaneously resembling the hub of a water-wheel; the eastern [part] being made out of silver, the southern [part] out of lapis lazuli; the western [part] out of ruby and the northern [part] from gold. This [mountain] Meru reaches 80.000 yojana-s down into the ocean and towers [equally] 80.000 *yojana*-s above sea-level.[9]

The seven golden mountains (*ri bdun*, *sapta parvata*)[10] fully encircling (*yongs su bskor*

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3 The designation 'wind-cross' appears unattested in the traditional cosmographical expositions upon which Bla-ma dam-pa has based his description. No doubt, it originally hails from **MNKB** and **KCHKKHM**, which embody in their Vita-cycles of Avalokiteśvara-cum-king Srong-btsan sgam-po a brief cosmography, here of the *buddhakṣetra* of Avalokiteśvara, resembling outwardly the Buddhist ditto, cf. **MNKB E** (A) Chap. 6, 18b5-20a5, in which it is stated that the cosmic wind-disk was thick and (had a) semi-circular (form) (*rlung gi dkyil 'khor zla gam tshan po che*); **KCHKKHM-2** Chap. 2, 11.1-16.8, embodying the same cosmogonical exposition, only slightly more detailed, contains the following important description: the foundation of empty space was moved by a wind-disk, a vajra-cross (*viśva-vajra*) (*'og nam mkha' stong pa'i gzhi rlung rdo rje rgya gram dkyil 'khor gcig gis 'debs pa*). Bla-ma dam-pa's introduction of the wind designated a cross thus seems to hail from this exposition.

CHBYMTNYP 13a2-4 similarly combines both traditions, stating that a wind-disk was created, being 1.600.000 yojana-s in extent, immeasurable in circumfence and assumed the form (*rnam pa*) of a double-vajra.

4 **AK-BH** *ad* III 45, 165b6-166a1; **LP** 66b3-4; **SHBRS** 3a2-3.

5 **AK-BH** *ad* III 46-47; 166a1-4; **LP** 66b5-67a1; **SHBRS** 3a3-4. The ocean took shape, these sources confirm, when clouds congested, causing immense rain to pour down which in turn created a 'water-circle' (*chu'i dkyil 'khor*, *jalamaṇḍala*).

6 By congelation or the churning of water by the cosmic winds the water solidified into a gold-moted *terra firma*, like the process of milk turning into butter (**AK[-BH]**, 166a4: *'o ma bskol ba spris ma chags pa'i tshul*, *pakvakṣīrī śarī bhāvayoga*).

7 **AK[-BH]** III 47-48, 166a4-6; **LP** 67a1-4; **SHBRS** 3a1-4: The depth according to **AK** + **GLR**: 340.000 *yojana*-s; according to **LP** + **SHBRS**: 320.000 yojana-s; the diameter (*thad kar*): **AK** + **SHBRS**: 1.203.450 yojana-s, **LP**: 1.200.450 *yojana*-s. The circumfence (*mtha' skor*) **AK** + **SHBRS**: 3.610.350 *yojana*-s; **LP**: 3.600.350. The simile (*dpe*) in **GLR**, i.e. flat like the palm of the hand is unattested in his prime sources.

8 Mt. Meru or Sumeru (*ri rab lhun po*): **AK[-BH]** III 48-50, 166a6-167a2; **LP** 67a6-67b4; **SHBRS** 3b1-2. Again the *dpe* that Mt. Meru resembles the hub of a water-wheel (*rang 'thag gi lte ba*) is unattested in his prime sources, and appears thus to be added by Bla-ma dam-pa to enliven or popularise his description.

9 So 1.600.000 *yojana*-s in total length or measure and 3.200.000 *yojana*-s in total circumfence; cf. **LP** 67b1.

10 **AK[-BH]**, III 48-49, 165b5-166a2; **LP** 67b4-69a5; **SHBRS** 3b2-4. All these golden satellite mountains are of an equal height, i.e. 80.000 yojana-s, and situated in the middle of the ocean, only a progressively and proportionally smaller part of them towers above sea-level (*chu las gyen du*

ba, *parikṣipta*) it:

Yugaṃdhara (*gNya'-shing-'dzin*) [measuring] 40.000 *yojana*-s [in height];
Īṣādhara (*gShol-mda'-'dzin*) [measuring] 20.000 *yojana*-s [in height];
Khadiraka (*Seng-ldeng-'dzin*) [measuring] 10.000 *yojana*-s [in height];
Sudarśana (*blTa-na-sdug*) [measuring] 5.000 yojana-s [in height];
Aśvakarṇa (*rTa-rna*[*-can*]) [measuring] 2.500 *yojana*-s [in height];
Vinataka (*rNam-bdud*) [measuring] 1.250 *yojana*-s [in height] [and finally]
Nemindhara (*Mu-khyud-'dzin*) [measuring] 625 *yojana*-s [in height].
Between these [mountains] seven enchanting lakes (*rol* [*pa'i*] *mtsho*, *śītā*) are situated.[11]
In the inner caverns of Mt. Meru are the cities of the Asuras[12] located.

Above Mt. Meru is located the divine abode (*lha'i gnas*, *devaloka*) of the Trāyastriṃśa-s (*sum-cu rtsa-gsum-pa*).[13] In the centre of this [abode] is located the palace of Śakra, the 'Most Victorious Mansion' (*rnam-par rgyal-ba'i khang-bzangs*, *vāijayantaprāsāda*), produced out of sundry costly metals.

Elevated above this, at a distance of 80.000 *yojana*-s, is the *devaloka* of [Yāma, i.e.] Ayodhyā (*'thab bral*).[14] Elevated above that [again], at a distance of 160.000 *yojana*-s, is the *devaloka* of Tuṣita (*dga'-ldan*).[15]

Towering above that, at a distance of 320.000 *yojana*-s, the *devaloka* of Nirmāṇarati (*'phrul-dga'*)[16] is found, and elevated [another] 640.000 *yojana*-s above that [again], is the devaloka of Paranirmitavaśavartin (*gzhan-'phrul dbang-byed*).[17]

From there downwards is the Region of Passion (*'dod pa'i khams*, *kāmadhātu*).[18] From there upwards are located all the *devaloka*-s of the Region of Form (*gzugs khams*, *rūpadhātu*)[19] and the Region of Formlessness (*gzugs med khams*, *ārūpyadhātu*)[20] etc., situated, moreover, like the steps (*bang rim*, *parisaṇḍa*) of a *caitya*. The [actual] size of these regions, the [length in] yojana-s, the duration of the longevity [of the living beings there], the size of their bodies and the size of their [material] wealth are all elucidated [in great detail] in the **Abhidharma**.[21]

'phags), cf. **LP**.

11 **AK**[**-BH**] III 51cd, 167a5-167b5; **SHBRS** 4a1-2.

12 The different terraces (*bang rim*, *parisaṇḍa*) on Mt. Meru, cf. **AK-BH** *ad* III 63-64 + com., 171a6-171b5, **LP** 27b1-33a2; **SHBRS** 7a2-4; 12a5-13b4.

13 On Trāyastriṃśa, the city Sudarśana and the palace Vāijayanta etc., cf. **AK-BH** III 65-68 + com., 171b5-172b7; **LP** 34b8-46b6; **SHBRS** 7a4-8a3, 13a6-14b4.

14 On Ayodhyā, cf. **AK-BH** *ad* III 69a-b, 172b7; **SHBRS** 8a3-4, 14b5-6.

15 Tuṣita, cf. **AK-BH** *ad* III 69ab, 172b7; **SHBRS** 8a4, 15a1-2.

16 On Nirmāṇarati, cf. **AK**[**-BH**] III 69ab, 127b2; **SHBRS** 8a4, 15a2.

17 On Paranirmitavaśavartin, **AK**[**-BH**] III 69, 172b7-7; **SHBRS** 8a4-5, 15a3-4.

18 On Kāmadhātu, cf. **AK**[**-BH**] III 70-71ab + com., 173a2-173b5, **SHBRS** 8a4-5.

19 On Rūpadhātu, cf. **AK**[**-BH**] III 71cd + com., 173b5-173b7, **SHBRS** 15a5-16a4.

20 On Ārūpyadhātu, cf. **AK**[**-BH**] III 72-77 + com., 173b7-175a1, **SHBRS** 15a5-16a4.

21 Cf. **AK**[**-BH**] III 71-77 + com., 173b5-180b7: size (*mtho dman*) in yojana, III 72-74, 173b7-174b8; longevity (*tshe'i tshad*, *āyuspramāṇa*) of the inhabitants, III 78-85 + com., III 89d-93c, 175a1-178a1, 178a7-180b7; the size of their bodies (*lus*, *bong tshad*), III 75-77 + com., 174b8-175a1; **SHBRS** 8a6-8b6, 15a4-17a1.

To the east of Mt. Meru is the Continent of Pūrvavideha (*lus-'phags*),[22] together with two satellite continents (*gling phran*, *antaradvīpa*), having a crescent (*zla gam*, *ardhacandra*) shape.

To the south of Mt. Meru is the Continent of Jambudvīpa (*'dzam-bu gling*),[23] together with two satellite continents, having the shape of a cart/scapula (*sog kha*, *śakaṭa*).

To the west of Mt. Meru is the Continent of [Apara]godānīya (*ba-[g]lang-spyod*),[24] together with two satellite continents, having a circular shape (*zlum po*, *maṇḍala*).

To the north of Mt. Meru is the Continent of [Uttara]kuru (*sgra mi-snyan*),[25] together with two satellite continents, all square (*gru bzhi*, *caturasra*) in shape.

In space, elevated 40.000 *yojana*-s above Mt. Vinataka, is the transparent (*d[v]angs*) and very coherent (*rab tu brtan pa*) atmosphere (*rlung gi dkyil 'khor*, *vāyumaṇḍala*) upon which the sun, the moon and the lunar constellations are upheld.[26]

The size in *yojana*-s of the sun and the moon, the extent of the lunar constellations, the number of *yojana*-s of the four [major] continents and of the [minor] satellite continents, the size of their [material] wealth and the duration of the human longevity of the beings living there, the size of their physical bodies, etc. are all elucidated [in greater detail] in the **Abhidharma**.[27]

The most excellent among these continents is Jambudvīpa. The minor peripheral (*zur pa*) continents [such as] Oḍḍiyāna (*U-rgyan*),[28] Suvarṇadvīpa (*gSer-gling*),[29] Siṃhaladvīpa (*singga-la'i gling*),[30] Candradvīpa (*zla-ba'i gling*)[31] etc. also pertain to southern Jambudvīpa.[32]

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22 **AB[-BH]** III 54bd + com., 167b6-8; **LP** 69b5-7, 89a2-5; **SHBRS** 5b3-5.

23 **AB[-BH]** III 53cd-54a + com., 167b3-167b6; **LP** 69a5-69b2, 89a5-89b1: a cart (*shing rta*, *śakaṭākṛti*); **SHBRS** 4a6-5b3. Contrary to the imagery retained in the **Abhidharmakośa**, Bla-ma dam-pa has here repeated an old, cherished Tibetan notion which depicts this continent as having the form of a shoulder-blade. Already Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 386a1, has it but also **PMKTH** (Chap. 97, 608.4-5), drawing from a common source, and lastly **BGRSPH** *loc. cit.* 159.18. This continent is usually depicted in the form of a handle of a scapula? (*sog k[h]a'i yu ba*) or better of a chariot (*śakaṭa*), suggesting that scapula was an attempt at *Hyperkorrektur*, while *sog(s) kha* is a faulty rendition of *śakaṭa*.

24 **AK[-BH]** III 55ab, 167b8-168a3; **LP** 69b7-70a4, 89b1-4; **SHBRS** 6a1-3.

25 **AK[-BH]** III 55d, 168a2-3; **LP** 70a4-70a8, 89b4-6; **SHBRS** 5a5-6a1.

26 **AK[-BH]** III 60-62 + com., 170a8-171a6; **LP** 46b6-49a1; **SHBRS** 6a4-7a1.

27 For the uranograhical description, i.e. the extent of the sun, moon and of the lunar constellations, cf. **AK[-BH]** III 60-62 + com., 170b1-171a6; **LP** 49a2-53a2; **SHBRS** 6a5-7a1. The extent of the four continents and sattelite continents, the longevity and the bodily size of the inhabitants living there: **AK[-BH]** III 53cd-66, 78-85a, 75-77, + com., 167b3-168a6, 175a1-178a7, 174b8-175a1; **SHBRS** 11b6-12a3, 12a1-2, 12a3-5.

28 U-rgyan or O-rgyan etc., i.e. Oḍḍiyāna, variously identified with the Swat Valley in present-day Pakistan or the area around present-day Kabul, cf. recently L. Chandra, 1980 and for a possible etymological explanation, cf. Eimer & Tsering, *Documenta Barbarorum*, pp. 59-60.

29 Probably Sumatra.

30 I.e. Ceylon.

31 Candradvīpa, an island somewhere in the Bengal delta.

32 **SHBRS** 6a3-4.

Further, [to this continent belongs] the kingdom of India, Madhyadeśa (*yul dbus*),[33] having the shape of a brocade canopy (*za 'og gi bla bre phub pa*). The Continent of Jewels (*rin po che'i gling*, **ratnadvīpa* i.e. the countries) Sogdiana (*sog po*) and Khotan (*li'i yul*) have the shape of a cart (*shing rta*). The Continent of the Origin of All Wishes (*'dod dgu 'byung ba'i gling*, i.e. the countries) Mongolia (*hor*) and China (*rgya nag gi yul*) have the shape of a lotus in bloom. The Continent of Great Marvel (*ngo mtshar che'i gling*, i.e.) the Kingdom of Snow-clad Tibet, has the shape of a *rakṣasī* (*srin mo*) lying on her back (*gan rkyal du 'gyel ba*)[34] and it is a [country] with deep ravines (*ngam grog che*),[35] being densely populated by demons and spirits (*'dre srin*), [covered with] rough black mountains, [a country] dark and obscure.

Moreover, there are sixteen major provinces [in Jambudvīpa], each living in prosperity and enjoying great wealth.[36]

[II] [Evolution of God and Man]

Further, the country of India, in the [very] beginning,[37] the human beings descended from the gods of Ābhāsvara (*'od gsal lha*),[38] attaining an immeasurable age and nourished on the

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33 Cf. Lamotte, 1958, q.v.

34 The famous metonym for Tibet, being compared with a supine or prostrate rock-*rākṣasī*, cf. **GLR** chap. XIV, its *locus classicus* apparently being the Vita of Srong-btsan sgam-po, foremost being found in **MNKB** E (Ca) 129b5, 132b2-3; **KCHKKHM-1**: 754.2-3, 762.1-2; **KCHKKHM-2** 200.17-201.17, 212.8-215.3, 233.17-18; **KCHKKHM-3** 435.7-436.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 247a2-248a1, 251b3-253a1; **MBNTH** 55a5-6; **NGTMTPH** 8a2; **DCHBY** 115.15; **CHBY** 139b2-5 (Szerb, pp. 10-12), etc. cf. note 726 *infra* and for a general discussion, cf. Aris, 1979, pp. 8-33; Gyatso, 1987.

35 Cf. Stein, 1988, p. 1410.

36 Cf. verbatim, **SHBRS** 5b2-3.

37 This part of the Genesis, a theogonical and anthropogonical exposé, forms an integral part of the overall Buddhist cosmographical description and usually continues with the ensuing section, a *rājavaṃśa*. Such a combination is also quite usual from Indian sources, cf. R. Tsuchida, 1991, "Die Generalogie des Buddha under seiner Vorfahren", pp. 124-5. The sources (*khungs*) for the evolution of god and man are almost the same as the first section: **AK[-BH]** III 98 + com., 185b5-186b3; **LP** 70a8-77a1; **VV** (GA) 385a6-393a5 [cf. also **VV** (CA) 149a1-156b5]; **SHBRS** 17a1-17b4. Further sources: pre-**GLR**: **MBNTH** 21a1ff.; **GBCHBY** 197.16ff.; **DCHBY** 92.11ff.; post-**GLR**: **BGRSPH** 154.2ff.

38 The sentient beings occur in the world (Jambudvīpa) during an aeon (*kalpa*) of creation (*chags pa*, *vivarta*) of all the world-systems (i.e. 1000^3 = trichilio-megachiliocosm, *stong gsum stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams*, *trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu*) ensuing from an aeon of destruction (*'jig pa*, *samvarta*), occuring in long series of ever-occuring and interchanging cycles of periodical creations and destructions. In the wake of evolution after an aeon of destruction, respectively through fire, water and wind, the transmigrating beings are descending (through gradual *punarbhava*-s or *cyuti*-s qua the various *devaloka*-s of Brahmaloka) from the gods of Ābhāsvara (i.e. the 3. *devaloka* of the 2. Dhyāna-realm of the Brahmaloka pertaining to Rūpadhātu) and are eventually reborn in Jambudvīpa, cf. e.g. the complete exposé in **LP** 54b1-82a6.

Man of the first aeon (*bskal pa dang po pa*, *prathamakalpa*) descends from the Ābhāsvara. Cf. **VV** 385a6-386b2; **SHBRS** 17a13; **CHBYMTNYP** 135b1ff; **KCHKKHM-2** 61.11ff.; for a unique

pleasures of *dhyāna* (*bsam gtan*)-contemplation [only]. They were miraculously born (*rdzus te skye ba, upapāduka*), [self-]luminous ([*rang gi*] *'od*[*-can*], [*svayaṃ*]*prabha*) and by magical faculty (*rdzu 'phrul, ṛddhi*) [capable of] walking in space (*nam mkha' la 'gro ba, vihāyasaṃgama*) and possessed [thus] countless bodily endowments (*yon tan, guṇa*).

At that time [they] partook of [the food] called 'ambrosial-terrestrial essence' (*bdud rtsi sa bcud, amṛta-bhūmirasa*),[39] being of a white colour and having the taste of honey, and thereby they lost their spacewalking ability and the *dhyāna*-contemplation as nourishment [only] ceased to exist.

[Gradually this nourishment was consumed] whereupon [the nutriment] called 'terrestrial grease' (*sa'i zhag, bhūmiparpaṭaka*)[40] emerged, being of a reddish-yellow colour and tasting like honey. This abated too, and the nourishment called 'forest-reed' (*myu gu'i tshal, vanalatā*)[41] emerged. When this was consumed too, the [so-called] '[unsown and] uncultivated rice' (*ma rmos pa'i 'bras sā lu, akṛṣṭaśāli*)[42] appeared [as nourishment].

These [various] types of nourishment were [normally] taken [by the people] whenever needed and then eaten, but some slothful people took today the ration [intended for] the following day and ate it. Others did likewise and so [this wonderful] rice which [need] not be sown ceased to exist too.[43]

Subsequently, they commenced taking up agriculture, but the fields that were tilled by one were harvested and partaken by others, and being at variance with one another, [they] quarreled. At that time the most outstanding among them [decided to] allot to each person the control over a piece of land which thereby brought the fightings to an end. The people rejoiced over that and in order to honour [him] they unanimously appointed him as [their] leader. So he was called King Mahāsaṃmata (*rgyal po Mang-pos bkur-ba*). He was the first Indian king.[44]

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treatment of this material, cf. **GBCHBY** 197.21.ff.; **BGRSPH** 154.3ff.

39 **AK**[**-BH**] 185b6: here called *sa'i ro*; **LP** 70b8-72a7; **VV** 385b2-387a3; **SHBRS** 17a5-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 62.63.10; Further sources: pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 198.5-199.6; **CHBYMTNYP** 136a4-136b1. post-**GLR**: **BGRSPH** 157.15-158.4.

40 **LP** 72a7-72b7; **VV** 387a3-387b4; **SHBRS** 17b1; pre-**GLR**: **MBNTH** 21a3; **GBCHBY** 198.4-199.6; **CHBYMTNYP** 135b5-136a1. post-**GLR**: **BGRSPH** 158.5-10.

41 **AK**[**-BH**] 186a3; **LP** 72b7-73a7 here denoted *ldum bu'i tshal* instead of *myu gu'i tshal* as usually translated; **VV** 387b5-388b1; pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 199.7-10; **CHBYMTNYP** 136b1-136b6; post-**GLR**: **BGRSPH** 158.10-14.

42 In full 'the wild rice not needed to be sown or cultivated' (*ma rmos ma btab pa'i 'bras sā lu, akṛṣṭoptaśāli*), cf. **AK**[**-BH**] 186a4-186b1; **LP** 73a7-74a2: this wonderful rice, moreover, was characterized as being without ear ([*g*]*zegs ma, kaṇā*), chaff and huskless (*phub ma, shun pa, tuṣa*; *sbun ma, busa*) and pure (*dag, gtsang, śuddhi*) and when harvested in the evening, it had grown forth again the following morning.

Sources: **VV** 388b1-389b3; **SHBRS** 17b2; **KCHKKHM-2** 63.10-18; further sources: pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 199.11-16; **CHBYMTNYP** 136b6-137a5; post-**GLR**: **BGRSPH** 158.15-163.12, the latter text maintaining, *inter alia*, that it occured perforce of the cumulative wholesome and compassionate deeds of the Buddha(s).

43 **AK**[**-BH**] 186a5-186b1; **LP** 74a2-75a8; **VV** 389b3-391b3; **SHBRS** 17b2-3.

44 **AK**[**-BH**] 186b1-3; **LP** 75a8-77a1; **VV** 391b3-393a5 and **SHBRS** 17a2-4; further sources: pre-**GLR**: **KCHKKHM-1** 59.14, 63.15-84.4; **KCHKKHM-3** 388.3-393.5; **CHBYMTNYP** 137a5-138b6; **MBNTH** 21b1-2; **GBCHBY** 200.5-13; post-**GLR**: **BGRSPH** 163.3-171.9.

[III] [Royal Genealogies of India]

His [i.e. king Mahāsammata's][45] son was Roca (*'Od-mdzes*); his son was Kalyāṇa (*dGe-ba*); his son Varakalyāṇa (*dGe-mchog*) and his son Uposadha (*gSo-sbyong-'phags*). [These] are known as the group of five early kings (*sngon gyi rgyal po sde lnga*).

The son of Uposadha was the infant Māndhātṛ (*Nga-las-nu*); his son was Cāru (*mDzes-pa*); his son Upacāru (*Nye-mdzes*); his son Cāruka (*mDzes-can*) and his son Cārumant (*mDzes-ldan*). These are called the five Wheel-Revolving (*'khor los sgyur ba, cakravartin*) Kings.

The [latter's] son was king Varada (*mChog-sbyin*). During his time the life span of a living being was 40.000 years. During the time of that king and his son, the two, Buddha Krakucchandra (*'Khor-ba 'jig*) appeared in India and preached the Holy Law (*Saddharma*).[46]

The son of king Varada was king *Maṇi (*Nor-bu*).[47] Then after him, at the end of three hundred royal generations, the king called Samantaprabha (*Kun-nas 'od*[*-zer*])[48] appeared. His son was king Candra (*Tsandha*), during whose time the life span of the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa lasted 30.000 years, wherefore during the time of these two [kings], father and son, Buddha Kanakamuni (*gSer-thub*) appeared in India and preached the Holy Law.

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45 This section of the royal genealogies of the Mahāsammata-lineage, the *roi mythique* or the mythical progenitor of Śākya, the lineage of Śākyamuni, is appended to the Genesis-exposé in the canonical scriptures of **LP** and **VV**, but reminiscences of such royal *vaṃśa*-s may be found scattered throughout various scriptures. Bla-ma dam-pa has, as explicitly stated, based his very condensed list of kings upon the hyberbolic and astronomic list of kings delineated in **VV** and **DTHMP**. Prime sources: **LP** 77a3-79a3, 79a3-82a6; **VV** 393a6-407b6; **SHBRS** 17b4-18b3; **DTHMP** 2a6-3b9. Cf. also **Mahāvastu** (ed. Senart), I, 338.13-355. Further sources: pre-**GLR**: **KCHKKHM-1** 656.2-669.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 64.13-83.19; **KCHKKHM-3** 388.3-393.6; **CHBYMTNYP** 139b6ff.; **MBNTH** 21b3ff.; **GBCHBY** 200.6-221.6; **DCHBY** 92.14-97.11; post-**GLR**: **BGRSPH** 164.2-171.9.

46 This passage with king mChog-sbyin is untraced in his prime sources, where the son of Cārumant (*mDzes-ldan*) variously is identified with either the lineage of the king Muci (*bTang-ba*) and his son Mucilinda (*bTang-bzung*) or with Bhadra (*bZang-po*) and Subhadra (*Legs-bzang*) etc. ruling in the city of Miśrakapura (*'dres pa'i grong 'khyer*) etc. as minutely delineated in **LP** 78a5ff; **VV** 395a1ff.; **SHBRS** 17b6ff.; **DTHMP** 2b4-6. A possible clue may be offered by **KTHDNG** (KHA), Chap. III, 103.9-12, where the *rāja* mChog-sbyin, here followed by king Candra (see note 48), is mentioned. Another, less plausible, solution may be supplied by **CHBYMTNYP** 140b4-6, which mentions the king named Brahmadatta (*Tshangs-sbyin*) in the genealogical list, whereby the names mChog-sbyin and Tshangs-sbyin may have been confounded, or, more convincingly, *ibid.*, 24a5-24b1, quoting an unknown source, where a legend is detailed, mentioning a king denoted mChod-sbyin (? Kratu, father of Kracchuchandra?). Could we assume that Bla-ma dam-pa is quoting this or a similar source and then confounded mChod-sbyin with mChog-sbyin? This passage and the following passages from **GLR** are quoted in **DTHMPSM**, *op.cit.* 4a4-5a3, where bSod-nams grags-pa subjected them to criticism.

47 As adduced in previous note, king Nor-bu does not figure in the traditional lists and may, together with king mChog-sbyin, be names or personages originating from a source, as yet untraced.

48 The king Kun-nas 'od[-zer] (and, incidentally, likewise his son Candra, see note 46), is not enumerated as kings in the lists (but see **VV** 395a4), but Kun-nas 'od-zer is, as stated e.g. in **DTHMP** 2b4-3a1, the common name of a lineage [of kings], counting hundred crown-heads, which occured in the city of Potala (*gru-'dzin*), where, at the end of another plethora of dynasties, Buddha Kanakamuni made his appearance.

Then, at the end of [further] 300 royal generations, king *Mahārātna (*Ratna chen-po*)[49] and his son king Kṛkin (*Kri-kri*) made [their] appearance, and at that time the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa had a life span of 20.000 years and so in the time of these two [kings], father and son, Buddha Kaśyapa (*'Od-srungs*) appeared in the world to preach the Holy Law.

Then in the country of Potala (*gru-'dzin*), after two hundred royal generations had passed, a king called Karṇika (*rNa-ba-can*)[50] appeared. He had two sons, the elder one called Gautama, the younger named Bharadvāja (*Bha-ra dhva-dza*). Gautama was ordained [as monk], [while] Bharadvāja was made king. But as no son was born to him, Bharadvāja gave way to heretical thoughts and killed his elder brother by impaling [him] on top of a pointed stake (*gsal shing gi rtse la skyon*). Perforce of the prayers of the common people, Gautama*[51] ejaculated [two drops of] semen on a bolster which turned into two eggs. These two eggs were placed among the [protecting] foliages of a sugar-cane grove and in due course they turned into two infant [boys]: one was called Sūryavaṃśa (*Nyi-ma'i gnyen*), the other Ikṣvāku (*Bu-ram shing-pa*).

Sūryavaṃśa too had no son [born to him], whereas Ikṣvāku was made king and begot many sons. They multiplied [greatly] and became universally known as the lineage of Ikṣvāku.

In the hundredth generation in [direct] successive line from the eldest line among these, king Virūḍhaka (*'Phags skyes-po*)[52] appeared. He had three sons and three daughters. [Once] the brothers and sisters were sojourning together at the bank of the river of Bhāgīrathī (*sKal-ldan shing-rta*), they had intercourse whereby their progeny multiplied. They became known as the lineage of Śākya, which increased [greatly].

In the fiftieth generation in [direct] successive line from the eldest line among these, a king called Daśaratha (*Shing-rta bcu-pa*) appeared. He had three sons: [established the lineage] Mahā-Śākya (*Shākya chen-po*), [the second son the lineage of] Śākya Licchavī (*Shākya Li-tsā-byi*) and [the youngest son the lineage of] Mountain-Śākya (*Shākya ri-brag-pa*).[53]

In the twenty-fifth generation in [direct] consecutive line of the eldest line, Mahā-Śākya, a king called Araṇemi (*rTsibs kyi mu-khyud*)[54] appeared. His son was king Anantapāla

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49 Like in case of the last few kings, also king Nor-bu chen-po seems untraced in the traditional lists, whereas 'his son', king Kri-kri, during whose time Buddha Kāśyapa made his appearance, is well documented, cf. e.g. **DTHMP** 3a2.

50 For this story of the origin of the Ikṣvāku-lineage eventually leading to the celebrated Śākya-lineage, cf. **VV** 397b6ff. and **DTHMP** 3a2ff. upon which Bla-ma dam-pa has based his brief exposé. Further sources: pre-**GLR**: **KCHKKHM-1** 558.1-559.7; **KCHKKHM-2** 67.17-77.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 144a3; **MBNTH** 22b6ff.; **GBCHBY** 208.10-16; **DCHBY** 95.5-96.2; post-**GLR**: **BGRSPH** 167.4-168.11.

51 **gloss* (*mchan*): *Perforce of karmic consequence accruing from previous existences Gautama was accused of a crime of which he was innocent. By [hearing] the true words of the Brahmin ācārya Asita, Gautama ejaculated [drops of] semen which turned into two eggs. By the true words of Gautama [the skin of] the ācārya turned a golden colour.*

52 For the Śākya-lineage or clan, cf. **VV** 401b7ff.; **DTHMP** 3a8; **DCHBY** 96.3ff.; **BGRSPH** 168.10ff. For the most recent discussion of this clan and its possible connection to the Ikṣvāku dynasty, cf. Ryotaro Tsuchida, 1991, pp. 123ff.

53 Cf. previous note. Further sources for the trifold ramification of Śākya: pre-**GLR**: **MNKB** E (Ca) 100a2-3; **KCHKKHM-1** 660.6ff.; **KCHKKHM-2** 75.14-16ff.; **CHBYMTNYP** 147a6-147b, 148b1-2; **MBNTH** 24a3-4; **GBCHBY** 238.14-243.4; post-**GLR**: **SKGPDR**, p. 18.

(*mTha'-yas skyongs*); his son was king Dhanuḥsthira (*gZhu-brtan*);[55] his son was king Simhahanu (*Seng-ge 'gram*). The latter had four sons: king Śuddhodana (*Zas gtsang-ma*), Śuklodana (*Zas-dkar*), Droṇodana (*Bre-bo zas*) and Amṛtodana (*bDud-rtsi zas*) and four daughters: Śuddhā (*gTsang-ma*), Śuklā (*dKar-mo*), Droṇā (*Bre-bo-ma*) and Amṛtā (*bDud-rtsi-ma*). The son of Śuddhā was Suprabuddha (*Legs-par rab-sad*), the son of Śuklā was Mālīka (*Phreng-ba-can*), the son of Droṇā was Sulabha (*bZang-len*) and Amṛtā's son was Vaiśālya (*dGe-'phel*).

The two sons of king Śuddhodana were Bhagavat (*bCom-ldan-'das*) and his younger brother Nanda (*dGa'-bo*). The two sons of Śuklodana were Tiṣya (*rGyal*) and Bhadrika (*bZang-ldan*). The two sons of Droṇodana were Mahānāma (*Ming-chen*) and Aniruddha (*Ma-'gag-pa*). The two sons of Amṛtodana were Ānanda (*Kun dga'-bo*) and Devadatta (*lHas-byin*).

Rāhula (*sGra-gcan-'dzin*) was born as son to Bhagavat. From king Mahāsaṃmata until Rāhula there were 1.110.500 royal generations [in total in India] as explained in the **Vinaya**.[56]

[IV] [Brief Vita of Buddha]

Bhagavat:[57] In the first place he generated a mental orientation towards the supreme enlightenment (*byang chub thugs bskyed*).[58] Secondly, he accomplished the [two]

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54 Again we encounter two royal figures, king rTsibs kyi mu-khyud and king mTha'-yas skyongs, who remain untracable from Bla-ma dam-pa's prime sources, cf. **VV** 406b6; **DTHMP** 3b5-6.

55 The lineage of the grand-father, king Seng-ge 'gram, and father, king Zas gtsang-ma, of the Venerable One is well-established in almost all texts: **VV** 407a1ff.; **LP** 82a2ff; **DTHMP** 3b6ff.

Another genealogical list, known as the Abhidharma-list, also contained in **LP** and followed by texts such as **SHBRS** 18a1ff., links Seng-ge 'gram more directly with the Iksvāku-lineage and king Virūdhaka mentioned above; cf. **LP** 78b6-79a3.

56 From this conspectus it is evident that Bla-ma dam-pa is basing his genealogical enumeration from king Mahāsammata until Rāhula, closing the lineage of the Venerable One, upon the genealogy incorporated in the **Vinaya** and possibly **DTHMP**.

For a fuller discussion of these genealogical calculations, see Appendix, note 56.

Now, Bla-ma dam-pa, as said, bases his figures upon the **Vinaya**-figures, but **GLR** discloses a major discrepancy, already noted by bSod-nams grags-pa, **DTHMPSM** 5a2-3. The figures in **GLR**: 1.110.500 deviate markedly from the **Vinaya**-figures generally accepted: 1.121.514 royal generations. But the figures of **GLR** may arguably accure from a lapsus perpetrated, somehow, by the copyist or the scribe. The **Vinaya**-figures in **GLR** in letters: sa-ya gcig 'bum *gnyis* khri (chig) stong lnga-brgya *dang bcu bzhi* - by deleting the figures in italics the remaining figures amount to 1.110.500, the figures of **GLR**!

57 A brief Vita of the Venerable One is quite often an integral part of the initial part in any Tibetan Buddhist historiographical treatise. Bla-ma dam-pa, no doubt, inspired by Si-tu dGe-ba'i blo-gros' **DTHMP**, has incorporated such a Vita in his work. His prime sources for this section are, from the first faint reference to the threefold religious steps of the Venerable One, Bu-ston's **CHBY**.

For the twelve deeds of Buddha, the sources are, canonically, **Ārya-Lalitavistara-sūtra [LAL]**, **Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra [ABHINIS]**, and extracanonically further **CHBY** and **DTHMP**. Cf. also **MNKB** E 21a1ff. Cf. also at greater length, mKhas-pa lDe'u's **GBCHBY** 40.15-76.13.

accumulations [of merit and gnosis] ([*puṇya-jñāna*]*saṃbhāra*) during three 'immeasurable' (*grangs med*, *asaṃkhyeya*) aeons.[59] Finally, [on different levels][60] he attained the status of a Buddha [in the *devaloka* of] Akaniṣṭha (*'og-min*) in an absolute sense (*nges pa'i don du*, *nītārthataḥ*) and in a relative sense (*drang ba'i don la*, *neyārthataḥ*) [he displayed the following twelve acts (*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*, *dvādaśa kārya*)[61] depicting his mundane life]:

[1] He became the holy *devaputra* Śvetaketu (*Tog dkar-po*) [abiding] in the divine land of Tuṣita.[62] At that time, at the end of the Kaliyuga (*rtsod ldan*) [period], when the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa had attained the age of one hundred years, he realized that the time for converting the sentient beings had come. He therefore installed the venerable Maitreya-nātha (*rje btsun Byams-pa mgon-po*) as his holy successor in Tuṣita and, having beheld the city [where he intended to be born] and the caste of his [prospective] father and mother, he made his descent (*babs*, = *'pho ba*, *cyuti*) from the gods [of Tuṣita] in the shape of an elephant,

[2] entering the womb (*lhums su zhugs*, *garbha-avakrānti*)[63] of his mother Māyā (*yum*

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58 This initial step in any bodhisattva's career is in fact graded: The mental intention or resolution (*smon pa'i sems*, *praṇidhicitta*) for aspiring for *bodhi* and the actual engagement (*'jug pa'i sems*, *prasthānacitta*), i.e. training for acquiring *bodhi*; cf. e.g. sGam-po-pa's **Thar-rgyan**, Chap. VIII-I, 58b-96b; **GBCHBY** 26.14-29.21; **CHBY** 40b2-41a2, 41b7-44a1 and here Bla-ma dam-pa's source **DTHMP** 3b9.

59 The accumulation of merit and gnosis comprises the acquisition of the two equipments involving the accomplishment of the six transendental perfections (*pha rol tu phyin pa drug*, *ṣaṭpāramitā*), cf. **Thar-rgyan** XI-XVII, 94a-150a; **CHBY** 44a3-47b5. This is acquired by progressing via five paths (*lam lnga*, *pañcamārga*), cf. e.g. here **Bodhicaryāvatāra**, I, 15-16, **Thar-rgyan**, XVIII, 150a-153b; **CHBY** 46b4-47b5, to be applied, in due course, to the ten bodhisattva-stages (*sa bcu*, *daśabhūmi*), **Thar-rgyan**, XIX, 153b-167a; **CHBY** 44b4-46b4. This process is usually considered to be accomplished, according to the most prevalent theory, during three immeasurable (*grangs med pa*, *asaṃkhyeya*) aeons or *kalpa*-s; cf. **GBCHBY** 30.1-33.2; **CHBY** 47b5-50a1. Here, laconically, Bla-ma dam-pa merely follows **DTHMP** 4b9.

60 In later Mahāyāna Buddhist scholastic writings, so also in the Tibetan, the attainment of perfect Enlightenment (*mngon par sangs rgyas pa*, *abhisaṃbuddha*) is conceived to be experienced on different levels. Founded upon the *trikāya*-doctrine, the Buddha was conceived to manifest his Absolute or Dharma Medium (*dharmakāya*) for his own sake (*rang don*, *svārtha*) and for the sake of others (*gzhan don*, *parārtha*) he attained his *bodhi* (in his Bliss or Rapture Medium (*saṃbhogakāya*)) in the pure realm of Akaniṣṭha; cf. **Lankāvatāra-sūtra**, ed. Nanjio, p. 269.4-7, 361.5-6, verse 774; **GBCHBY** 37.16-38.10. This should be conceived to be (understood or to have taken place) in an absolute sense (*nges pa'i don*, *nītārtha*), cf. **CHBY** 54a7-55a6. But in realizing his dynamic *nirvāṇa* (*mi gnas pa'i mya ngan las 'das pa*, *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*), he displays, out of compassion and from his capability of manifesting protean bodies, his Buddha activity by demonstrating the twelve acts (*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*, *dvādaśa-kārya*) of his mundane life, incl. the Enlightenment under the fig-tree, having assumed a Mundane or Emanational Medium (*nirmāṇakāya*). This is conceived to (be understood or to have taken place) in a relative (or propaedeutic) sense (*drang ba'i don*, *neyārtha*), cf. **CHBY** 53a6-79a2.

61 Cf. Appendix, note 61.

62 Cf. **LAL** III 11a3-22a1, IV 22a1-28a2, V 28a2-37a6; **ABHINIṢ** 6a1-8; **CHBY** 55b5-56b6 and **DTHMP** 4a1-2. Further sources: pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 40.15-42.4; post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 19a1-6.

63 **LAL** VI 37a6-49b1; **ABHINIṢ** 7a1ff; **CHBY** 56b6-57a4; pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 42.5-44.12; post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 20a4-6; **Mahāvastu** I.8-9. The mention of the royal residence (*rgyal po'i khab*) usually would suggest the location Rājagṛha, but this would in this context be an anachronism and thus makes no sense here, where the place in question is Lumbinī.

sGyu-'phrul-ma), [the spouse of his] father king Śuddhodana at the royal residence accompanied by numerous propitious omens.

[3] Then, as ten months had expired, at the time when the mother was observing the *posadha* (*gso sbyong*) fast near the trunk of the fig-tree (*byang chub kyi shing*, *bodhivṛkṣa*; *ficus religiosa*) in the Lumbinī Park, his birth (*'khrungs*, *janma*)[64] [took place] from between the ribs below her right arm-pit without being defiled by the impurities of the womb, on the eighth day of the last month of spring (i.e. *vaiśākha*) under the *puṣya* (*rgyal*) star.

At that time Brahma and Śakra took hold of him with a piece of *kāśika* [i.e. Benares] silk and Nanda (*dGa'-bo*) and Upananda (*Nye-dga'*), the two, offered to wash his body.

At that time the son took seven steps [in each direction] which subsequently turned into seven lotuses, wherefore the first eulogy (*bstod pa*, *stotra*)[65] [extolling him, uttered by his father, king Śuddhodana] sounded:

> "You, O Principal among the Bipeds (*dvipadānām agra*), who at the time [you] were born
> Made seven steps on this great earth,
> Uttering: 'I am the most excellent in this world',
> To you, O Sage, [I] pay [my] homage."

He was then brought up by being entrusted to thirty-two nurses (*ma ma*) such as his aunt Mahāprajāpatī (*sru sKye-dgu'i bdag-mo*) [Gautamī] etc.

[4] Growing older the prince became learned in the five sciences (*rig pa'i gnas lnga*, *pañca vidyāsthāna*)[66] such as writing (*yi ge*, *lipi*) and mathematics (*rtsis pa*, *gaṇanā*) and outmatched all the arrogant personages [headed by] Devadatta etc. in strength and sports (*sgyu rtsal*, *śilpa*), making himself *nonpareil* (*'gran zla dang bral bar*).

[5] Subsequently he married [in total] 84.000 queens such as Gopā (*Sa-'tsho-ma*) and Yaśodharā (*Grags-'dzin-ma*) etc. [thus being wedded to an enjoyable life (*dgyes rol pa*, *ratikrīdā*)[67] amidst a harem of spouses (*'khor*, *antaḥpura*) and] conducting the affairs of a ruler for twenty-nine years.

[6] [However, gradually] he realized that the [worldly] affairs pertaining to the

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64 **LAL** VII 49a1-72b7; **ABHINIṢ** 7a1ff.; **CHBY** 56b6-57a4; **DTHMP** 4a3-7. pre-**GLR: GBCHBY** 44.13-47.21; post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 20a4-21a2; **BGRSPH** 170.2-9; **Mahāvastu**, II. 18-30.

65 The verse has been traced as part of a so-called *shākya mu ne'i bstod pa* found in the Vita-cycle of Srong-btsan sgam-po, a text-tradition of paramount importance throughout **GLR** and the ode is found embodied in the chapter dedicated the invitation of princess Kong-jo (**GLR** Chap. XIII), cf. e.g. **MNKB** E (Ca) 125a4-b1 (the stanza quoted 125a4-5); **KCHKKHM-2** 184.10-185.14 (quoted 184.10-12), **MBNTH** 53b1-2. This *bstod pa* does not appear to be canonical. From an identical passage in **GBYTSH** 21a5-21b1, dPal-'byor bzang-po informs us that it is part of an ode to Śākya-muni and that it was proclaimed by his father Śuddhodana, resembling the parallel verses found in **LAL** 53b3-54a5. From **PSJZ** 32.25-36, however, the verse has been identified to originate from a versified *stotra* or *stava* dedicated Buddha's twelve deeds by ācārya Śūra, but the exact work has as of yet not been traced among any of this famous Indian poet's traditional works. Cf. parallel **GBCHBY** 45.1-11.

66 **LAL** X 76a1-79b3, XII 82b5-95a5; **ABHINIṢ** 17aff.; **CHBY** 58b6-60b3; pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 48.1-16; post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 22b3-23a5.

67 **LAL** XIII 95a5-110a3, XIV 110a3-115b7; **ABHINIṢ** 22a2ff.; **CHBY** 60b6-61b1; **DTHMP** 4a7; pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 48.18-53.5; post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 23a5-23b4; Mahāvastu II. 72-77.

transmigratory nature [of existence] (*saṃsāra*) were [utterly] devoid of [any] essence [i.e. meaning] by observing the unbearable miseries (*sdug bsngal, duḥkha*) of [birth (*skye, jāti*),] old age (*rga, jarā*), illness (*na, vyādhi*) and death (*'chi, maraṇa*) [etc.] in the four directions around the city Kapilavastu (*ser-skya*). [This resulted in his world-renunciation (*nges 'byung, niṣkramaṇa*) and,][68] wishing to enter an ascetic life (*rab tu byung ba, pravrajyā*), he was, without the consent of his father and his mother, [clandestinely] guided from the air by the Four Great Guardian Kings [of the World] and brought before a perfectly pure sanctuary (*caitya*), where he tonsured himself and thus left [his] worldly life.

[7] Subsequently he practised asceticism (*dka' ba spyad, duṣkara-caryā*)[69] for six or seven years at the bank of the river Nairañjanā etc., thus becoming fully perfect in *dhyāna*-contemplation.

[However, having realized that the practice of austere extremities entailed no salvation]

[8] He went (*gshegs pa, upasaṃkrānti*) to Bodhimaṇḍa (*byang chub snying po*),[70] and on the fifteenth the day of the fullmoon of the *vaiśākha* (*sa ga*),

[9] At dusk he subdued Māra [and his host] (*bdud btul*, i.e *bdud sde 'joms, māradharṣana*).[71]

At midnight [his mind] rested in meditative equipoise (*mnyam par bzhag, samāpatti*) and

[10] At dawn he attained the complete and manifest Enlightenment (*mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas te, abhisaṃbudhyate*).[72]

[11] Thereafter he revolved the Wheel of the Law (*chos kyi 'khor lo bskor, dharmacakrapravartana*)[73] of the Four [Noble] Truths (['*phags pa*] *bden pa bzhi, catvāri* [*ārya*]*satyāni*) for the sake of trainees (*gdul bya, v*[*a*]*ineya*) adhering to Hīnayāna, such as the group of five happy [peregrinating] disciples (*'khor lnga sde bzang po, pañcā bhadravārgīyā*) [preached] at Vārāṇasī [i.e. Benares] and Mṛgadāva (*ri-dvags kyi khrod*) [also known as] Ṛṣipatana (*drang-srong lhung-ba*).

Thereafter he made his [second] revolving of the wheel of the Law of the unusual (*thun mong ma yin pa, *asadhāraṇa*) vehicle (i.e. Mahāyāna) for the sake of the noble arhats and for the sake of a multitude of myriads of Bodhisattva [candidates] at Mt. (*parvata*) Gṛdhrakūṭa (*Bya-rgod phung-po*) and other places.

The [third] revolving of the Wheel of the Law [dealing with teachings] completely

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68 **LAL** XV 116a1-135a7; **CHBY** 61b1-64a5; **DTHMP** 4a8; pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 53.6-64.21; post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 23b4-28a2.

69 **LAL** XVII 136b1-147b5, XVIII 147b5-153a5; **CHBY** 64a5-65b2; pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 65.1-67.3; post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 28a128b2; Perforce of a scribal error or a *lapsus xylographi* (*brkos nor*) after Act 7 follows here in **GLR** 5b1-2 Act 11: *dharmacakrapravartana* (sic!). The proper order has tacitly been restored.

70 *Bodhimaṇḍagamana, byang chub snying por bzhud pa*, cf. **LAL** XIX 153a6-163a2, XX 163a2-167b5; **CHBY** 65b2-67a1; pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 67.4-68.17.

71 **LAL** XXI 167b5-186b8; **CHBY** 65b2-67a1; **DTHMP** 4a9. pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 68.18-71.12. From here Bla-ma dam-pa almost verbatim follows **DTHMP** for the rest of the acts.

72 **LAL** XXII 187a1-194a8, XXIII 194a8-200a8, XXIV 200a8-211a7; **CHBY** 67a1-67b7; **DTHMP** 4a9; pre-**GLR: GBCHBY** 71.13-72.20; post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 28b3-30a6.

73 **LAL** XXV 211a7-217b7, XXVI 217b7-242a1; **MNKB** E 24a6-25a6; **CHBY** 67b7-72b7; **DTHMP** 4a9-4b4; pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 72.21-73.16, 87.7-147.8; **KTHDNG** (KHA) 106ff.; post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 30a6-34a5. The group of five (*pañcavargika*): Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya, Vāṣpa, Bhadrika, Mahānāman, Aśvajit.

discerning [the essential of] Absolute Truth (*don dam par rnam par nges pa*, **paramārthaviniścaya*) for the sake of those Bodhisattva [candidates] who had fully entered (*yang dag par zhugs pa*, *samprasthita*) [all] the vehicles, took place [primarily] there [i.e. Gṛdhrakūṭa], Vaiśalī (*Yangs-pa-can*) and Veṇuvana (*'Od-ma'i tshal*).

Having completed his twelve acts,[74]

[12] he [finally] demonstrated the mode of departing [(*gshegs pa*, *adhigama*)] into Nirvāṇa[75] as octogenarian at Kuśinagarī (*rts[v]a-mchog*).

After the Teacher's entrance into Nirvāṇa there were three stages [in form of councils] in the compilation of Buddha's Promulgations (*bka'*, *vacana*)[76] conducted by the Arhats [concerning the Hīnayānic Code].

In four kingdoms[77] the [following] four kings appeared simultaneous with the birth of Bhagavat:

In the town of Srāvastī (*mnyan-yod*) [the king of Kośala] Prasenajit (*gSal-rgyal*), the son of king Brahmadatta (*Tshangs-byin*);

In the town of Rājagṛha (*rgyal-po'i khab*), [the king of Magadha] Bimbisāra (*gZugs-can snying-po*), the son of king Mahāpadma (*Padma chen-po*).

In the town of Kauśāmbi (*Ko-shvambi*), [the king of Vatsa] Udayana (*Shar-pa*, *'Char-byed*), the son of king Śātānīka (*dMag-brgya*).

In the town of Ujjayinī (*'Phags-rgyal*), [the king of Avanti] Caṇḍa-Pradyota (*gTum-po rab-snang*), the son of Anantaṇemi (*Mu-khyud mtha'-yas*).

[V] [The Date of Buddha]

As to [the date of] Bhagavat:[78]

According to the [calculation-]system of Atiśa:[79]

Bhagavat entered the womb in the wood-male-rat year, [he] was born in the wood-female-ox year, attained Buddhahood in the earth-female-pig year and [he] passed into

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74 In conformity with his prime source **DTHMP** 4b4, Bla-ma dam-pa here erringly maintains that Buddha had accomplished *all* his twelve acts, in contradiction with the tradition which includes the departure into *nirvāṇa* as Buddha's last act. Also followed by **YLJBCHBY** 14.15-16.

75 Cf. **Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra**, *passim*; **CHBY** 72b7-79a4. pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 73.16-21; post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 35a6-39a4.

76 **CHBY** 79a5-90b7; **DTHMP** 4b6-5a6; further pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 153.7-171.16; post-**GLR**: **YLJBCHBY** 15.1ff.; **GBYTSH** 47a5-50a1.

77 Cf. Lamotte, 1958, pp. 11-13. The four kingdoms and kings: **Vinaya-kṣudraka**, 418b3-419a1; **ABHINIS** 11a6-11b2; **DTHMP** 4a5-7; pre-**GLR**: **KCHKKHM-1** 662.3-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 76.13.77.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 393.6-394.1; post-**GLR**: **YLJBCHBY** 13.7-13; **GBYTSH** 21b1-3; **BGRSPH** 170.9-12. Cf. also **Rab-tu 'byung-ba'i gzhi**, II, p. 5, 20-26 (Eimer, 1983) slightly different. To be added is only that according to Lamotte, *op.cit.*, p. 11, Udāyana (*Shar-pa*, *'Char-byed*) is son of king Parantapa, not of king Śatānīka.

78 For a detailed discussion of this section, crucial for the dating of **GLR**, see the introduction.

79 The chronological calculation of Jo-bo-rje or Atiśa was allegedly made by him in 1051 A.D. while sojourning in Tibet. The system became widely known, however, through a calculation by mChims Nam-mkha'-grags, who, in 1257 A.D. (*me mo sbrul*) computed that 3393 years had elapsed since the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha; cf. **CHBY** 91b6-7. Cf. Appendix, note 79.

Nirvāṇa in the wood-male-monkey year.

According to the [calculation-]system of the Dharmasvāmin-s Sa-skya-pa:[80]

Bhagavat entered the womb in the fire-female-hare year, [he] was born in the earth-male-dragon year, attained Buddhahood in the water-male-tiger year and passed into Nirvāṇa in the fire-female-pig year.

[Now,] according to the Sa-skya-pa system, fixing the birth of Bhagavat to the [earth-male-]dragon year, [we can calculate that] from [the Buddha's departure into Nirvāṇa] until the water-male-dog year [i.e. 1322 A.D.] when Bla-ma Ti-shri Kun[-dga'] blo[-gros rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po] came to dBus in order to pass his final ordination (*bsnyen rdzogs*, *upasampadā*) 3455 year have passed and we are [according to Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub] currently in the 3456th year.[81]

[According to the 5000 years theory concerning the duration of the Law consisting] of the ten periods each lasting five hundred years, the period of Abhidharma[-piṭaka] of the three periods of the Scriptural Tradition (*lung*, *āgama*) has passed, two years of the period Sūtra[-piṭaka] have [also] passed, 498 years thus remaining of that period and, in addition, 500 years of the period of Vinaya[-piṭaka] - making thus 998 years of the philosophical tradition (*mtshan nyid pa*) of the Law still to pass. [Finally,] 500 years of the period [of sanctimony] merely wearing the [outward] marks [of the Law] remain, thus making 1498 years [in total] yet to come [before the Buddhist Law disappear].[82*83]

The above [narrative] is [only] an abridged outline (*zur tsam bsdus pa*). However, in case [you should] want a more exhaustive [treatment of the subject, you may find it] elucidated in the **Vinaya** and the **Sūtra**-s. Those unable to read that much may consult the detailed [exposition in the] **History** (**Chos-'byung**) of Bu-ston Rin-po-che, and the **Supreme Elucidation of [All] Knowable [Topics]** (**Shes-bya rab-gsal**) composed by ['Phags-pa] Bla-ma Chos kyi rgyal-po, who concurs in opinion with the Dharmasvāmin Bu-ston [Rin-po-che].

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80 The chronological system of the Sa-skya-pas became generally known when the noted Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251 A.D.) included it in his biography of Chos-rje Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216 A.D.); cf. **Bla-ma rJe-btsun chen-po'i rnam-thar**, SSKB, vol. X, 288b1-299b4, *op. cit.* 298b1-2; it was composed in A.D. 1216 (*me pho byi ba*), where he calculated that 3350 years (however 3349 years according to Bu-ston, **CHBY** 92b7) had passed since the date of *nirvāṇa*, thus computing that the *parinirvāṇa* of Buddha be fixed to 2134 B.C. Cf. Appendix, note 80 for this system.

81 For this paragraph Bla-ma dam-pa follows verbatim **CHBY** 92b7-93a2, like **DTHMP** 5a6-9, cf. the introduction. Bu-ston employs an incidence which took place in 1322 A.D., the year he was active writing his **CHBY**, as a chronological fixing-point, viz. the arrival in dBus of Bla-ma Ti-shri Kun-dga' blo-gros rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po [1299-1327 A.D.] (from China) for his final ordination (*bsnyen rdzogs*, *upasampadā*). This religious figure acted temporarily as preceptor for Bu-ston. An additional reason for Bla-ma dam-pa to cite this incident may accrue for the fact that Bla-ma Ti-shri was his half-brother. Anyway, this incidence is cited well-nigh by all subsequent Buddhist historiographers, such as **YLJBCHBY** 17.12-18.14; **GBYTSH** 57a3-57b5, etc. Bla-ma Dishi Kun-dga' returned already 1324 A.D. to China, cf. Van der Kuijp, 1991, pp. 280-81.

82 Cf. the Introduction to this book for a full exposé and Appendix, note 82.

83 **gloss*: *In the Supreme Elucidation of [All] Knowable [Topics] (Shes-bya rab-gsal) it is maintained that one hundred years after Buddha's departure into nirvāṇa the Dharmarāja Aśoka appeared in India. He was the patron of the second religious council.*

Cf. **SHBRS** 18b4-5.

[How] the Universe came into Existence in the [very] beginning; the Arrival of the Successive Indian Dharmarājas and the Diffusion of the Holy Law after the Appearance of the Teacher Śākyamuni in the World.

II

The Erection of the Three Bodies of Buddha Śākya-muni and their Consecration

[I] [Trikāya-Legend]

Now,[84] once when the Venerable One (Bhagavat) was residing in the Grove of Jeta (*rgyal byed kyi tshal, jetavana*) surrounded by the four classes of retinue, Ārya Mañjuśrī preferred the [following] request: "O Venerable One, the world of the living beings of the present age both serve you and worship you. [Further,] they accumulate [karmic] merits by way of this receptacle [i.e. body of yours]; but when you have passed into Nirvāṇa, the sentient beings shall have no receptacle from which they shall be able to accumulate bulks [of merits], so [I] solicit [you most earnestly] to show [us] a sanctuary where all sentient beings may accumulate bulks [of merits]!"[85]

[Being] requested [thus], the Venerable One let four [separate] rays of light[86] emanate from [his] smiling countenance: one ray of light struck Mahādeva Brahma;[87] one struck Mahāgraha Viṣṇu (*gZa' chen po Khyab 'jug*);[88] one struck Śakra (*brGya byin*), the Lord of the Gods (*lha'i dbang po, devānām indra*)[89] and one ray of light [finally] hit the Artificer (*bzo bo*) Viśvakarman,[90] whereby [a sense of volunteering] willingness (*spobs pa, pratibhāna*) arose in them.

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84 This legend, tinged with the flavour of *āgama*-authenticity by introducing an interlocutor to Buddha and by setting the scene in a sūtric ambience of Jetavana, is, due, in the main, to its many distinct Indian elements, quite probably of Indian provenience, but is as yet untraced.

In fact, we have divided **GLR** Chap. II into three sections for conveniency, but as section I and III obviously belong together and as these sections in **GLR**'s sources more likely are treated, both consecutively as well as thematically, as a coherent whole, they should not be treated separately.

GLR's overall direct or related sources for Chap. II: **MNKB** E (A) 45a4-55a5; **KCHKKHM-1** 632.1-645.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 21.1-44.9; **KCHKKHM-3** 370.6-380.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 35b6-50a5; **MBNTH** 7a4-16b5.

For a full discussion and survey of sources, see Appendix, note 84.

85 Cf. for parallel **MNKB** E (A) 45a6-45b2; **KCHKKHM-1** 632.2-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 21.3-10; **KCHKKHM-3** 374.1-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 36a2-5; **MBNTH** 7a4ff.; **GBYTSH** 35b4; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 60.23-61.3.

86 **CHBYMTNYP** 37a1; **MBNTH** 7b5; whereas **MNKB** E (A) 45b4, **KCHKKHM-1** 633.1, **KCHKKHM-2** 22.7, **KCHKKHM-3** 374.3, **GBYTSH** 35b5, **HBCHBY** (NGA) 61.4: Three rays of light.

87 **MNKB** E (A) 45b4; **KCHKKHM-1** 633.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 22.9; **KCHKKHM-3** 374.4-375.3; **CHBYMTNYP** 37a1-2; **MBNTH** 7b5, 8a2-8b1; **GBYTSH** 35b4; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 61.7.

88 **MNKB** E (A) 45b5; **KCHKKHM-1** 633.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 22.10-11; **KCHKKHM-3** 374.4, 375.3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 37a2; **MBNTH** 7b6, 9a1-9b6 here has sGra-gcan-'dzin chen-po Khyab-'jug Rā-hu-la; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 61.11 here have Rāhula alias sGra-[g]can-'dzin; **GLR**, **GBYTSH** 35b4 and **Vita** have Viṣṇu.

89 **MNKB** E (A) 45b5; **CHBYMNYP** 37a2; **MBNTH** 8a1, 10a1-11b2; **GBYTSH** 35b4; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 61.25. In contrast, **KCHKKHM-1** 633.2 and **KCHKKHM-2** 22.9, **KCHKKHM-3** 374.3, 375.4-5 have Maitreya.

90 **CHBYMTNYP** 37a2-3, **MBNTH** 7b5-6, 8a1, **GLR** and **Vita** have a fourth ray striking Viśvakarman, the Hindu god-sculptor. In fact, this passage, if we replace Viṣṇu with Rāhula, is almost similarly worded in **CHBYMTNYP** and **MBNTH**, which clearly demonstrates that these two draw directly upon a common source.

Mahādeva Brahma, joining the palms of his hands, [solemnly] proclaimed:[91]

> "Endowed with endless, inconceivable qualities,
> The Victorious One (Jina), the Lokanātha-muni,
> [A statue representing] the Dharmakāya, produced out of the five precious jewels,
> With the aim of propagating prosperity in all directions, I shall erect [such an idol]!"

Mahāgraha Viṣṇu, too, joining the palms of his hands, [solemnly] declared:

> "The Principal among Bipeds (*rkang gnyis gtso bo*, *dvipadānām agra*),
> the perfectly pure body
> [A statue representing] the Saṃbhogakāya produced from precious jewels,
> The Gangs-chen mtsho-rgyal,[92] the Treasury of the Origin of all Wishes,
> With the aim of outrooting the poverty for all sentient beings, I shall erect [such an idol]!"

Śakra, the Lord of the Gods (*lha'i dbang po*, *devanānām indra*), joining the palms of his hands, [solemnly] proclaimed:

> "The Highest among Gods, the Munendra,
> A mass of gold, adorned with the characteristic features and marks [of a Mahāpuruṣa],
> [A statue representing] the Nirmāṇakāya, produced from the five [kinds] of precious jewels,
> In order [to provide a sanctuary where] all the worldlings can accumulate merits, I shall erect [such an idol]!"

[Finally,] the godframer Viśvakarman, joining the palms of his hands, proclaimed:

> "The Teacher of God and Man, the King of Śākya,

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91 These four versified *praṇidhāna*-s or resolutions to act as *yon bdag*, respectively by Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śakra and by Viśvakarman as artificer, are not found in any of the other sources, although **CHBYMTNYP** 37a3-37b1, **MBNTH** 8a2 again, seem to retain, in utmost brief prose, a reminiscence of it. The question remains whether these verses quoted in **GLR** reflect the words of the original version of this legend, which by far is most likely, or whether it may reflect Bla-ma dam-pa's own versified paraphrase.

92 This form of Buddha, i.e. rNam-par snang-mdzad, or Vairocana, denoted Gangs-chen-mtsho[-rgyal], appears to be a form reflecting a true mixture of the Indo-Tibetan or perhaps rather Central Asian tradition (although, Dorji & Kapstein, perhaps doubtfully, try to construe it as *[*jñāna*]*mahāhimasāgara*), and moreover comparatively old. It further seems to owe its provenience to ancient [Indo-]Tibetan and Central Asian Buddhist theories and notions of cosmogony and ubiquity originally based upon **Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra** etc., which deviate markedly from the traditional Buddhist cosmogony, cf. previous chapter. For a full discussion on Vairocana Gangs-chen mtsho-rgyal, cf. Appendix, note 92.

With the purpose of securing for the future sentient beings [a receptacle where they] can accumulate merits,
[Statues] most marvellously produced from the five precious metals,
I [readily accept to] act as the godframer erecting [these statues of] the Trikāya!"

Then the Mahādeva Brahma amassed in front of the framer Viśvakarman a large heap of the precious stone *indranīla* [i.e. sapphire], a large mass of melted moon-stone (*chu shel*, *candrakāntamaṇi*) and gold etc. as material for erecting [a statue of] the Dharmakāya [medium] of the Venerable One.[93]

The framer Viśvakarman, then, pulverized and melted these precious metals and from the process of casting a receptacle of the Dharmakāya [medium] of the Venerable One was erected, [outwardly assuming] the form of a *caitya* with a size measuring one full arm-span of Brahma himself and a colour resembling smoke.[94]

This sanctuary was consecrated, flower-strewn and blessed by Buddha personally.

Subsequently, this *caitya*, a receptacle of Dharmakāya [of the Venerable One] was brought to the abode of the Gods and [there] installed. [Hence] the *jñānaḍākinī*-s carried it westward to the country of Uḍḍiyāna, where it, without touching the ground, was installed in space assuming the name: "the glorious, untouchable *caitya* (*dpal reg pa med pa'i mchod rten*)." Due to the fact that it had come from the land of the gods it was also named: "the *caitya* descending from the gods (*lha la[s] babs pa'i mchod rten*)" and owing to its smoky colour, it was called: "the *caitya* resembling smoke (*du ba lta bu'i mchod rten*)."[95]

Next, Viṣṇu piled up in front of the artificer Viśvakarman as building material for the erection of the statue of the Sambhogakāya [aspect of the Venerable One] a great mass of the costly stone *indranīla*, a great mass of melted emerald (*mar gad*, *marakaṭa*) and a great mass of melted moon-stone.[96]

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93 **MNKB** E (A) 45b6-46a1; **KCHKKHM-1** 633.6-634.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 23.2-5; **KCHKKHM-3** 374.6-375.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 37b5-6, **MBNTH** 8b1-9a1.

94 **MNKB** E (A) 46a1-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 633.7-634.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 23.5-11; **CHBYMTNYP** 38a1-38b4; **MBNTH** 8b3; **GBYTSH** 37a1-2; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 61.7-11. These texts add that the shape of this *dharmakāya* receptacle was like a circular bottle (*bum pa zlum po*) as it had no (resp. ten) sides. If circulating it uninterruptedly for seven days (resp. times), one would achieve the highest *siddhi*. It was known under the name (*mṛshan*): The 'Glorious smoke-coloured caitya' (*dpal du[d] pa lta bu'i mchod rten*). They further add that it was full of relics of past-time Tathāgata-s.

95 **MNKB** E (A) 46a3-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 634.2-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 23.11-15; **CHBYMTNYP** 38a4-38b4, **MBNTH** 8b5-6. Here again **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH** and **GLR** show a close cognation, only the epithet 'the *caitya* descending from the gods' is untraced in any other version. Cf. also previous note.

96 **MNKB** E (A) 46a4-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 634.4-6; **KCKKKHM-2** 23.15-17; **KCHKKHM-3** 375.3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 38b4-6; **MBNTH** 9a1-3; **GBYTSH** 36a4. As is seen *supra* the *yon bdag* of this Sambhogakāya receptacle is respectively given as Rāhula, respectively Viṣṇu and Brahma. A clue to this discrepancy is found in **MNKB**, **MBNTH** followed by **GBYTSH**, which state that the *yon bdag* is Khyab-'jug Rā-hu-la and an another (older ?) version of **MNKB** (ed. Ra[-mo-]che sPyi-khyab-khang, E (A) 35b3) here gives Khyab-'jug dang Rā-hu-la, which may suggest that the original had these two figures as *yon bdag*. This is corroborated by **MBNTH** which also has sGra-gcan-'dzin chen-po Khyab-'jug Rā-hu-la. Here as elsewhere the transmission of these legends displays not infrequently a considerable muddle.

Viśvakarman subsequently pulverized and melted these and from the process of casting a receptacle of the Sambhogakāya [aspect] of Buddha [took form], covering eighty *yojana*-s in surface extent, its intrinsic nature (*ngo bo*) being [Vairocana denoted] Gangs-chen mtsho-rgyal,[97] with both hands [in the *mudrā*-gesture] of mental equipoise (*mnyam bzhag*, *samāhita*), its complexion being azure-blue and embellished with a [huge] moon-stone about the size of a bottle in the headcrown. Its site was in the outer great ocean, the statue from the navel and downwards remaining beneath the water, working [there] for the welfare of the sentient beings living underwater. The part of the statue which remained above the water promoted the welfare of the sentient beings living in dry places. The birds sitting on the head and shoulders [of the statue] spread their excrements and so, although the body-complexion of this erect statue was asure-blue it turned all white. On the evening of the fifteenth of the month the moon-stone on its head is struck by the [moon]light, whereby the statue is washed by the markless (*mtshan ma med pa*) water [emitting from this stone]. The caravan-captain (*ded dpon*, *sārthavāha*) who is searching for precious jewels in the outer ocean steers his vessel into the inner hollow of the elbow of the receptacle, where he presents offerings and thus receives jewels *ad libitum*. The front and back of the receptacle were each equipped with a staircase (*gru skas*).[98]

This [statue too] was consecrated, flower-strewn and blessed by Buddha personally.

Next, Śakra as building material for the erection of the receptacle of the Nirmāṇa[kāya] [aspect of the Venerable One] gathered together the five different precious jewels of the gods: *indranīla*, *indragopa*, *nīla* (*mthon ka*), *mahānīla*, [the stone called] 'beautiful array' (*bkod mdzes*) and the five kinds of precious metals of man: gold, silver, pearl (*mu tig*), *vairāṭa-rājavarta* (*mu men*) and coral (*byi ru*), and still other costly jewels. [He amassed it all in front of the artificer Viśvakarman.][99]

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97 Cf. note 92 *supra*. **MṆKB** E (A) 46a5-6; **CHBYTNYP** 38b6-39a1; **MBNTH** 9a3-4; **GBYTSH** 36a4-5; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 61.11-18. It is conspicuous that all versions of **KCHKKHM** here lack any direct reference to this special form of Buddha Vairocana, although some of the other details do correspond neatly. So **KCHKKHM-2**, **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH** (erringly has *brgya cu* for *brgyad bcu*), **GLR** and **HBCHBY** state that its size amounts to eighty *yojana*-s, whereas **KCHKKHM-1+3** adduce it to be sixty *yojana*-s and **MṆKB** and **GBYTSH** both hold its size to be twelve *yojana*-s only.

98 **MṆKB** E (A) 46a5-46b5; **KCHKKHM-1** 634.6-635.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 23.15-24.6; **KCHKKHM-3** 375.3-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 38b6-39b5; **MBNTH** 9a6-9b6; **GBYTSH** 36a5-36b2; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 61.11-20. Again **CHBYNTNYP**, **MBNTH** and **GLR**, but also **MṆKB**, show a close cognation in these details. The curious detail with the bird's dirt (*bya thal*), *inter alia*, is only found, aside from **GLR**, in **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH** and **HBCHBY**, a clear indication that they both draw from a common source. A staircase (*gru skas*: **GLR**: *gro skad*, **HBCHBY**: *dro skad*, or = *'gro skas*?).

99 **MṆKB** E (A) 46b3-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 635.2-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 24.6-10; **KCHKKHM-3** 375.3-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 40a2-6; **MBNTH** 10a1-2; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 61.24-63.11. Here, too, the versions differ on the identification of the *yon bdag* of the erection of the Nirmāṇakāya idols of the Venerable One: **MṆKB**, **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH**, **GLR**, **GBYTSH** and **Vita** have Śakra, whereas all versions of **KCHKKHM** have Maitreya, despite the fact that the versions embodied in **MṆKB**, **KCHKKHM-1**, **CHBYMTNYP** and **MBNTH** display a close, occasionally verbatim congruence. A clue may be had, perhaps, from the detailed version in **KCHKKHM-2** 26-28, where it is delineated that the eight-years statue had Śakya as *yon kyi sbyin bdag*, but Maitreya acted as the collector of the material for erecting the receptacle. Noteworthy is also the otherwise unknown

Wishing to build a statue of the Teacher [i.e. Buddha Śākyamuni] at the age of twelve years, [the aunt] Mahāprajāpatī gave the following estimation:[100] "At the time when [Bhagavat] reached the age of eight [he had assumed the same size as] the height of the throne in the park of Lumbinī and henceforth the ring-finger (*srin lag*) of the right hand bent inward. At the age of twelve, when he touched the treshold of the great town-gate of Srāvastī with his feet, his head touched the lintel (of the great town-gate)."

Accordingly, the framer Viśvakarman founded the different precious metals and from this process [a statue took form being] the Nirmānakāya [aspect of the Teacher Śākya-muni] at the age of twelve,[101] being of a refined golden colour (*sku mdog gser btso ma*) and with the hands [in the *mudrā*-gesture of] mental equipoise (*mnyam gzhag*, *samāhita*) and earth-witness (*sa mnon*, *bhūmisparśa*), embellished with the characteristic features and marks [of a Mahāpuruṣa], possessing numerous qualifications of being beheld, recollected and of being touched, creating unfeigned devotion and reverence: Just by being beheld, it relieves the illness caused by the three poisons (*dug*, *viṣa*) [etc.]; after having secured the erection of this receptacle, not differing from the actual body of the Teacher, it became the glory of both god and man. It was consecrated, flower-strewn and blessed by the Teacher, the Venerable One personally.

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stone denoted 'beautiful array' (*bkod mdzes*). Aside from **GLR** and **HBCHBY** it is only listed as a stone in the **KCHKKHM** versions, but here as a stone or material to be used when erecting the Sambhogakāya receptacle.

100 This extract on the size of the two Nirmānakāya statues, Buddha's mundane aspect, capturing him, i.e. Siddhārtha at different ages of his life all prior to his renunciation, - i.e. resp. the eight-years, the twelve-years statue and the statue representing Bhagavat at the age of twenty-five - forms part of a prolonged exposé concerning the size of the three statues of the Venerable One delineated in **MNKB** (A) 45a5-47b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 635.2-638.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 24.11-27.18; **KCHKKHM-3** 375.4-379.1; **CHBYTNYP** 40a6-42b5; **MBNTH** 10a3-11a6; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 62.17-22. In his laconic notes, Bla-ma dam-pa only retells a small reminiscence of this part of the legend.

To provide an example *in extenso*, **MNKB** E (A) 47a5-47b1 e.g. states: *de nas lha'i dbang po brgya byin gyis | bcom ldan 'das la sku tshad gsum bzhengs pa'i zhu ba phul nas | bcom ldan 'das kyi sku dgung lo brgyad pa'i sku tshad ni | pang du 'tsho ba'i ma ma la spyan zur cig gzigs pas || ma mas smras pa | dgung lo brgyad pa'i sku tshad ni lumbi'i tshal gyi rin po che'i khri steng dang mnyam mo zhes smras so || dgung lo bcu gnyis pa'i tshad ni rgyan 'dogs pa'i ma ma la spyan zur cig gzigs pas ma mas smras pa | bus dgung lo bcu gnyis lon pa'i dus na | ngas [b]rtse ba'i don du ded pas grong khyer ser skya'i bsil khang gi sgo'i skyed bu dang mnyam mo || dgung lo nyi shu rtsa lnga pa'i tshad ni bcom ldan 'das nyid dang sku tshad mnyam mo zhes smras so.*

101 **MNKB** E (A) 47b1-48a5; **KCHKKHM-1** 638.5-640.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 27.18-29.13; **CHBYMTNYP** 41b2-6, 50a3-51a3; **MBNTH** 15a6. Among the three Nirmānakāya images of Bhagavat, of which **GLR** here only provides some details of the twelve-years statue, two statues, according to a prophecy by Buddha, cf. **MNKB** 48a4-5, **CHBYMTNYP** 42b5, **GBYTSH** 36b6, were predestined to come to Tibet and together with Avalokiteśvara prophesized to be conducive to convert the Snow-capped kingdom of Tibet, a fact that perhaps accounts for the popularity of this legend: The eight-years statue was the image allegedly brought to Tibet by the Nepalese princess as dowry (*rdzongs*), cf. **GLR** Chap. XII and note 879, identified as Jo-bo chung-ba alias Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, cf. e.g. **KCHKKHM-2** 30.10-31.4. The twelve-years statue of Bhagavat, respectively, is the image allegedly brought to Tibet by the Chinese princess, cf. **GLR** Chap. XIII, identified as Jo-bo che-ba alias Jo-bo Shākya, cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 31.15-32.8. These statues or national palladia play an immensely significant role in Tibetan history and the installation of Jo-bo Shākya alone in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang in Lhasa eventually led to the re-naming of this *sanctum sanctorum* to Jo-khang, cf. also Macdonald, *Annuaire* 1965/66, pp. 433-36.

Subsequently, this receptacle was by the gods brought [lit. invited] to their abode and installed there for five hundred years. Then the *jñānadākinī*-s escorted it westward to the land of Uḍḍiyāna where it was established for [another] five hundred years. Thereupon, again, it was carried through the air by magical means and established in Vajrāsana in India for [another] five hundred years.[102]

Thus, the Teacher attained the most perfect and complete Enlightenment, and [after] these three statues[103] [of him] had been erected, and [he] had accomplished [all] his deeds, he passed into Nirvāṇa.

[II] [Mahābodhi-Legend]

Not long after Buddha had passed into Nirvāṇa there lived in Magadha[104] a brahmin householder called Mahāpāla,[105] who as mistress had a *jñānadākinī*.

They had three sons,[106] of whom the two eldest took an interest in Brahmanism, whereas the youngest greatly revered Buddhism. As no conformity is possible between the Brahmanic and the Buddhist systems, the three brothers began quarreling. This made the mother intervene, asking: "What are you three fighting about? If you feel cold then put on clothes! If you are hungry then eat your boiled rice!"[107] The youngest son replied: "We three brothers disagree about the theories of Brahmanism and Buddhism. Which of the two is the better?" The mother responded: "[I] shall send you from here to the snow-mountain Kailāsa (*gangs ri* Ti-se), where the god Mahādeva [i.e. Śiva] resides, in order to inquire which religious system (*chos lugs*) is the better, Brahmanism or Buddhism." So she shot the three

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102 **MṆKB** E (A) 48a6, 52b3-53a2; **KCHKKHM-1** 639.3-641.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 31.15-32.7; **KCHKKHM-3** 379.1-380.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 50a2-4; **MBNTH** 13b5-14a2; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 63.13-24.

103 Cf. notes 84 and 101.

104 This legend of Indian origin, forming part II of the present chapter, paints mainly the story of the erection of a famous Mahābodhi image or idol of Buddha which supposedly depicts him at the age of thirty, a statue which allegedly was installed in a *gandhola*-chapel or *dri gtsang khang caitya* in Vajrāsana. It has been integrated into **GLR** by Bla-ma dam-pa, partly because of its popularity, cf. below, partly because of its thematic affinity with the other sections of this chapter dealing with blessing or *puṇya*-bestowing receptacles and partly because, following his prime sources, the account there similarly is interwoven into a coherent whole. Like there, the so-called 'Trikāya-legend', cf. note 84 *supra*, and - *par excellence* - the destiny of the twelve-years idol, also denoted the Jo-bo Shākya statue, continues in the so-called 'India-China legend' which forms section III of our chapter.
For a full discussion of this legend and its sources, see Appendix, note 104.

105 Cf. **MṆKB** E (A) 49a2; **KCHKKHM-2** 37.18-19; **CHBYMTNYP** 43a6; **GBYTSH** 40b6.

106 Cf. **MṆKB** E (A) 49a2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 37.19-38.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 43a6; **MBNTH** 11b3; **GBYTSH** 40b6-41a1: The three sons: Mahāsaṃbhe, Bimasaṃbhe and Tsakrasaṃbhe [*sic*]. The proper reconstruction of these enigmatic names remains to be done. **GGCHBY**, **PSJZ**: rGyal-ba, Legs-rgyal and dGe-ba; cf. also note 104.

107 **MṆKB** E (A) 49a3; **KCHKKHM-2** 38.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 43a6-43b1; **GBYTSH** 41a1-2; **rNam-thar** 15.17-22.

sons with shoes, which were smeared with an ointment of swiftfootedness and send them off.[108]

In a trice the three sons reached the summit of Mt. Kailāsa. There [they found] a beautiful girl collecting flowers in a jeweled vessel. They inquired: "Who are you? For what purpose are you collecting flowers?" The young maiden replied: "I am the maid-servant of goddess Umadeva [i.e. Umādevī] and on the fifteenth [of the month] the noble Arhants will arrive coming through the air by way of their magical faculties (*rdzu 'phrul, ṛddhi*) and attend a religious feast in our palace and these flowers are to be strewn before them."[109]

They accompanied the young maiden and arrived at the palace of the god Mahādeva and as the time [happened to] coincide with the fifteenth day, they witnessed the arrival of the noble Arhants through the air by way of their magical faculties and [how they took their] seats prepared for them made from costly jewels. Then the god Mahādeva and the goddess Umadeva [i.e. Umādevī], the two, strewed flowers, served the religious feast and offered up prayers. Again, the noble Arhants went off through the air by way of their magical faculties.[110]

When the three brothers inquired the god Mahādeva as to the superiority of either Brahmanism or Buddhism, the God Mahādeva replied: "The Buddhist system is superior. I myself adhere also to Buddhism and aim at Buddhahood. Aside from the state of temporal happiness, the Brahmanic religious system does not possess [the means to attain] the essential [state] of ultimate perfection." Thus [replying] the three sons were convinced and returned to their [own] country.[111]

They next adressed their mother: "All three of us will adhere to Buddhism." The mother responded: "It is well[, indeed,] that the three of you have decided to embrace Buddhism, but in doing so, you will each have to build a temple: The eldest son[, named] Mahā-ma-se [*sic*] shall erect a temple in Vajrāsana![112]; the middle son[, named] Si-ba-sa-me

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108 **MṆKB** E (A) 9a3-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 38.3-14; **CHBYMTNYP** 43b1-44a1; **rNam-thar** 15.22-26; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 65.3-4.

109 **MṆKB** E (A) 49a6-49b2; **KCHKKHM-2** 38.14-18: Three girls collecting flowers; **CHBYMTNYP** 44a2-44a5: Many girls; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 65.5: A group of girls.

110 **MṆKB** E (A) 49b2-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 38.18-39.4; **CHBYMTNYP** 44a6-44b6; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 65.7-8. In this passage, one **GLR** has the element: fifteenth day, the day of the fullmoon. All versions, aside from Chag Lo-tsā-ba, who has Maheśvara, have Mahādeva.

111 **MṆKB** E (A) 49b5-50a1; **KCHKKHM-2** 39.4-15; **CHBYMTNYP** 45b6-45a5; **rNam-thar** 15.30-16.3. In this passage, the version embodied in **CHBYMTNYP** seems to stand closest to the wording of **GLR**.

112 **MṆKB** E (A) 50a1-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 39.14-40.3; 43.18-19; **CHBYMTNYP** 45a5-46a1; **MBNTH** 11b3-5; **rNam-thar** 16.7-8; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 65.18-20: The statue of Śākyamuni should be made out of precious stones, being immensely huge, and depict the Lord with the *mudrā* of 'turning the wheel of the Law', wherefore the idol was called 'Dharmacakra'. It is now installed in Nālandā, these sources maintain. It was erected in Vārāṇasī. Only **rNam-thar** and **HBCHBY** corroborate the information that there was also erected a *vihāra*. **HBCHBY** further asserts that the statue erected was called (or represented) *slob dpon* mTho-btsun grub-rje! On the latter figure Udbhatasiddhasvāmin, the putative author, *inter alia*, of Viśeṣastava, cf. M. Hahn, 1977, p. 214 and Schneider, 1991. By this hint dPa'-bo indirectly refers to Viśeṣastava and in particular Viśeṣastavatīkā by Prajñāvarman where a legend displaying a similar theme is given. There the story relates about two brothers, being Udbhatasiddhasvāmin and his brother Śaṃkarasvāmin, who similarly adhered to different systems. They too sought advice by consulting Maheśvara on Mount Kailāsa. Cf. Schneider, 1991, pp. 6, 34-36.

[*sic*] shall erect a temple in Jetavana![113] and [you, my] youngest son [named] Va-spra-ta-sa-me [*sic*] shall raise a temple in Vajrāsana!"[114]

So, the two eldest sons raised the[ir] temples in accordance with the behest of their mother and completed [their work] first.

The youngest son raised [his] temple in Vajrāsana making it outwardly as a *gandhola* and internally as a temple.[115] While [being engaged in] moulding a huge mass of clay and rasping sandal-wood as material intending to erect a statue of the Venerable One at the age of thirty years inside [this] temple, his mother addressed him: "The godframer and you, my son along with ample provision and water, three [in all], must remain inside the temple and the door must be nailed with ironnails! And you must finish [erecting] the statue within three month and three days!"[116]

When three months and two days had expired the mother turned up, demanding: "Open the door!" [But] the son replied: "Only three months and two days have passed; there is still one day left!" The mother [nevertheless] replied: "Although one day is wanting, I cannot help it! I shall die tomorrow and at present nobody except myself has ever beheld the countenance of Buddha. If I do not examine the likeness or disparity [compared with the real Buddha] nobody else shall ever be able to distinguish [properly], so open the door, I must see the statue!" So the door was opened and the godframer, being a emanational creation (*sprul pa*), disappeared like a vanishing rainbow.[117]

This statue of Buddha [representing him] at the age of thirty,[118] was embellished with the characteristic features and marks [of a Mahāpuruṣa] and wonderous like as follows:[119]

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113 **MṆKB** E (A) 50a4-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 40.4-7, 44.1-2; **CHBYMTNYP** 46a1-5; **MBNTH** 12a1-12b1; **rNam-thar** 16.6-7; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 65.20-23. Here the idol of Bhagavat, an *iṣṭadevatā*, was erected by the second brother, known by the name 'Byi-lu-'ban' [*sic*] or 'Bhi-hu-lu-vin' [*sic*] and made from material acquired from the eight great holy places of India. The place where it was made was Rājagṛha, i.e. Veṇuvana [**GLR**: Jetavana]. Along with the construction of a statue, a *gandhola* was erected measuring twenty fathoms. The idol is later installed, the sources adduce, in Odantapuri.

114 **MṆKB** E (A) 50a5-50b1; **KCHKKHM-2** 40.7-17, 43.17-18; **CHBYMTNYP** 46a6-46b6; **MBNTH** 12b1-5; **rNam-thar** 16.11-12; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 65.23-66.8.

The statue of Buddha denoted Mahābodhi; the idol was self-manifested (*rang byon*), as the godframer Viśvakarman vanished when the door was opened on the mother's behest. It was erected in Vajrāsana, the location where Bhagavat acquired *bodhi*. The curious form Va-spra-ta-sa-me is obviously a further corruption of the already unclear Sanskrit name Tsa-kra saṃ-bhe, cf. Appendix, note 104.

115 **MṆKB** E (A) 50b1-51a4; **KCHKKHM-2** 40.15-17; **CHBYMTNYP** 46a5-47a4.

116 **MṆKB** E (A) 50b1-51a5; **KCHKKHM-2** 40.15-41.18; **CHBYMTNYP** 46b2-47a4; **MBNTH** 12b6-13a4; **rNam-thar** 16.15-26; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 66.9-11. The versions deviate on the duration of time necessary for erecting the Mahābodhi statue, cf. Appendix, note 104.

117 **MṆKB** E (A) 51a4-51b2; **KCHKKHM-2** 41.17-42.9; **CHBYMTNYP** 47a4-48a3; **MBNTH** 13a4; **rNam-thar** 16.24-30; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 66.13-15.

118 Only **MṆKB** E (A) 51b2 and **GLR** maintain that it represents Bhagavat captured at the age of thirty (but **CHBYMTNYP** 48a4 gives thirty-two, etc. cf. note 104 *supra* and Appendix).

119 **MṆKB** E (A) 51b2-52a3; **KCHKKHM-2** 42.9-43.16; **CHBYMTNYP** 48a5-49a1; **MBNTH** 13a5-6.

These sources also discuss the distinguishing discrepancies (*mi 'dra ba'i khyad par*) by which this idol was at variance with the actual Bhagavat. Without being listed by **GLR**, the points of difference amount, according to the above sources, to seven resp. eight points, whereas **GGCHBY**

When people were paying respect to this statue, they forgot hunger and thirst, [to such an extent that] others had to give them food and drink.

Having paid their respect to this statue, people were unable to show their back when withdrawing so they retreated with their back foremost.

If people suddenly were taken ill, they were restored to health merely by beholding the countenance of this statue.

If passionate fighting and dispute rose among people, the very beholding of its countenance entirely allayed the anger and people [spontaneously turned] compassionate, obtaining a mind oriented towards Enlightenment.

Then the mother, according to her prophecy, passed away into Nirvāna the following day and when inspecting what defect there had been due to the deficiency of one day, the little toe of the right foot was found to be lacking.[120]

[III] [India-China Legend]

In this way this statue [i.e. the Mahābodhi, the thirty-years idol] and the two statues of Jo-bo Shākya [i.e. eight-years and twelve-years idols][121] were installed in Vajrāsana in India, where, after several generations had passed, there lived in India a Dharmarāja called Dharmapāla.[122]

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and **rNam-thar** enumerate four resp. three points. The points mentioned here in **GLR**, i.e. that when people paid the statue their respect, etc. are part of the eight *guṇa*-s with which this idol later was prophesied by the mother to possess, cf. **MNKB** E (A) 51b5-52a2, **KCHKKHM-2** 43.6-16; **CHBYMTNYP** 48b6-49a6; **MBNTH** 13a5-13b1.

120 **MNKB** E (A) 52a3; **CHBYMTNYP** 49a1-2.

121 This last section, which, in fact, is a direct continuation of the so-called Trikāya legend, cf. note 84 *supra* and Appendix, provides, in the main, the story of the continuous destiny of the twelve-years statue, the Jo-bo Shākya, according to the indigenous Tibetan notions, an idol of paramount importance for the Tibetans, the prospective *sanctum sanctorum* and one of the key national palladia and shrines of Tibet, the bless-bestowing dowry of the Chinese princess Kong-jo, the future queen of the founder of the Tibetan empire, king Srong-btsan sgam-po. Closing chapter II with this legend, Bla-ma dam-pa has facilitated the transition to the ensuing chapter dealing with the genealogy of Chinese rulers. Hence, we shall provisionally call this account the 'India-China legend', as it describes *one* Tibetan version of the introduction of Buddhism in China.

For a fuller discussion and survey, see Appendix, note 121.

122 Dharmapāla (ca. 770-810 A.D.), a pious Buddhist and the grandson of the founder of the Pāla Dynasty, Gopāla (750-770 A.D.). In fact, all these sources provide, prior to the present legend, a lengthy almost identical, mythological exposé on the origin of the Pāla Dynasty, from Gopāla, Ramapāla, Devapāla through Dharmapāla: **MNKB** E (A) 53a3-53b6; **KCHKKHM-1** 641.3-642.6; **KCHKKHM-2** 33.9-34.13; **CHBYMTNYP** 68b5-70a5, the latter being the most detailed. In **KCHKKHM-2**, *loc. cit.* 34.13, finally, the founder is called, not Gopāla, but king Dag-pa. On these figures, cf. **GGCHBY** Chap. XXVIII-XXX, 156.14-171.17 and **rNam-thar rgyas-pa** (Eimer, 1979, I, p. 206, II, p. 126ff.) and the notes 82 and 85 in Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 200-203. The mention of these *rāja*-s in the Vita-tradition of king Srong-btsan sgam-po is important while it provide us with a fair *terminus a quo* of these parts of these narratives.

Contemporary with him lived in China an emperor called sPri-sti-ma dza-ja [*sic*].[123] These two entered into a friendship with one another, without ever having seen or met.

On one occasion[124] the Indian king received from the Chinese emperor as the last present of three sent to him a seamless (*srub med pa*) brocade gown (*za 'og gi gos*) embellished with four *śrīvatsa* (*dpal gyi be'u bzhi*)-emblems on the breast.[125] The Indian king thought: "The Chinese emperor must indeed have a great wish, what does he want?" He subsequently received a letter and when opening it, it read accordingly:[126]

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123 Emperor sPri-sti-ma dza-ja [*sic*], the latter element being *rāja*, cf. **HBCHBY** (NGA) 64.17-19; (MA) p. 781, emperor [s]Pri-ti[l] and **PSJZ** 168.14-16: emperor Bri-ti, both here probably follow **GLR**. Cf. also note 155 in the next chapter. Cf. also **MṆKB** E (A) 53b5, followed by **GBYTSH** 73a4-5: Emperor Deva rādza (i.e. Devarāja), and **KCHKḴHM-2** 35.8 mentions the emperor of Ke-shi'i khri-sgo, the latter reflecting the emperor's palace (*khri sgo*, 'portal to the throne', i.e. the palacial residence of *ke shi* or *keng shi* (i.e. Ch. *jingshi*, 'capital city', i.e. Ch'ang-an) cf. e.g. Dunhuang *Chronicle* (Bacot *et al.*, 1940, pp. 114.29, 153) and Lhasa Zhol-Inscriptions (South l.56, 59, 62-63; Richardson, 1985, p. 13-14); Uebach, 1991, pp. 507, 513. The other cryptic or ahistorical names and places are probably all Tibetan inventions.

124 **MṆKB** E (A) 53b6-54a5; **KCHKḴHM-1** 643.1-644.3; **KCHKḴHM-2** 34.14-35.7; **CHBYMTNYP** 73a4-74a3, **MBNTH** 15b1-4. Cf. also **rNam-thar rgyas-pa** 39a5ff. (Eimer, 1979, II, p. 126ff.). **GLR** here abstains from mentioning, as do his prime sources, the background, mythological to be true, for the initial contact between the king and the emperor:

During the reign of king Dharmapāla, the Buddhist religion, represented by the emblems of Triratna such as the Nālandā *vihāra* was thoroughly destroyed by the *tīrthika*-s, the heretics, also called the Du-ru-ka or Tu-ru-ka, i.e. the Turks, a general term often used by the Tibetans for the Mahomendans. Magadha being desolated, king Dharmapāla allegedly turned to the Chinese emperor for help and in a letter requested for military aid against the Buddhist subverters. However, being unable to dispatch a mighty army (due to geographical distance, obviously), the Chinese emperor repeatedly forwarded a great amount of riches and costly jewels as subvension in order to provide the financial conditions (*cha rkyen byas*) to ensure military assistance from neighbouring pro-Buddhist Indian kingdoms. Having thus summoned and outfitted a huge army, the *tirthika*-s were overthrown and the Buddhist religion blossomed again.

125 **MṆKB** E (A) 53b5; **KCHKḴHM-1** 643.5; **KCHKḴHM-2** 35.15-17; **CHBYMTNYP** 73b5-6; **MBNTH** 15a3-4.

One of the costly gifts, cf. previous note, forwarded by the Chinese emperor was this wonderous brocade gown, which was embellished with the *śrīvatsa* on the breast visible, these sources adduce, in whatever way one wore it, i.e. inside out or reverse.

126 In this versified piece, **GLR** has abbreviated its version slightly: **GLR** has thirteen lines, where **MṆKB**, Bla-ma dam-pa's prime source and **CHBYMTNYP** (aside from a few words, identical with **MṆKB**, citing it?) have eighteen lines, cf. **MṆKB** E (A) 54a6-55a4; **CHBYMTNYP** 74a4-75a2. The last six verse-lines in **GLR**, moreover, deviate from its source, evidently here being Bla-ma dam-pa's own formulation. **MṆKB** reads:

‖ *kye rgyal po chen po chos skyong bstan pa'i bdag*
| *sngon bsags bsod nams dam pa'i phul* [or: *dpal*] *gyur pas* |
| *rigs btsun mtho la bzang ba rgyal po'i brgyud du 'khrungs* |
| *gnas bzang khyad du 'phags pa rgya gar yul dbus su* |
| *las bzang sngon gyi 'phro mthud chos skyong mnga' bdag mdzad* |
| *bsod nams khyad du 'phags pas dge tshogs spel la brtson* |
| *sku khams bzang zhing dge tshogs spel bar bdag gis khums* |
| *gnas dang yul gyis bskal pas zhal yang ma mjal yang* |
| *las dang smon lam mthun pas thos pa'i phrin la brten* |

"Protector of the Law (*dharmapāla*), Indian king, Lord of the Doctrine,
Perforce of the strength secured by the fruits of previously accumulated merits,
The treasure of the Law of endless might and glory,
[You] protect your subjects with happiness and welfare, enjoying all [that can be] wished for.
[You] who reside in the distinguished and noble country of India,
Are not depraved by lacking receptacles from where you can accumulate merits,
I, [on the contrary,] emperor of China, a barbarous borderland,
Neither possess a statue of the Teacher, nor do I possess the word (*bka'*, *vacana*) of Jina;
[Further,] in my country there has been no period of the [Buddhist] Law,
A statue of the Venerable One, from you
With the size of being twelve years of age,[127]
Five *sūtra*-s[128] and a group of *bhikṣu*-s,
I beg to be granted me out of sympathy (*brtse bas*)!"

The Indian king thought: "In my country we possess the doctrine[s] of Mahāyāna, the [bodily] relics of Buddha and also Śrāvakas and Arhants [of the Hīnayāna creed] are found here. In his country, [truly,] these things are not available and since the [Buddhist] Law certainly will spread in his country and [likewise] shall not decline in my country, I shall dispatch [these items] [but first] consult the Jo-bo statue itself by preferring a petition [to it]." When he arrived in front of the Jo-bo in the royal palace, he observed that the Jo-bo statue, which previously was installed facing south, now faced east. To this the king thought: "It appears that the Jo-bo statue itself is also rejoicing at going to China."[129]

| *phan tshun brtse sems grogs su byas nas skyes kyis 'grul* |
| *khyod ni yul dbus sangs rgyas byon pa'i gnas 'khrungs pas* |
| *bsod nams sog pa'i rten gyis khyod la phongs pa med* |
| *bdag ni sangs rgyas zhabs kyis ma bcags mtha' 'khob skyes* |
| *sngon gyi bsod nams dman pas tshogs bas mchod gnas med* |
| *longs spyod [nor] kyis ni phongs par ma gyur kyang* |
| *bsod nams bsag pa'i rten gyis 'phongs lags pas* |
| *khyod kyi mchod gnas sangs rgyas zhal skyin de* |
| *dge slong dang bcas nas gnang bar zhu* |

127 **GBYTSH** 73b6, rendering this legend, has misplaced the eight-years idol, cf. note 84, with the twelve-years statue, despite the fact that Śrībhūtibhadra explicitly uses **KCHKKHM** as source and that both versions of this text have the twelve-years statue. This was even taken over by A-myes-zhabs in his **Sa-skya gdung-rabs chen-mo**, cf. Wylie, 1988, pp. 1559-1565. **HBCHBY** (NGA) 63.23-24 introduces also both statues, the eight- and the twelve-years statues, but has an additional brief narrative on the origin of (another ?) eight-years statue, cf. *ibid.* 64.4-9 identifying also this with the prospective Jo-bo Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, later arriving in Tibet as the dowry from Nepal.

128 **KCHKKHM-1** 644.5-644.6; **KCHKKHM-2** 36.14-15; **GBYTSH** 73b5-74a1, followed by **Sa-skya gdung-rabs chen-mo**, cf. Wylie, 1988. This latter text shows how Tibetan mythographers, here the Sa-skya-pas, took over an old textual tradition and combined it with their own sacred idol, in order to tinge the holy object, the Dharma-conch of Sa-skya, with historical authenticity.

129 This passage is untraced in any of his possible sources, **MṆKB** and **KCHKKHM**, so if it does not reflect Bla-ma dam-pa's own formulation, which is most likely, it reflects an earlier, more detailed,

Consequently, he fitted out a great vessel, upon which he placed the Jo-bo Shākya [statue] and [the emblems representing] the Trirātna. On the deck he pitched a silk and jewel-mounted tent[-pavillion] and it was equipped with numerous requisites such as [colourful] banners and music-accompaniment. The vessel was then dispatched on the great river flowing from India to China.[130]

The Indian king replied accordingly:[131]

> "Alas Emperor of China pay attention!
> This my sanctuary, the countenance of the Teacher
> Was patronized by Śakra, the Lord of Gods,
> The material from which it was produced was the ten different precious metals,
> Its creation was brought about by Viśvakarman
> and it was consecrated by Buddha himself.
> Thus, this peerless statue of Jinendra,
> Whenever paying it respect [either by] beholding it, hearing it, recollecting it [or] touching it,
> It shall secure immediate Buddhahood, [so it has been] enounced by the Victor [himself];
> This Jo-bo [Shākya statue] endowed with such [excellent] qualities,
> Though it is as dear to me as my own heart, indeed,
> In consequence of your substantial (*lci ba*) presents and requests,
> And in order to guide the sentient beings of that country [of yours] unto [the path of] virtuousness,
> I shall, nevertheless, bestow this sanctuary upon you.
> May you pay it [due] respect and revere it devoutly!"

The Chinese emperor rejoiced greatly and had a feast of welcome prepared beyond imagination accompanied by music [etc.]. The Jo-bo [statue] and the [three emblems of] Triratna arrived at the palace of the Chinese emperor Dza-ja.[132] [From that period,] the Holy Law diffused and the barbarous borderland of China was converted bringing all of its sentient beings happiness and prosperity.

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version of these texts, no more extant.

130 Again, there seems to be no parallel for this passage in **GLR**'s prime sources, though **KCHKKHM-2** 37.5-9 writes: *gsung rab ba tsha chu klung | rgyan sdug po | 'dul ba | za ma tog dge slong mdo 'dzin pa bzhi dang || shākya mu ne gdan khri dang bcas pa rgyab yol med par gzings kyi nang du bzhugs nas chu bo chen po'i kha la gdan drangs te rgya nag tu brdzangs so.*

131 The stanza-passage is a parallel to **MNKB** E (A) 54b6-55a4, cf. identically **CHBYMTNYP** 75a3-75b3, but the wording in **GLR**, aside from having fifteen *tshig rkang* versus **MNKB**'s fourteen ditto, deviates nevertheless markedly, while not contextually, in the formulation, that we may conclude that we are here dealing with a free paraphrase. F.ex. Bla-ma dam-pa uses the nickname of the statue, i.e. Jo-bo [Shākya], while his prime source[s], **MNKB** has the neutral *mchod gnas*. This reveals, *inter alia*, the author's *prayojana* behind the compilation of the work: Bla-ma dam-pa is not just compiling a historical work, but is *telling* a consecutive story.

132 Cf. the notes 123 and 129-30 *supra*.

The Erection of the Three Bodies of Buddha Śākyamuni and their Consecration.

III

The Dissemination of the Holy Law (Saddharma) in the Countries of China and Mongolia and an Enumeration of their Emperors

[I] [Genealogy of China]

Now,[133] after the arrival of the two statues, the Jo-bo Shākya and the Jo-bo Sandal-wood statue,[134] we [may] consider how the Holy Law spread in China, [about which we read] in **The Genealogical History of the Great Chronicle of China (rGya-nag gi deb-ther chen-po'i rgyal-rabs kyi lo-rgyus)**:[135] The first emperor of China was called Ci'u [i.e.

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133 In this chapter Bla-ma dam-pa offers an enumeration of the leading royal figures of the dynasties of China, Tangut/Xixia and Yuan-Mongolia according to the genealogical lists and expositions embodied in Kun-dga' rdo-rje's **DTHMP** as explicitly stated at the end of the chapter.

Kun-dga' rdo-rje's genealogical exposé of these dynasties became, in the wake of its publication in Tibet in the middle of the XIVth century, *sans pareil* the key source for the Tibetan conception of the pre-Ming genealogical history in China and Mongolia. This was a fact not only for almost all subsequent Buddhist histories, such as **GLR**, **YLJBCHBY** 19.1-37.15, 79.1-87.3; **GBYTSH** 70a3-86b4; **DTHNGP** (I, 73.1-84.2, Roerich, pp. 47-60); **DTHMPSM** 42b5-48a5 (Tucci, pp. 175-180); **HBCHBY** (MA) 775-792; **PSJZ** III 91ff. etc. all quoting **DTHMP** extensively or merely presenting a *verbatim* rechauffé of **DTHMP**, but also for traditional Mongolian historiographers, (**DTHMP** = **Ulaγan debter**) such as Saγang Sečen in his **Erdeni-yin tobči**. Cf. also here Š. Bira, 1964, pp. 69-81.

The reason is obvious. Kun-dga' rdo-rje was the first historian in Tibet to incorporate genuinely non-Tibetan material concerning the dynasties from contemporaneous and otherwise unknown historical sources, partly also from oral communication extended him by Tangut and Mongolian scholars. For reason of avoiding here, therefore, cases of trite repetition, parallel references to the above post-**GLR** sources will not be given in the appended notes. An exception is **YLJBCHBY**, while its author, like Bla-ma dam-pa, evidently had direct access to one of the basic sources employed by Kun-dga' rdo-rje, namely **rGya'i deb-ther**. For details on Kun-dga' rdo-rje's sources, see Appendix, note 133.

134 Bla-ma dam-pa initiates the China-chapter by mentioning the arrival of the twelve-year Jo-bo Shākya statue *and* the Jo-bo Tsandan or Sandal-wood statue in China. Here our author apparently follows his prime source, **DTHMP** and a common source, the **rGya'i deb-ther** also called **rGya'i yig-tshang** (cf. next note) and the Jo-bo Sandal-wood Statue Account (cf. note 140). Based upon this information, - deliberately or out of ignorance - our author combines the legendary twelve-years statue of the Trikāya-legend, cf. **GLR** Chap. II by identifying this with the above-mentioned identical-named Jo-bo Shākya statue. This combination or identification seems to have been taken over by a large number of Tibetan historians, such as e.g. the otherwise attentive bSod-nams grags-pa, **DTHMPSM** 43b5-6 and, more suprisingly, by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag in **HBCHBY** (NGA) 64.17-18; (MA) 781.5, etc. apparently arousing some confusion. But it is without historical foundation. As adduced in **GLR** Chap. II, note 84, the legendary Jo-bo Shākya of the Trikāya-legend was raised by Viśvakarman etc., whereas the Jo-bo Shākya, also of twelve-year Siddhārtha size, allegedly was raised while Bhagavat was visiting the *devaloka* of Trāyastriṃśa (like the Jo-bo Tsandan statue, are these two statues hereby confused?, cf. **NGTSH** 51.3-6) and, moreover placed in a probable historical context. At least it accounts for the fact that Bla-ma dam-pa naturally attempts to identify (cf. nn. 153-55 *infra*) the enigmatic Chinese king sPri-ti-ma (from the India-China legend, cf. **GLR** Chap. II, nn. 123, 132 *supra*) with the emperor of Si-chen, where the historical Jo-bo Shākya eventually turned up, cf. note 155 *infra*.

135 The long title **rGya-nag gi deb-ther chen-po'i rgyal-rabs kyi lo-rgyus** refers to a well-known, yet deplorably no more extant work variously titled: **rGya'i deb-ther**, **rGya-nag gi deb-ther [chen-po]**, **rGya [nag-po]'i yig-tshang**, i.e. the 'Annals of China' or the 'Chronicle of China' employed as source, cf. note 133 *supra* and Appendix, by **DTHMP**'s author Kun-dga' rdo-rje, the first Tibetan scholar who had the opportunity to use it. This work is otherwise known under the

Zhou].[136]*[137] Then, after four royal generations had passed, an emperor called Ci'u dBang-rgyal [Zhao-wang [of] Zhou][138] rose to the throne and twenty-four years having elapsed, in the wood-male-tiger year, on the eighth day of the fourth month,*[139] there appeared in the western direction many marvellous signs [and omens] such as lightening and thunder, which were recognized to be the birth of the Venerable One when the Chinese astrologers made their calculations. After the Venerable One most manifestly had become a Buddha at the age of thirty, he went to the abode of Tuṣita in order to preach the Law to his mother. In his absence king Utrayana [i.e. Udrāyaṇa] had an image in sandal-wood made of him.[140] When the Venerable One descended from the abode of the gods, he consecrated this statue of sandal-wood and prophesied: "One thousand years after my Nirvāṇa, these two statues [i.e. the Jo-bo Shākya statue and this Jo-bo Sandal-wood statue] will work for the welfare of all

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supplementary title: **Thang-shu thu-han** (*or* **Thang-zhu thu-hven**, **Thang-zhu thu-hvan-tshvan**) evidently being the Tangshu Tufan, the section concerning Tibet (Tufan) in Tangshu (on the Tufan-section of the two redactions of Tangshu: the Chap. 196A-B of Jiu Tangshu and Chap. 216A-B of Xin Tangshu, cf. Petech, 1939, pp. 39-40 and the translation, Pelliot, 1961, *passim*). From the reference *in casu* we cannot exclude the possibility that this work may have incorporated in its Tibetan redaction a short introductory outline of the general narrative of China as may be deduced from this reference to the Zhou dynasty, before focussing extensively on the Tibet-China relationship during the Tang period: *Bod dang rgya'i 'brel tshul dang dbon zhang gi lo rgyus thang zhu thu hvan tshvan* - A history on the relationship between uncle and nephew.

For a full discussion on this most important source, cf. Appendix, note 135.

136 The first emperor of China [*sic*] Ci'u or Ce'u, i.e. Zhou [dynasty] 1050-249 B.C. The first emperor of Zhou was Wu-wang Fa 1050-1044 B.C. Cf. also Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 213-14. For this initial passage of the first emperor of China, it is unclear, while collating the sources, whether **DTHMP**, and hence **GLR**, followed the 'Record of China', cf. note 135, or whether they follow the Sandalwood Account, cf. note 140, directly. The latter is probably the case, as **DTHMP** and this Account are almost verbatim congruous.

137 **gloss*: *This emperor and the Indian king Dhanuhsthira were contemporaries.*
Cf. also **HBCHBY** (NGA) 64.11.

138 **DTHMP** 6a4; **YLJBCHBY** 19.4-5.
The fourth emperor of Zhou, Zhao-wang Xia (981-962 B.C.). The reading in **GLR** Ci'u dbang-rgyal, contrary to **DTHMP** Ci'u dbang, may be explained as a simple misreading of **DTHMP** or of the Sandalwood Account (cf. note 140), where is is written: *Ci'u dbang* [zhes] bya-ba *rgyal* sar bton....

139 **gloss*: *Besides the* [*common*] *identification of the annual celebration* [*of the birth*] *of Buddha, there is disagreement as to the chronological element in the year-cycle* [*between the various traditions*]. *This is truly the case in the work* ***'Records of China'*** (***rGya'i deb-ther***).
In this interlinear gloss, Bla-ma dam-pa (or a later scribe) refers to the existence of divergent opinions as to the dating and chronological calculations of the birth of Buddha. In this respect, he includes **rGya'i deb-ther**, which here is quoted *via* **DTHMP**. The various chronological calculations among the Tibetan authors are well-known. The present opinion, assigning Buddha's birth to the wood-male-tiger year, is a calculation originally based upon a well-known Chinese tradition fixed by a monk in the VIth century (520 A.D.) during a dispute between Buddhists and Daoists at the Tuo-pa (Toba) Wei court and this theory became known to the Tibetans through the Sandalwood Statue Account, cf. next note. This work incorporates this calculation-system and following this source, **DTHMP** and **GLR** (*via* **DTHMP**) have reproduced it in their brief genealogical résumé.

140 For a full discussion of this text (incl. an edition and translation) and a general assessment of it, see Appendix, note 140.

living beings in China."[141]

There appeared thirty-six emperors in direct succession [from the first] Ci'u [i.e. Zhou emperor],[142] who [all together] held the throne for [a period of] one hundred years.

An emperor called Tshan Hri Hang [i.e. Qin Shi-Huangdi [Zheng] [of Qin]],[143] father and son, appeared and they held the throne for seventy years.

Then the emperor called Han Ka'o-dzung [i.e. Gao-zu [of] [Xi Han]][144] appeared and his lineage occupied the imperial throne for twelve generations.

Thereupon, a minister Aṃ Maṃ [i.e. Wang Mang [of] Xin][145] usurped the throne and held it for eighteen years.

Then one named Sle'u Blong [i.e. Liu Xiu, Guang Wudi [of] Dong Han][146] appeared belonging to the same lineage as Han Ka'o-dzung of the former dynasty. Aṃ Maṃ was executed and sLe'u-blong seized the imperial seat. He had five sons, of whom the eldest called Han Mi[ng]-ti [i.e. Mingdi [of] Dong Han][147] became emperor. His son was emperor

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141 Cf. similarly **DTHMP** 6a5-9 = **YLJBCHBY** 19.21. As seen in Appendix, note 140, the original prophecy only mentions one statue, the Jo-bo Tsandan. Here Bla-ma dam-pa, as adduced in note 133 *supra*, manipulates with his sources (i.e. the **rGya'i deb-ther**?) and the Sandal-wood Statue Account and introduces two statues, in order to account for the introduction of the (legendary) China-bound Jo-bo Shākya statue (**GLR** chap. II) and the present Jo-bo Tsandan statue.

142 Cf. **DTHMP** 6b5; **YLJBCHBY** 20.15-16.

The figure thirty-six emperors are taken over by all subsequent historical works, but in fact the Zhou dynasty, consisting of a Western (*xi*, thirteen emperors, 1050-771 B.C.) and an Eastern (*dong*, twenty-six emperors, 771-249 B.C.) branch, counts thirty-nine emperors. Moreover, the figure one hundred years for the duration of this dynasty is grossly underestimated. It ruled for 801 years. See the discussion in Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 219-223.

143 **DTHMP** 6b5: Chin Hri-hang; **YLJBCHBY** 20.16-17.

The famous emperor and first unifier (*gcig gyur byed mkhan*) of China, Qin Shi-Huangdi (255-210 B.C.) of the Qin dynasty ruled from 221-210 B.C. followed by his son Er Shi-Huangdi, who ruled 210-207 B.C. The fact that **GLR** mentions that this emperor and his son ruled for seventy years (in fact fifteen years), while this is not mentioned in **DTHMP**, suggests here that Bla-ma dam-pa did have access to **rGya'i deb-ther**, cf. note 135 *supra*. Cf. also Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 223-231.

144 **DTHMP** 6b5-6; **YLJBCHBY** 17-18.

This emperor named Liu-Bang, imperial title Gao-zu of Former (*qian*, *sngon ma*) or Western (*xi*, *nub ma*) Han (206 B.C. - 9 A.D.) Han. He was born in 247 B.C., was entroned 24.2.202 B.C. and ruled until 29.5.195 B.C. Former or Western Han had fourteen emperors (not twelve), cf. also Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 231-235.

145 **DTHMP** 6b5: Ang Mang; **YLJBCHBY** 21.1.

The usurper Wang Mang, a minister of the eleventh emperor of Former Han named Chengdi (32-17 B.C.). He installed himself as emperor of the new dynasty named Xin (9-23 A.D.). He was born 45 B.C., became emperor 10.1.9 A.D., was put to death 6.10.23 A.D. at the age of 68. He thus held the throne for fifteen years, not eighteen; cf. also Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 235-37.

146 **GLR**: sLe'u-blong. **DTHMP** 6b6; **YLJBCHBY** 21.2: gLe'u Gong-bu. The emperor Guang Wudi, real name Liu Xiu. He belonged to the Liu clan (*rus*), the founder of the the Western Han Dynasty. This emperor re-established the Han dyansty again, this time named Eastern (*dong*, *shar ma*) Han (23-220 A.D.). He was born 13.1.5 B.C., enthroned 5.8.25 A.D. and died 29.3.57. In fact, he was not the first emperor of Dong Han, this was Huai-Yang Wang (23-24 A.D.). Eastern Han had sixteen emperors in total. But see here Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 237-40.

147 **DTHMP** 6b7-7a1; **YLJBCHBY** 21.4-13.

The famous emperor Mingdi of Dong Han, the fifth son of Guang Wudi. He was born 28 A.D., enthroned 29.3.58 and died 5.9.75 A.D. The Chinese tradition connects him with the first

Han Hao-ti [i.e. Xiandi of Han].[148]

From his hands his own minister called Tsha-bo-Tsha [i.e. Cao Cao [of] Wei][149] usurped the imperial seat. The lineage of this minister held the throne for five successive generations.

From the[ir] hand the imperial seat was seized by their minister called U Ma-ti [i.e. Wudi Si-ma Zhao [of] Xi Jin].[150]

Thereupon, the emperor [of] Hi'u Tsing [i.e. Hou Qin][151] occupied the imperial throne;

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appearance of Buddhism in China, the legend about the 'dream of Mingdi', cf. e.g. H. Maspero, "Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming. Étude critique des sources", *BEFEO* X, 1910, pp. 95-130; Zürcher, 1959, p. 22. A legend which first came to the knowledge of the Tibetans through dPa'-bo gtsug-lag's quotation of a work translated from Chinese by a *bhiksu* named Punyaśrībhadra (bSod-nams dpal bzang-po) at Sa-skya dealing, *inter alia*, with Mingdi's *rmi lam*, cf. **HBCHBY** (MA) 777-79. Cf. also Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 240-41.

148 **DTHMP 7a1-2**: Han Hen-ti; **YLJBCHBY** 21.13-14: Han Hao-ti.

Xiandi of Han, the last emperor of Dong Han is in **GLR** falsely made the son of Mingdi. Equally wrong, **DTHMP** (slavishly followed by **YLJBCHBY**) maintains that he is the twenty-fourth emperor of Han (a number obviously reached by putting together the emperors of Xi and Dong Han (actually twenty-six figures), cf. Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 244-45. He was born in 181, enthroned 28.9.190 A.D., deposed 25.11.220 and died 24.4.234.

149 **DTHMP** 7a2; **YLJBCHBY** 15-16: Tsha'o Tsha'o.

The famous general Cao Cao of Former (*qian*) Wei (220-265 A.D.), one of the San-guo (Wu 222-280 A.D., Wei 220-265 A.D., Shu 261-265 A.D.) empires. He was born 155 A.D. and after a rebellion in 190 A.D. he gained complete control over the country in year 220 A.D., being the strongest among the disputing generals. Prior to his death in 13.3.220, he founded the Former Wei, enthroning his son Cao Bi, i.e. emperor Wendi. Five emperors of the Qian Wei dynasty. Cf. also Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 245-48.

150 **GLR**: U-ma ti : **DTHMP** 7a2 (= **YLJBCHBY** 21.15-16): U-mas, Dung-dkar, *op. cit.*, p. 13.13, 248: 'Ums [*sic*].

A mixing of Wudi, his imperial name, and Si-ma, his clan name (*rus ming*). Originally minister to the third Wei emperor Shaodi (254-260 A.D.), later he became Si-ma Zhao, prince of Jin (cf. Giles 1746); born 236, enthroned 8.6.266, died 16.5.290 A.D. He became the first emperor of Western or Xi Jin (265-317 A.D.). Cf. also Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 248-252.

151 **DTHMP** 7a2ff.; **YLJBCHBY** 21.16.

The Tibetan Buddhist historiographers are here clearly bewildered, partly due to the puzzling names of these Chinese dynasties, partly on account of the general confusion that prevailed with the scenario of legitimate and illegitimate dynasties during this period known as the period of the Southern Dynasties (Nan Chao) and the sixteen kingdoms (*shiliu guo*) between 300-589 A.D. The Tibetan form *tsing* may namely reflect Jin as well as Qin.

The eldest son [descending from the lineage or from the ethnic Tibetan dynasty] of Hou or Later Qin (383-417 A.D.), Bla-ma dam-pa adduces, took over the imperial seat; the eldest brother established the lineage or dynasty [called] Dong Jin or Eastern Jin (317-420 A.D.) [*sic*] and the younger brother of [the lineage or dynasty of] Dong Jin, named Si chen, i.e. Xi Jin or Western Jin (266-317 A.D.) or Xi Qin or Western Qin (385-431 A.D.) [*sic*] took over the imperial seat. **DTHMP** 7a1-2 is more specific: The Hou Qin split into two branches (*tshan pa gnyis*): Dung Tsing, i.e. Dong Jin and Ga'i Tsing, i.e. Xi Jin/Qin ? Now, to let Dong and Xi Jin issue from Hou Qin is absurd. A clue, however, may tentatively be proffered: In northern China a 'Tibetan' petty family-clan named Pu (later Fu) rose to power. It eventually gained eminence of power and gathered together other minor clans and nomadic tribes and established the Qian or Former Qin (349-394 A.D.). The main figure consolidating this 'Tibetan' border kingdom was the famous Fu Jian (356-384 A.D.), who gradually succeeded in bringing the whole of North China under his

the eldest son [of the lineage and dynasty of] Hi'u-tsing [called] Dung Tsing [i.e. Dong Jin][152] held the throne. The younger brother of Dung Tsing, Si Chen [i.e. Xi Qin][153] then held the imperial throne.*[154] During this time it is said in the **Archives of China (rGya'i yig-tshang)** that the Jo-bo Shākya statue and the Jo-bo Sandal-wood statue, the two,[155] were

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sway. Due to a fatal military expedition against the Jin in South China in 383 A.D., his mighty army was split up into various branches and out of this dismemberment a state came into existence called Hou or Later Qin (383-417 A.D.) established by the 'Tibetan' general Yao Xiang (ruled 383-393 A.D.), cf. also note 155 *infra*. From the remnants of the Fu Jian-ruled 'dynastic kingdom' yet another petty dynasty rose: The Xi or Western Qin (385-431 A.D.) founded by an ethnic Xian-bi clan named Qi-fu. The reference to a scism, most clearly delineated in **DTHMP**, of the Hou Qin may possibly allude to the scenario outlined here. Or should we, with Inaba and Satō, *Chibetto Nendaiki*, p. 62, n. 48, rearrange the data and identify Hi'u Tsing with Fu Jian and Qian Qin, whereby, however, Dung Tsing must correspond to Hou Qin and Ga'i Tsing with Xi Qin? But this is obviously in contradiction with the ensuing passage in **DTHMP** (omitted in **GLR**) where Ga'i Tsing refers to Qian Qin, as already observed by Macdonald, 1963, p. 133, n. 127. Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 252-260, who at greater length discusses the complex picture of the sixteen kingdoms (*rgyal khab bcu drug*), maintains, pursuing a chronological approach mainly, that Hi'u Tsing must be the legitimate Chinese dynasty Xi or Western Jin (265-317 A.D.) from which, eventually, Dong Jin and Hou Qin emanated!

152 Cf. previous note.

153 Cf. note 151 *supra*.

154 **gloss*: *In the History-book* (***Chos-'byung***) *of Bu-ston* [*this*] *emperor is called sPri-sti-ma, and it is maintained that* [*he should*] *be identical* (*don mthun*) [*with this emperor, Si-chen, i.e. Xi Jin or Qin*].

This enigmatic emperor is, as we have already seen in the previous chapter, note 132, the Chinese emperor made contemporaneous with the Indian rāja Dharmapāla in the Tibetan-invented Trikāya-legend. The reason for Bla-ma dam-pa [?] to make this gloss is found in the ensuing passage found in **DTHMP**, cf. next note, [curiously or perhaps deliberately ignored by Bla-ma dam-pa], where the arrival of a statue of Buddha, denoted Jo-bo Shākya of a twelve-years size, *not identical* as Bla-ma dam-pa (and with him many later historians) would make us believe, with the identical-named statue Jo-bo Shākya of the Trikāya-legend, cf. previous chapter and note 135 *supra*, is described, a narrative possibly originating from the deplorably non-extant **rGya'i deb-ther**. In fact, Bla-ma dam-pa indirectly attempts to identify these statues, here by identifying - anachronistically - the ahistorical and legendary emperor sPri-sti-ma (allegedly of the 8th century) with the historical emperor Si-chen, i.e. the emperor of Xi Qin (of the fifth century). To undermine Bla-ma dam-pa's trustworthiness, moreover, we may note that Bu-ston, contrary to what Bla-ma dam-pa asserts in the above gloss, does not mention neither sPri-sti-ma nor Si-chen (at least according to the **CHBY** at our disposal), though Bu-ston, in a gloss, briefly mentions the Jo-bo Tsandan statue account, cf. **CHBY** 57a6-7.

This gloss is incidentally misrendered (and hence misconceived) by Jäschke, cf. his Dict., pp. 258-59, a rare phenomenon in his excellent book.

155 Here Bla-ma dam-pa allegedly follows the work **Archives of China**, by stating that two statues arrived in China, as already mentioned by our author in this chapter, cf. note 135 *supra*. Bereft of the original **rGya'i deb-ther** or **rGya'i yig-tshang** compiled by Bla-ma Rin-chen grags, cf. note 135 *supra*, it is difficult to assess Bla-ma dam-pa's trustworthiness. We already have seen above, cf. note 141, where, in connection with the Jo-bo Sandal-wood Account, Bla-ma dam-pa similarly asserts that two statues arrived in China, in spite of the fact that only one statue is recorded to have arrived. **DTHMP**, see below, following the **Record of China** too and a historical exposé on the Chinese history tendered Kun-dga' rdo-rje by one Dzam-bha-la, cf. source nos. 2 and 3A described in note 133 *supra*, mentions in this connection only one statue arriving during this emperor. For

brought to China whereafter the Holy Law spread.

Thereupon, one of his governors (*mi dpon*) called [or entitled] Ching Sang [i.e. Cheng Xiang][156] usurped the imperial seat, and, his lineage coming to an end, the emperor called Su g.Yang-ti [i.e. Yangdi [of] Sui],[157] father and son, took hold of the imperial throne.

Then the emperor[s] of Thang [i.e. Tang][158] emerged. In this respect the **Chronicle of China (rGya-nag gi deb-ther)** records that 1566 years[159] after the Nirvāṇa of the Venerable One, the Chinese emperor [i.e. Dynasty] Thang appeared, who entered into communication with Tibet, being a contemporary of the Tibetan king gNam-ri srong-btsan.

The son of this emperor [of] Thang was Thang Ka'o-zung [i.e. Gao-zu [of] Tang].[160] In the time of his son, Tha'i-dzung [i.e. Tai-zong],[161] who was a contemporary of the Tibetan king Srong-btsan sgam-po,[162] his daughter 'On-shing Kong-jo [i.e. Wencheng

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a full discussion of these sources see note 155 in Appendix.

156 **DTHMP** 7a6;-7b9; **YLJBCHBY** 22.6-24.3. Cf. previous note. The Provincial Governor or Chancellor (*zhing gi ching sang*, *cheng-xiang*), i.e. Yao Xing (393-415 A.D.), an etnic 'Tibetan', ruling the Later Qin dynasty (383-417). But see alternatively Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 261-64. The idea of a throne-usurpation (*rgyal sa phrogs*) is not expressed in **DTHMP**, and thus dovetails with our historical reading in the previous note, and suggests, again, that **GLR** did have direct access to the **rGya'i deb-ther**.

157 **DTHMP** 8a7; **YLJBCHBY** 25.3.
A lacuna in the chronology, the second emperor of Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.) called Yangdi (604-618 A.D.), surname Yang. He was born 569, enthroned 13.8.604, deposed 17.12.617 and died 11.4.618. His son Gongdi was born 605, ascended the throne 18.12.617 and was already deposed 30.5.618, and died 619, paving the way for the Tang dynasty.

158 **DTHMP** 8a7; **YLJBCHBY** 25.4.
Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D), its first emperor was Gaozu (618-626 A.D.): he was born 566, enthroned 18.6.618, abdicted 3.9.626 and died 25.6.635. Cf. note 160.

159 **GLR** here reads 2566 year, but this figure must be rectified according to **GLR** itself, cf. note 1460 *infra*. The source is the **rGya'i deb-ther chen-po**, the Tibetan redaction of the Tang-shu Tu-fan. This figure is not found in **DTHMP**, but occurs in **DTHNGP** (I, 74.10-12, Roerich, p. 48; gZhon-nu dpal usually follows **DTHMP**, but *in casu* **GLR**), **HBCHBY** (MA) p. 783, both usually basing their information upon **DTHMP**. The figures 1566 years are based upon the Buddhist calculation-system founded upon ancient Chinese sources, which maintain that Buddha was born in the wood-male-tiger year. Contrary to the Jo-bo Tsandan Account, cf. note 140 *supra*, which fixed Buddha's *nirvāṇa* to 749/50 B.C., this figure appears to reproduce the most prevalent chronology in China concerning Buddha's dates, namely 1027-947 B.C., thereby fixing Buddha's *nirvāṇa* to 947 B.C. and calculating the appearance of the first emperor of Tang to have taken place in 618 A.D. (1566 - 947 = 618/9), cf. most recently H. Francke, 1991, pp. 446-447.

160 **DTHMP** 8a7; **YLJBCHBY** 25.4.
The first emperor of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D). He was born 566, enthroned 18.6.618 abdicted 3.9.626 and died 25.6.635. **GLR**, via **DTHMP**, here follows **rGya'i deb-ther** for the exposé of the Tang dynasty. Cf. also Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 265ff.

161 **DTHMP** 8a8; **YLJBCHBY** 25.6-7.
The second emperor of Tang, he was born 23.1.599 A.D., was enthroned 4.9.626 and died 10.7.649. For a detailed exposition cf. **DTHMP** 8b7-9b1; Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 268-69.

162 The founder of the Tibetan Yar-klungs-based Dynasty, he was probably born 569 A.D. and passed away 649 A.D. Cf. the notes 448-449 and 1046 *infra*.

Gongzhu][163] came to Tibet.

He had seven sons,[164] who successively occupied the throne. The lineage of the eldest son, Dzung-dzung [i.e. Zhong-zong][165] mounted the throne. He was the fifth generation of the Thang [Dynasty]. This emperor and the Tibetan king Mes-Ag-tshom[s][166] were contemporaries. The princess of the emperor, Gyam-shing Kong-jo [i.e. Jincheng Gongzhu][167] came to Tibet.

His son Thang Zan-zung [i.e. Xuan-zong [of] Tang][168] occupied the throne.

Thereafter one of his ministers, called Hang Cha'o [i.e. Huang-chao [of] Qi][169] made revolt and ursuped the imperial seat.

Then followed the five kinds [of Dynasties [Wu-dai]] of five imperial lineages such as Long [i.e. [Hou] Liang][170] occupying the throne for fifty years.

Thereafter an emperor called Ci'u Tha'i-zu [i.e. Tai-zu [of the] Zhao [clan] of [the Bei

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163 **DTHMP** 8b7-8. Cf. **GLR** chap. XIII *infra*. Actually she was the emperor's grand-daughter (*tsha mo*).

164 Actually nine sons, and his eldest son, ignored by **GLR**, Gao-zong took over the throne 649-683 A.D. He died Dec. 27, 683 A.D.

165 **YLJBCHBY** 28.9-11.

The fourth and at the same time the seventh emperor of Tang. He was the seventh son, not the oldest as maintained here, of the third emperor Gao-zong (649-683), ignored by **GLR**, and was born 26.11.656, enthroned 3.1.684, deposed already 26.2.684, restored 23.2.705 and died 3.7.710 A.D.

166 I.e. Khri-lde gtsug-b[r]tsan, born 704, ruled 712-754 A.D. Cf. note 1115 *infra*. Cf. also **HBCHBY** 10b6-7.

167 **DTHMP** 10b4-5; **YLJBCHBY** 30.11-13.

Cf. the notes 1137 and 1474 *infra*. According to **DTHMP** (Gangtok ed.: rGyal po nu bo Vi; Dung-dkar ed. 21.5-7: Vi-dbang) and **YLJBCHBY**, the pricess was the daughter of the brother of the emperor, called Vi-dbang (i.e. Rui-wang; rl. 710-12 A.D.).

168 **DTHMP** 10b7-9.

This is probably Xuan-zong, commonly known as Ming Huangdi, the third son of Rui-zong (himself rl. 684, 710-12 A.D., the father of Jincheng Gongzhu, cf. previous note), born 8.9.685, enthroned 8.9.712, abdicted 16.9.755 and died on the 3.5.762. Here Bla-ma dam-pa cuts off the enumeration of the Tang emperors although **DTHMP** 10b6-12a7 provides a detailed exposé of the following emperors.

169 **DTHMP** 12a7 and **YLJBCHBY** 33.3-4: Hvang Ma'o.

GLR correctly has Hvang Cha'o, indicative of the fact that Bla-ma dam-pa has consulted **rGya'i deb-ther** directly. This is the famous rebel, who became leader of a revolting farmer-movement. Having plotted rebellion in 875 A.D., he gradually succeeded in consolidating his power. He founded his own petty state in 880 A.D., the Da Qi, but already 883/4 its end was spelt, when he was put to death by the Turkish Sha Tuo.

170 **DTHMP** 12a8-9; **YLJBCHBY** 33.7-9.

More specifically fifteen emperors (during fifty-three years) of Five Dynasties (Wu-dai):
Hou or Later Liang (907-921 A.D.) three emperors.
Hou or Later Tang (923-936 A.D.) ruled by the old Li clan, five emperors.
Hou or Later Jin (936-946 A.D.) ruled by the Shi clan, two emperors.
Hou or Later Han (947-950 A.D.) of the Liu clan, two emperors and
Hou or Later Zhou (951-960 A.D.) of the Guo clan, three emperors. Cf. also Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 297-301.

Song [Dynasty]][171] emerged and from him the imperial seat was lost to Mi-nyag [i.e. Xixia, Tangut]. The descendants of the latter [i.e. Tai-zu Zhao Kuang-yin of Bei Song] remained for eight successive generations in sBen-long [i.e. Bian-liang]; [from him there were eight successive generations of the Nan Song Dynasty] in sMan-rtse [i.e. Manzi, South China] until sMan-rtse lHa-btsun.[172]

[II] [Genealogy of Tangut]

Further, as to the history of how the imperial throne of China was lost to Mi-nyag [i.e. Xixia/Tangut][173] [it should be known that previously] the whole state of Mi-nyag was under the sway of China.

Between Byang-ngos [i.e. Liangzhou][174] and 'Ga' [i.e. Xiazhou],[175] on a mountain called sMon-shrī,[176] a venomous spirit (*klu bdud gdug pa can*) called Se-hū [i.e. Se-huq][177]

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171 **DTHMP** 12a9; **YLJBCHBY** 33.9.

Tai-zu, the first emperor of the Zhou clan of Bei or Northern Song (*Sung byang ma*) (960-1127 A.D.), called Kuang-yin: He was born 21.3.927, enthroned 3.2.960, died 14.11.976. Stein, however, identifies this emperor with Tai-zu of Hou Zhou (951-960), basing himself here on a note in **PSJZ**, III, 290b, inasmuch as it is here stated that thirty years after the Tai-zu of Zhou, the emperor of Bod Mi-nyag appeared (951 + 30 = 980 A.D.). This would tally with the rebellion of Li Jiquan, who became the founder of the Xixia/Tangut state, cf. R. Stein, "Mi-ñag et Si-hia", *BEFEO*, XLIV, 1951, pp. 225-26.

172 **DTHMP** 12a9-b2; **YLJBCHBY** 33. 9-16.

Bian-liang, i.e. Kai-feng in East Henan. In this last passage dealing with the Chinese dynasties Bla-ma dam-pa has made a misleading quotation of his source, **DTHMP**. **GLR** merely states that the descendants of Tai-zu stayed for eight generations (actually nine) in Bian-liang until sMan-rtse lHa-btsun. This, however, is a grossly contracted rendering of **DTHMP**. Cf. Appendix, note 172 for a full rendition and evaluation of **DTHMP.**

173 **GLR**'s exposition of the history and genealogy of the Tangut empire is, as explicitly stated at the end of the chapter, based upon **DTHMP** 12a7-12b6. The exposition by dGe-ba'i blo-gros in the *Red Annals* then constituted the basic reference work for subsequent histories such as **YLJBCHBY** 34.8-37.14; **DTHMPSM** 44b6-45a6 (Tucci, pp. 177-178) etc. On its side **DTHMP** is founded upon an oral narrative provided Kun-dga' rdo-rje by a certain Mi-nyag rTsen-rtse Shes-rab ye-shes, cf. note 133 *supra*.

This empire, also denoted Xixia, in Tibeto-Burman Mi-nyag, existed officially 1038-1227 A.D. and was situated in present-day Ningxia Hui Autonomous Province. Unofficially the state may have emerged on the historical scene with the rebellion in 981 A.D. by Li Jiqian (rl. 982-1004). R. Stein has already dealt with most of the issues presented in this section in his "Mi-ñag et Si-hia. Géographie historique et légendes ancestrales", *BEFEO*, XLIV, pp. 223-265 and his "Nouveaux Documents tibétains sur le Mi-ñag/Si-hia", *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Mr. P. Demiéville*, 1966, pp. 281-89.

174 For a discussion of the identity of Byang-ngos, cf. Stein, 1951, pp. 226ff: Ganzhou, but most probably Liangzhou, cf. most recently Petech, 1983, p. 197; cf. also Dung-dkar, *ibid.*, pp. 313-14.

175 Also Gha, Ch. Xia; cf. the discussion in Stein, *ibid.*, p. 226. Mi-nyag Gha does it refer to present-day Ningxia in the sense that it indicates the Tangut [state of] Xia?

176 **DTHMP** 12b6: sMon-shi or Mon-sha.

Cf. Stein, *ibid.*, pp. 226, 238, to be identified with Alashan. **DTHMP** 12b6 actually states that

existed: This dangerous (*thu ba*) *klu bdud* spirit was, whenever worshipped, incapable of securing anything but temporal happiness (*'phral gyi phan bde*) and whenever displeased it was capable in a flash of sending down instantaneously leprosy and insanity (*smyo 'bog*). This [spirit once] transformed itself miraculously into seven horse-men, who subsequently headed for the town of Byang-ngos, where the leader had carnal connexion with a female of carnivorous (*sha za, piśāca*) extraction. When the months [of pregnancy] were complete, a child was born to this female, an event which was accompanied by the emergence in heaven of an ominous star never seen before. From the calculation made by the Chinese astrologers they came to know that a man had come into existence, who [eventually] would usurp the throne. When [this] was reported to the emperor, an order was issued: "Search well!", but although they sought they did not find the child. When the child grew in age, he gathered other young men of his same age (*na mnyam gyi byis pa*) and [they] took up residence in a dense forest. While [being engaged] in preparations for plotting rebellion [against the emperor], an old woman of *asura*-extraction [arrived and] demonstrated [for them] the means [by which they could be successful in the plot]: "On the fifteenth day of this month [you] must take up arms and come! [Be sure to] throw many horse-whips and large [quantities of] horse-dung in the river of rMa-chu [i.e. Huang He]![178] I shall then device the means which will hand over to you the seal [i.e. insignium of power] of the Chinese emperor!"

Then, on the fourteenth day of the month the old woman [sat] crying on the [town-]wall (*lcags ri*) [of Byang-ngos] beating her breast. The emperor dispatched [someone] to inquire what the reason was. The old woman replied: "By behest of Śakra (brGya-byin), the Lord of the Gods,[179] a king of Mi-nyag has been elected and if we do not submit ourselves [to him] there shall not even remain one single Chinese left. Tomorrow an army [of a size] beyond imagination will approach!" When being asked for proof, she said: "Go and look for yourselves down into the river rMa-chu tomorrow and you will see that the colour of the river has changed due to [large quantities of his army's] horse-whips and horse-dung!"

Early the following day, when they arrived to inspect the rMa-chu [river], it turned out to be true. Greatly appalled [at the sight] they uttered: "Now what shall we do?" The old woman proposed: "It is better to submit oneself!" [Accordingly,] when the emperor and a retinue of seven attendants travelled [ahead] to hand over the seal[s], they encountered the son of the *klu bdud* spirit and his many horse-men. The seal was taken whereafter the Chinese emperor was killed and, gradually, his ministers executed too.

[Thus] the empire of China came under the rule of Mi-nyag, and the son of the *klu bdud*, the emperor of Mi-nyag even drew the name from his father and became known as

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it is a terrestrial spirit (*gzhi bdag*) called dGi'u, i.e. a mountain called Mon-sha (*or* sMon-shi). In an interesting *Chos 'byung* cited in **PSJZ** fol. 290b-291a (reproduced and discussed Stein, 1951, *op. cit.* 238ff., 264) it is stated: *Se phu'i ri na gnas pa'i smon shri zhes pa'i gzhi bdag klu bdud.* Here it is the demonic terrestrial spirit which is called sMon-shri and the mountain is named Se-phu.

177 **DTHMP** 12b6: dGi'u or Ga'i-hu; **YLJBCHBY** 34.10: Ga'i-hu. Also rendered as Se'u, Si'u. Se-hū or Se-hu, and called Bod rgyal-po Se-hu: The legendary ancestor of the Tangut empire (called Bod Mi-nyag). For a etymological discussion of this name, cf. Stein, 1951, pp. 238-60; Nevskii, *Tangutskaya Filologiya*, I, pp. 75-80.

178 **DTHMP, GLR** etc. rMa-chu or the Yellow River. **PSJZ** 291a rMa-chu or Nag-chu, the Black River, i.e. Etsingol.

179 Cf. Stein, 1951, p. 240, n. 2. In a Mongol context, Indra represents *tengri*, the Heaven.

emperor Se-hū [i.e. Se-huq].[180]

Then, in the sixth imperial generation in direct line from him the Mi-nyag emperor called rGyal-rgod[181] appeared. From the Mi-nyag emperor Se-hū until [emperor] rGyal-rgod the rule of the Mi-nyag [royal genealogy] lasted for 260 years.[182]

[III] [Genealogy of Mongolia]

The first king of Mongolia [i.e. Hor][183] was the Son of Heaven sBor-tha-che [i.e. Börte Čino].[184]

His son was Ba-[da]-chi-kan [i.e. Batačiqan].

His son Tham-cha [i.e. Tamača].[185]

His son was Khri-che-mer-khan [i.e. Qoričar-mergen].[186*187]

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180 **DTHMP** 13b2-3: Ga'i dzu [Gangtok ed. Dzu] rgyal po; **YLJBCHBY** 36.9-10: Ga'i dzu rgyal po. As already adduced by Stein, *loc. cit.*, 240, n. 3, the patronymic name of the son, Se-hu, was not drawn or derived (*dras* = *gras*) from the name of the father, but actually repeated.

181 **DTHMP** 13b3-8 = **YLJBCHBY** 36.11-37.6.

The Sixth emperor of Tangut. For his hapless fate and subsequent veneration cf. the above sources. The name connected with the mythical bird of beast, the vulture *bya rgyal rgod* (or read rGya-rgod?), cf. Stein, *ibid.*, p. 251sq. From this king descends the myriarchy (*khri skor*) of g.Yas-ru Byang-pa/Byang La-stod, cf. **sDe-pa g.Yas-ru Byang-pa'i rgyal-rabs rin-po-che bstar-pa** compiled by dPal-ldan Chos kyi bzang-po (fl. XVth Cent.) Cf. in particular, Stein, pp. 236-38; on this branch cf. **DTHMPSM** 57a3-58a3. Cf. also rNam-sras, 1990, pp. 31-43; Reb-gong, 1986, pp. 3-12.

182 Officially the Tangut state existed for 188 years during which time twelve emperors ruled. Unofficially for ca. 245 years.

183 Cf. note 133 above for details on the sources. The enumeration of the legendary ancestors of the Mongols embodied in **DTHMP** does not differ substantially from the genealogical list found in the Secret History of the Mongols and in Rašhīd-ad-Dīn's list, cf. Bira, 1964, pp. 76-81. Equally, the enumeration of the throne-succession of the Yuan dyansty (1279-1368 A.D.) bears strong resemblance to the genealogy commonly accepted, cf. e.g. J.A. Boyle, *The History of the World Conqueror*, I, pp. 180-83; J.A. Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, 1971 and L. Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan che*, Leiden 1945. Cf. also Poucha, 1954, *passim* and for the ideological implications of the Mongols, Franke, 1978, pp. 52ff.

The most important source for the origin and legendary history of the Mongols is the celebrated epic chronicle of the XIIIth Century: *The Secret History of the Mongols* (**Mongqol-un niuča tobča'an**, **Yuan-chao bi-shi**). Numerous translations exist of the chronicle, we shall consult here E. Haenisch, *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, 1948 and Igor de Rachewiltz in *Papers on Far Eastern History* in Vols. VI, V, X, XIII, XVI, XXI, XXIII, XXVI, XXX, 1971-1984.

184 gNam gyi bu sBor-tha-che. The mythical ancestor of the Mongols, the progenitor of Činggis Qan. Börte Čino, the 'blue-gray wolf', glorified by the epithet 'the son of heaven' (*gnam gyi bu*), known from the Secret History (abbr. *SH*) also: *SH*, Chap. I, paragraph 1: *de'ere tenggeri-eče ǰaya'atu töreksen*.

185 **DTHMP** 14a1: Tham-cha and Thams-cad chag; **YLJBCHBY** 79.9.

186 **DTHMP** 14a1: Khyi (Gangtok: Byi)-ji mer-khan; **YLJBCHBY** 79.9. M. *mergen*, the 'skillful'.

187 **gloss*: *This [figure] is said to be an emanation of Gu-ru [Rin-po-che]*.

DTHMP 14a1-2; **YLJBCHBY** 79.9-10: This [mythical] figure is [until] presently famed for

His son A'u-jom-sbo-ro-'ol [i.e. A'uǰam-boro'ul].[188]
His son was E-ka-de-'un [i.e. Yeke-nidün].[189]
His son Sems-za'o-ji [i.e. Sem-soči].
His son Dab-chu [i.e. Qarču].[190]
His son Dor-bun-cher-khan [i.e. Dobun-mergen].[191]
Thereafter, Nag-mo A-lan [i.e. Alan[-qo'a]].[192]
[His son] Kho-las [i.e. [Alan-]qo'a].[193]
His son Bo-don-char-mu-khag [i.e. Bodončar-mungqaq].
His son Gi-bi-chi [i.e. Qabiči].[194]
His son Bi-kher [i.e. Biker].[195]
His son Ma-nan tho-don [i.e. Menen-tudun].[196]
His son was Ga'i-thu-gan [i.e. Qaidu Qan].[197]
His son Ba'i-shing-thor-dog-shing [i.e. Bai-šingqor-doqšin].[198]

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his suppression of the *rākṣasa*-s, wherefore he is said to be Padmasambhava.

188 **DTHMP** 14a2: La'u[r]-jang [or byang] sbo-ro-'ol; **YLJBCHBY** 79.12: A'u-jam sbo-re-'ol.

189 **DTHMP** 14b2: Pas-ka ni-dun; **YLJBCHBY** 79.12: Yeg Nye-dun. Ye-ke nidūn, 'Big Eye'.

190 **DTHMP** 14a2: Kha-chu; **YLJBCHBY** 79.13: Kha-ju.

The next two generations in the ancestral lineage of the Mongols are omitted in **DTHMP**, i.e. Bordigidai-mergen and his his son Toroqolǰin-bayan, cf. *SH*, I, Paragr. 3. Further, the two sons of the latter: Duwa-soqor and Dobun-mergen.

191 **DTHMP** 14a2; **YLJBCHBY** 79.13.

Cf. previous note.

192 **DTHMP** 14a2-3; **YLJBCHBY** 79.13-15: Dobun-mergen having passed away, Alan-qo'a (A-lan kvo-la) [i.e. his wife Alan-qo'a 'Alan the fair'] gave birth from the light of the sun and moon to Bodončar-mungqaq; cf. *SH*, I Paragr. 7-22.

Bla-ma dam-pa has distorted the name by splitting the name Alan-qo'a into two parts: *de'i rjes la nag mo A lan ǀ de'i sras kho las*.

193 Cf. previous note.

194 **DTHMP 14a3**: Ga'i chi/Ga'am-chi; **YLJBCHBY** 79.15: Ge-be-chi. I.e. Barim-ši'iratu-Qabichi (or Qabiči-ba'atur), cf. *SH*, I, Paragr. 43.

195 **DTHMP** 14a4: sBe-khir; **YLJBCHBY** 79.15.

The name appears to be absent in the list of *SH* and by Rašhīd-ad-Dīn. He hardly corresponds to Jewüredei, the illegitimate son of Qabiči and the ancestor of the Jewüreyit clan, cf. *SH*, I, Paragr. 43-44.

196 **DTHMP** 14a4; **YLJBCHBY** 79.15.

The next ancestral generation of the Mongols after this Menen-tudun is omitted in **DTHMP** and **GLR**. Menen-tudun had seven sons among whom Qači-kūlūk with his wife Nomolun fathered Qaidu Qan.

197 **DTHMP** 14a4; **YLJBCHBY** 80.1.

Cf. previous note.

198 It is noteworthy that **DTHMP** 14a3-4 and **YLJBCHBY** 80.1-2 have split this name into two: *Ba'i shing ǀ de'i sras khor-thog-shing*. This lapsus is present not only in all available redactions of **DTHMP**, but it has also crept into **DTHNGP**, still **GLR** has the correct form, indicating either that the versions of **DTHMP** show varying degrees of contamination, but since the same discrepancy is already to be observed in **YLJBCHBY** of 1376 A.D., a text which in this section is nothing but a calque on **DTHMP**, another explanation may be that Bla-ma dam-pa might have had direct access to the material offered Kun-dga' rdo-rje, cf. note 133 *supra*, source 5.

His son [Bu]-dum-bi-ni'i-khan [i.e. Tumbinai Qan].
His son Gal-bu-khan [i.e. Qabul Qan].
His son Bar-than-ba-dur [i.e. Bartan-ba'atur].
His son Ye-bun ka-ba-dur [i.e. Yisügei-ba'atur].[199]
His son Tha'i-dzung Dzing-khi [i.e. Tai-zu Činggis].[200*201]

Then on account of [being endowed with] longevity and the glorious power of heaven (*gnam kyi she mang*), when 3250 years[202] had expired after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, the Mongolian emperor Jing-gin-gan [i.e. Činggis Qan], a strong and mighty emperor, emerged, whereupon all of China and Tangut came under [his] sway. He held the throne for twenty-three years,[203] having the entire empire under [his] dominion.

The younger brother of emperor Ji[n]-gin was emperor U-ru-ka'i.[204]

Emperor Ji[ng]-gin-gan had four sons:
Emperor mDo-'chi [i.e. Joči].
Emperor 'A-cha-rta'i [i.e. Čaγatai].
Emperor Go'u-ta'i [i.e. Ögödei][205*206] and

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199 **DTHMP** 14a4; **YLJBCHBY** 80.2-3.
He and his wife Hö'elün-üjin (**DTHMP**: btsun mo Hu-lun) had four sons, among whom Temüjin.

200 **DTHMP** 14a5-6; **YLJBCHBY** 4-7.
Tha'i dzung Dzing-gi: Tai-zu Činggis Qan (?1162-1227 A.D.). in retrospect considered the first emperor of the dynasty established by him. The date proposed in **DTHMP** anent his birth, *chu po stag*, i.e. 1182 A.D., must be rectified to *chu po rta*, 1162 A.D. Similarly, the date of his death, *me pho stag*, 1206 or 1266 A.D., should be altered to *me pho phag*, i.e. 1227 as confirmed by **YLJBCHBY**.

201 **gloss*: *Until this [emperor] [Mongolia] was held by China and Tangut, and in Mongolia there was no [Buddhist] Law.*

202 The figures 3250 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, the birth of Činggis Qan took place, are based upon 'Phags-pa Bla-ma's calculation found incorporated in his **SHBRS** 19b1-2 from which Bla-ma dam-pa quotes. The computation of 'Phags-pa made in 1277 A.D., cf. note 223 *infra*, is based upon the chronological system of the Sa-skya-pas fixing Buddha's Nirvāṇa to 2134 B.C. (for which, see note 80 *supra* and the introduction), thereby computing the birth of Činggis to 1116/7 A.D. These figures and this calculation are followed by most Mongolian historians of the seventeenth century, such as e.g. Altan tobči (Šastina, 1973, p. 52; Franke, 1978, p. 57, following here the then newly translated **SHBRS** (i.e. **Čiqula kereglegči**, cf. Heissig, 1959, pp. 28-84) into Mongolian (not quite identical with the Tibetan version, cf. Bareda, 1991); cf. also Röhrborn, 1991, p. 425. For the different systems computing Činggis' dates, cf. Macdonald, 1963, pp. 139-42, nn. 172-3.

203 He ruled for twenty-one years, 1206-1227 A.D.. According to **DTHMP** he passed away in Mi-nyag [']Ga['], i.e. The Tangut State of Xia.

204 This figure is untraced in **DTHMP** and other texts. Bla-ma dam-pa adduces that he is a brother of Činggis. U-ru-ka'i, however, hardly seems to correspond with any of Temüjin's three brothers: Qasar, Qaci'un and Temüge, cf. *SH*, I, Paragr. 60, or to any of his half-brothers, for that matter, Begter and Belgütei. Finally, we should also exclude Jamuqa, the *anda*, or 'oath-brother' of Činggis.

205 **DTHMP** 14a6; **YLJBCHBY** 80.8.
Ögödei, the IIIth emperor of the Yuan dynasty. Imperial name Tai-zong, born 1186, enthroned 13.9.1229, regency until 11.12.1241 when he passed away.

206 **gloss*: *He held the throne for six years.*
Actually, as noted in previous note, he held the throne for twelve years. The six years

Emperor Tho-lo-no-yan [i.e. Tolui-Noyan].
Emperor mDo-'chi [i.e. Jöči] had eight sons.[207]
Emperor Cha-ga-ta'i [i.e. Čaγatai] had nine sons.[208]
The eldest son of emperor O-gu-ta'i [i.e. Ögödei] was emperor Go-yug [i.e. Güyüg].[209]
His younger brother was Go-dan Kha-si-khan [i.e. Qadan [and] Qaši Qan].[210]
Emperor Go-yug*[211] had five sons,[212] of whom the eldest son was Mon-kha-gan [i.e. Möngke Qan].[213*214]
Then [came] emperor Gu-be-lha Se-chen-gan (i.e. Qubilai Qan Shi-zong],[215*216]
Hū-la-hū [i.e. Hülegü],[217*218]

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mentioned in the gloss may arguably refer to the regency (1241-46 A.D.) of his second wife Töregene ruling for her son Güyüg, alias Ding-zong (1246-48).

207 **DTHMP** vacat.
Jočí's eight sons were in fact fourteen sons: Orda, Batu, Berke, Berkečer, Šiban Tangqut, Bo'al, Čilaqa'un, Šingqur, Čimtai, Muhammad, Udur, Toqa-Temūr and Šinggūm.

208 **DTHMP** 14a6; **YLJBCHBY** 80.8-9 (names not listed).
The nine sons: Moči, Yebe, Mō'etüken, Belgeši, Šarban, Yesü Möngke, Baidar, Qadaqai, Baiǰu. Cf. e.g. Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, 1971, pp. 136-144.

209 **DTHMP** 14a7; **YLJBCHBY** 80.9-10.
The Vth emperor of Yuan named Güyüg, imperial name Ding-zong, born 1206, reign from 12.8.1246, until the fourth month of 1248 A.D. **DTHMP**, followed by **GLR** in a gloss, cf. note 211 *infra*, states that he ruled for six months.

210 Bla-ma dam-pa has not distinguished the names of Güyüg's brothers, as explicitly stated in **DTHMP** 14a8; **YLJBCBHY** 80.14: He [i.e. Güyüg] had seven brothers such as Go-tan [Kōten], Ga-shi [Qaši] and Go-dan [Qadan].

211 **gloss*: *He held the throne for six months.*
DTHMP 14a8; **YLJBCHBY** 80.13-14: Six months. Actually, from 1246-1248 A.D.

212 This passage has been somewhat distorted in **GLR**: The five sons are not related to Güyüg, but to Tolui-noyan, the fourth son of Činggis Qan, and then not five sons but eleven as detailed by **DTHMP** 14a9-b1, **YLJBCHBY** 80.15-81.1: Tolui-noyan had eleven sons with Za-yin E-ka Zo-rog-ta'i (i.e. Sayin Eke Sorqaqtani, i.e. his spouse (*beki*)). In actual fact he is recorded to have had ten sons only: Möngke Qan, Jōrike, Qutuqtu, Qubilai Qan, Hülegü, Ariq Böke, Böchek, Möke, Sögetei, Sübügetei. Cf. Boyle, *ibid.*, pp. 159-162.

213 **DTHMP** 14a9; **YLJBCHBY** 80.15.
The VIIth emperor of Yuan, Möngke Qan, imperial name Xian-zong, born 10.1.1209, reign from 1.7.1251 until 11.8.1259 A.D. For this important ruler and his policy, cf. T.T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, 1987, pp. 45-76.

214 **gloss*: *He held the throne for ten years.*

215 **DTHMP** 14a9; **YLJBCHBY** 80.16, 81.2-83.12.
The VIIIth emperor of Yuan, Qubilai Qan, imperial name Shi-zong, born 23.9.1215, ruled from 5.5.1260 until 18.2.1294 A.D. For this important figure, cf. M. Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan, His Life and Times*, 1988.

216 *This is the emperor Si-chen* [i.e. *Shi-zong*].

217 **DTHMP** 14a9; **YLJBCHBY** 80.16: The sixth son [of Tolui-noyan]. Actually the fifth son of Tolui-noyan.

218 **gloss*: *He was the emperor of Upper Hor, the great [Buddhist] converter.*

Za-yin-e-ka [i.e. Sayin-Eka][219] [and]
Ba-ri-bo-kha-che [i.e. Ariq-Böke].[220]

From the Nirvāṇa of the Teacher up to the time when emperor Se-chen [i.e. Shi-zong Qubilai Qan] ascended the throne 3258 years*[221] have passed.[222] The **Chronicle of China (rGya'i deb-ther)** and **the Supreme Elucidation of [All] Knowable [Topics] (Shes-bya rab-gsal)** [by 'Phags-pa] Bla-ma Chos kyi rgyal-po are in conformity when stating that 3500 years have elapsed since the erection of the Jo-bo Sandalwood statue.[223]

Emperor Se-chen occupied the imperial throne [of Yuan] for thirty-five years and he had four sons:

rDo-rje [i.e. Dorǰi],
Jim-gin [i.e. J̌im-gim],
Maṅga-la [i.e. Manggala] and
Na-mo-gan [i.e. Nomoghan].

Emperor Jim-gin had three sons:
Emperor Ka-ma-la [i.e. Kamala],
Dharma pha-la [i.e. Darmabala] and
Emperor Ol-bya-thul [i.e. [Temür] Öl̈ǰeitü].[224]*[225]

The two sons of emperor Dharma pha-la and empress Hong Tha'i-zung [i.e. Dahong

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219 As noted *supra*, note 212, Za-yin E-ka (Sorγaqtani, Beki) is taken by Bla-ma dam-pa to be a son of Güyüg, when she in fact is, as corroborated by **DTHMP** etc. the wife of Tolui-noyan.

220 **DTHMP** 14b1; **YLJBCHBY** 81.1: The seventh son. Generally considered the sixth son of Tolui-noyan.

221 **gloss*: *Further, the eight sons born to the junior queen of Emperor Se-chen were: Hu-gar-che [i.e. Hügečï], A-rog-che [i.e. A'uruγčï], Go-lod de-mur [i.e. Qutluq Temür], E-sen ba-kha [i.e. Esen-Buqa], Tho-gan [i.e. Toghan], Go-go-chu [i.e. Kököčü] and rDo-rje [i.e. Dorǰi]. The son of A-rog-che was emperor Thi-mur bo-kha [i.e. Temür-Buqa].*

Cf. also **YLJBCHBY** 83.18-20: In addition to the above this text adds one A-ya-che.

Besides the four sons Qubilai had with his senior wife (Čabui Qatun, died 1281 A.D.) mentioned in the texts, **DTHMP** 14b2 adduces that Qubilai had six additional sons (not listed) with his junior consort (Zva Gon-ma, i.e. prob. Dörbeǰin Qatun), but the eight sons mentioned in the above gloss are more in conformity with the generally accepted tradition. In the above enumeration it should be mentioned that Esen Boqa is not a son of Qubilai, but is the thirteenth successor of the Caγatai Khanate line (1227-1338), ruling himself from 1310 to 1318. Further, the gloss repeats the name Dorǰi, son of the senior queen and excludes two sons: Qoridai and, one of unknown origin. For the proper enumeration, cf. Boyle, *ibid.*, pp. 241-245.

222 This calculation, numbering the time elapsed since the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* until Qubilai's ascension to the imperial throne in 1260 A.D., seems to deviate slightly from the Sa-skya calculation generally accepted, fixing the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* to 2134 B.C.: 3258 - 2134 = 1124/25 A.D. Cf. also Kämpfe, 1983, p. 88.

223 This calculation, numbering the time elapsed since the erection of the Jo-bo Tsandan or Sandalwood statue and until Qubilai's ascension, similarly, cf. previous note, seems to be distorted and moreover wrong, as it should be corrected to 3300 years. For a brief discussion of this calculation, see Appendix, note 223.

224 **DTHMP** 14b4; **YLJBCHBY** 83.18-84.1.

Öl̈ǰeitu was the IXth emperor of the Yuan dynasty, imperial name Cheng-zong, born 15.10.1265, regency 10.5.1294 to 10.2.1307 A.D.

225 **gloss*: *He held the throne for thirteen years.*

Cf. previous note.

Tai-hou] were emperor Go-lug [i.e. Külüg][226]*[227] and A-su-ta-bu-yan [i.e. Ayur Paribhadra Buyantu].[228]*[229]

The two sons of emperor A-su-ta-bu-yan were emperor Ge-gan [i.e. Gegen] and emperor Siddhi pha-la [i.e. Siddhipala].[230]

The son of emperor Ge-gan was emperor Ka-ma-la [i.e. Kamala].[231]

His son was Ye-sun the-mur tsi[ng]-dbang [i.e. Yesün Temür Jin-wang].[232]*[233]

His son was emperor Ra-khyi-phag [i.e. Arǰiba].[234]*[235]

The three sons of emperor Go-lug [i.e. Külüg][236] were emperor Ku-sha-la [i.e. Kuśala Qutuqtu],[237]*[238]

Emperor Go-lug and

Emperor Tho-gan thi-mur lja-du-ta [i.e. Toγ-Temür J̌ayaγatu].[239]

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226 **DTHMP** 14b5; **YLJBCHBY** 84.3-6.
Külüg was the Xth emperor of Yuan dynasty, imperial name Wu-zong. Born 4.8.1281, regency from 21.6.1307 to 27.1.1311 A.D.

227 **gloss*: *He held the throne for four years.*
Cf. previous note.

228 **DTHMP** 14b5-6; **YLJBCHBY** 84.7-9.
Ayur Barbada (or Barwada), i.e. Buyantu Qan, the XIth emperor of the Yuan dynasty, imperial name Ren-zong, born 9.4.1285, regency 7.4.1311 to 1.3.1320 A.D.

229 **gloss*: *He held the throne for nine years.*
Cf. previous note.

230 **DTHMP** 14b6; **YLJBCHBY** 84.9-10.
Gegen Siddhibala (or Śidibala), the XIIth emperor of the Yuan dynasty, imperial name Ying-zong. Regency 1320-23. Bla-ma dam-pa has made this figure into two personages contrary to the explicit rendering in **DTHMP**.

231 **DTHMP** 14b6; **YLJBCHBY** 84.11.
Bla-ma dam-pa, again, has a corrupt rendering of his source by stating that Kamala or Gamala was son of Gegen, Kamala was son of J̌ingim.

232 **DTHMP** 146-7; **YLJBCHBY** 84.11.
Yesün (or Yisür/Esen) Temür, the XIIIth emperor of the Yuan dynasty, imperial name Tai Dingdi. Born 28.11.1293, regency 4.10.1323 to 15.8.1328 A.D.

233 **gloss*: *He held the throne for five years.*
Cf. previous note.

234 **DTHMP** 14b7; **YLJBCHBY** 84.12-13.
Arǰiba. He only ruled for forty days, from the tenth month 1328 until 14.11.1328 A.D.

235 **gloss*: *He held the throne for forty days.*
Cf. previous note.

236 In fact, as explicitly stated by **DTHMP** Go-lug only had two sons.

237 **DTHMP** 14b8; **YLJBCHBY** 84.14-15.
Kuśala Qutuqtu, the XIVth emperor of Yuan dynasty, imperial name Ming-zong. Born 22.10.1300, he ruled from 27.2.1329 to 30.8.1329, having deposed his younger brother.

238 **gloss*: *He held the throne for one month.*
Cf. previous note.

239 **DTHMP** 14a6; **YLJBCHBY** 84.17-18.
Toγ Temür, the XV. emperor of the Yuan dynasty, imperial name Wen-zong. Born 16.2.1304, ruled from 16.10.1328, but was deposed by his own brother Kuśala on 26.2.1329, who reigned until 30.8.1329 (**DTHMP** and **GLR**: one month). Nine days after Toγ Temür was restored on the

The son of Ku-sha-la was emperor Ratna-shri [i.e. Irinčinbal].[240]*[241]

The brother of the latter, emperor Tho-gan thi-mur [i.e. Toγan Temür][242] held the throne for forty-eight years ruling the whole empire. Thus it it said.*[243]

Since this [above exposition] is [only] an abbreviated outline, [extracted] from the compilation in the **Chronicle** (*deb ther*; i.e. **DTHMP**) [made] by the omniscient mTshal-pa Si-tu dGe-ba'i blo-gros, a man of excellence in family, lineage and accomplishment, the ruler (*bdag po*) of his district (*sde*) and Main-Temple (*gtsug lag khang*) [of [m]Tshal Gung-thang], [a Chronicle] based upon [a work] translated in Gung-thang by the rTsen-tse Slob-dpon Shes-rab ye-shes,[244] a scholar well-versed in the [historical] writings and chronicles (*yig tshang deb ther*) of China and Mongolia, then if [anyone] should want to know in detail the [historical] records (*yig tshang*) of China and Mongolia, they may consult that very **Chronicle** [i.e. **DTHMP**]!

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throne, 8.9.1329 and he ruled until 2.9.1332. **GLR** has inserted the name Go-lug as a third son between these two sons of Go-lug. A redublication either due to the author's unfamilarity with the terms, or due to editorial or scribal carelessness.

240 **DTHMP** 14b9; **YLJBCHBY** 85.1-2.

Irinčibal, the Yuan emperor, imperial name Nan-zong. Born 1.5.1326, enthroned 23.10.1332, but died already 14.12.1332. The corrupt rendering in the gloss, cf. next note, of eleven years (*lo [b]cu [g]cig*) appears to stem from a replacement of **DTHMP**'s *zla ba gcig*, confounding *zla ba* for *lo bcu*.

241 **gloss*: *He held the throne for eleven years.*

Cf. previous note.

242 **DTHMP** 14b9-15a9; **YLJBCHBY** 85.3-86.1.

Toγan Temür, the XVIth emperor of Yuan, imperial name Shun-di. Born 25.5.1320, regency from 19.7.1333 until the collapse of Yuan 10.9.1368, when he fled Tai-du or Ta-tu (the winter capital, to be distinguished from Shang-rdo = Shang-tu, summer capital), Beijing. He died 23.5.1370.

Both versions of **DTHMP** contain glosses which have been added after 1376 A.D. since both embody (**DTHMP** 15a3-9; Dung-dkar ed. pp. 31.17-32.13) a lengthy verbatim gloss culled from **Jo-bo-ba'i chos-'byung** = **YLJBCHBY** 85.3-86.1, dealing with the collapse of the Yuan Dynasty during the reign of Toγan Temür.

The statement in **GLR** that he ruled for forty-eight years is conspicuous, inasmuch as we assume that Bla-ma dam-pa compiled and completed his work during the very same months and year (or shortly after) the collapse of Yuan actually took place, i.e. 1368/1369. While this statement on the extent of his rulership is part (or has later been made part) of the main-text, we may assume that Bla-ma dam-pa either has managed to include the data on the last emperors of Yuan, before he finished his work or we must assume that this information, initially a gloss in the original *dbu med* Ms of 1368-1369 A.D., has been written into the main-text when this Ms was converted into print in 1478 A.D. That Bla-ma dam-pa could have no definite knowledge of the situation is perhaps corroborated by the gloss, cf. next note, where the emergence of Ming is just heard of. Again, we may presume that this gloss most likely, assuming that it originates from the pen of Bla-ma dam-pa himself, is added a few years after 1368, say 1372-73 A.D., before Bla-ma dam-pa passed away in 1375.

243 **gloss*: *From him the throne is said to have passed over to the Chinese emperor Tha'i Ming.*

An allusion to the Great Ming Dynasty, cf. previous note.

244 **DTHMP** 13b8; **YLJBCHBY** 37.6-8.

Cf. note 133 *supra*. He was a Sa-skya *mkhan po* of the Byang-ngos dgon-pa in Liangzhou and his *floruit* must be situated in the middle of the XIVth century.

The Dissemination of the Holy Law (Saddharma) in the Countries of China and Mongolia and an Enumeration of their Emperors.

IV

The Birth of the Noble [Avalokiteśvara] from a Lotus and a Demonstration of the Benefit of the Six-syllable [Formula]

[I] [The Aspiration-Prayer and Avalokiteśvara's Field of Conversion]

Next,[245] regarding the propagation of the teaching of Buddha in the Snow-capped Country of Tibet:

Once[, when] the Blessed One was sojourning in the Grove of Venu ('Od-ma'i tshal, Veṇuvana)[246] surrounded by a retinue (*'khor, parivāra*) of Arhants, a ray of light (*'od zer, raśmi*), having the five colours complete, radiated from the hair-curl between his eye-brows (*smin mtshams kyi mdzod spu, ūrnākośa*)[247] like a mass of rainbows. As it went in the northern direction to the Snow-clad Kingdom [of Tibet], [the Buddha] observed it and smiled. This made Bodhisattva Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin[248] ask to have the reason [for this incidence] explained and therefore*[249] the Blessed One spoke: "Son of good family! In the Snow-clad Kingdom, a barbarous borderland teeming with many [sorts of] demons, an area which has yet not become a place of conversion by any of the Buddhas of the Three Times, the True Law (*dam pa'i chos, saddharma*), at one point in the future, will spread and diffuse like the rising sun and the sentient beings too will be brought onto the Path of Enlightenment (*bodhi*) and Freedom (*mokṣa*). The Adjuvant (*gnyen po, mitra*) converting this barbarous borderland is Ārya Avalokiteśvara. Why? Once when Ārya-Avalokiteśvara was practising his Bodhisattva-deeds, he delivered the [following] aspiration-prayer (*smon lam, praṇidhāna*)[250] in the presence of a thousand Buddhas: "May these sentient beings (*sems can, sattva*) who are so difficult to convert and who live in [this] Snow-clad Kingdom, a barbarous borderland, a place untrodden by the feet of any Buddha of the Three Times, be brought onto the Path of Enlightenment and Freedom by me!

May this barbarous borderland, moreover, become the field (*zhing, kṣetra*) of conversion [done] by me! May I [further] be regarded as the parents of all these sentient beings [living there] such as demons etc.!

May I become like a caravan leader (*sārthavāda*) rescuing mankind (*'gro ba, jagat*)!

May I become like a lamp (*sgron me, dīpa*) dispelling the[ir mental and physical]

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245 From this chapter and henceforth Bla-ma dam-pa offers a continuous presentation of various lengthy extracts from the bulk of legendary and quasi-historical tales and narratives pertaining to the Vita-cycle and mythographies of Avalokiteśvara and King Srong-btsan sgam-po which constitute the lion share of our text. Chap. IV provides a narrative describing the circumstances motivating Buddha Amitābha to predict that Tibet was going to be Ārya-Avalokiteśvara's field of conversion or *buddhakṣetra* and unfolds the story of his birth and finally details on the benefit of this divinity's six-syllabic mantric formula.

As it is common in this kind of legend, the narrative is embedded in a sūtric ambience in order to tinge or bolster the story with canonical authenticity.

The main source for a large part of this chapter is **Kāraṇḍavyūha** and **MNKB.**

246 The Bamboowood Grove (Skt. Venuvana, P. Veluvana). On this place cf. **DNNP** II, s.v. Veluvana.

247 Skt. *ūrnākośāt raśmim/prabhām prāmuñcat*, cf. MVT no. 239, one of the thirty-two *lakṣaṇa* characterizing a Mahāpuruṣa.

248 sGrib-pa rnam-sel, *Nīvaraṇaviṣkambhin = Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin is, as here, the interlocutor of the Blessed One in **KV**, where he e.g. beheld the miracle (*vikurvaṇā*) of the multi-coloured rays of light emitted from Avalokiteśvara in the Avīci Hell, etc., cf. **KV** part. 1, chap. II.

249 **gloss*: *From* ***[Saddharma]puṇḍarīka-sūtra.***

In fact, I have failed to locate this passage in this **sūtra!**

250 For a discussion of the nature of *praṇidhāna*, cf. Schwieger, 1978, pp. 15-17.

darkness![251]

May all the teachings (*chos*, *dharma*) preached by all the Tathāgatas such as the Buddhas of the Three Times etc. and which are being spread and diffused in that barbarous border-country remain [there] for a long time!

May the sentient beings live in enjoyment of the True Law (Saddharma) and attain bodies of heavenly bliss (*bde 'gro mtho ris*), after having taken refuge (*skyabs*, *śaraṇa*) by hearing the [mere] name[s] of Triratna!

May even this barbarous borderland become like a jewel-continent (*rin po che'i gling*) after the sentient beings have been liberated and [mentally] matured in accordance with my individual conversion (*gang la gang 'dul gyis*)!

May it come true just like that!"

Thus he vowed and it was the power of this [solemn] aspiration-vow (*smon lam*, *praṇidhāna*) that accounted for the reason why [the Snow-clad Kingdom of Tibet] became Avalokita's field of conversion (*zhing khams*), [a place] [hitherto] unconverted by any of the Buddhas of the Three Times." Thus [the Blessed One] spoke and from [his] heart a ray of white light emanated resembling a *puṇḍarīka*-flower, which lit up the entire universe, after which it went westward in the direction of Sukhāvatī before it was [finally] absorbed into the heart of Buddha Amitābha.

[II] [Avalokiteśvara's Birth]

[Then] again, a ray of light radiated from the heart of Buddha Amitābha only to disappear into a lotus-covered lake, [an incidence] which was to prophesy the advent of an emanational body (*nirmāṇakāya*) of a Buddha who [was going to] convert the Snow-clad barbarous borderland [of Tibet]:[252]

In the heavenly realm of Sukhāvatī,
On its fundament of gold and precious jewels:

Aside from being patterned in a chequered fashion,
Not even the name for the elements earth and stone are to be found;

Aside from the flashing fire [stemming from] clear Gnosis (*jñāna*),

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251 Cf. e.g. similarly **KV** 236b1 urging Avalokiteśvara to "become a lamp for those existing in the darkness of the three lower existences (*ngan song gsum gyi mun pa la ni sgron ma mdzod cig*)!"

252 The following versified description of Sukhāvatī, located at the very beginning of the **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** Chap. I, a text dedicated to the myth and cult of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara and to king Srong-btsan sgam-po found embodied in the **MṆKB**, is the source for **GLR**. The **MṆKB**-text is rendered in full in Appendix, note 252, q.v., as it is slightly at variance, also metrically, from **GLR**'s version. It is also found embodied with a slightly more detailed wording and longer metrum, in the first chapter of **PMKTH** (4.14-6.15), a Vita dedicated Padmasambhava. In the latter text Sukhāvatī is also called Padmo bkod. This is a striking observation and as such another element common to the two Vita-biographies dedicated Srong-btsan sgam-po and Padmasambhava, explained by the fact that it went through the hands of the same gTer-ston-s. Cf. also Blondeau, 1984, p. 78, n. 6 (further ref.).

Not even the name for the element fire is to be found;

Aside from the descent of the water endowed with the
eight attributes (*yan lag brgyad ldan*, *aṣṭāṅgasamanvāgata*)
Not even the name for the element water is to be found;

Aside from the beauty of the fig tree (*byang chub kyi shing*, *bodhivṛkṣa*)
Not even the names for the tree and the wood are to be found;

Aside from the subsistence on the nourishment of Absorbtion (*bsamg tan*, *dhyāna*)
Not even the names for hunger and thirst are to be found;

Aside from being attired in the dress of the fully pure Morality (*tshul khrims*, *śikṣā*)
Not even the name for knitted garment is found to exist;

Aside from possessing self-luminosity
Not even the names sun and moon exist;

Aside from possessing the strength of enduring everything
Not even the names for fighting and disputing are to be found;

Discounting Great Bliss (Mahāsukha)
Not even the name for suffering (*sdug bsngal*, *duḥkha*) is to be found;

Discounting Extinction (*mya ngan 'das pa*, *nirvāṇa*)
Not even the name for the round of migration (*'khor*, *saṃsāra*) is found to exist;

Aside from the Three Media (*sku gsum*, *trikāya*) of Buddha,
Not even the names for the sentient beings are to be found;

Aside from attaining an adamantine life
Not even the names for old age and death (*jāramaraṇa*) are to be found;

While never assuming [there] a body made of the four elements,
Even the names for illness are absent;

Aside from the miraculous birth (*rdzus skyes*, *upapāduka*) from a lotus-stalk
Not even the names for the four kinds of birth are to be found.

In this heavenly realm of Sukhāvatī,[253] a *dharmarāja* named bZang-po-mchog[254] [once]

253 On Sukhāvatī, cf. F. Max Müller, *Description of Sukhāvatī, the Land of Bliss*, and Schwieger, *Ein tibetisches Wunschgebet um Wiedergeburt in der Sukhāvatī*.

sojourned. At one time when he had dispatched his retinue[255] to the shore of the lotus-covered lake[256] in order to collect flowers that were meant to be offered to the Buddha, they observed in the lake a huge lotus-stalk carrying branches as big as a yoke (*gnya' shing*)[257] and leaves as thick as shields (*phug*) and right in the middle of its thousand petals, from its anther as big as a clay-made pot various kinds of light-rays were [seen being] emanated. Having observed it, they reported [the matter] to the king, who was [initially] taken by surprise, but [soon] outfitted a great vessel and, bringing along sundry kinds of offerings, he and his court retinue arrived at the foot of the lotus-stalk,[258] where they paid homage and delivered their prayers. As [a result] the anther split into four parts (*tshal pa bzhi*)[259] and from its interior the Adjuvant [Avalokita] [destined] to convert the Snow-clad barbarous borderland [of Tibet] came forth, an emanational body (*nirmāṇakāya*) of miraculous birth, poised with his two feet in the crossed-legged posture (*rdo rje'i skyil krung, vajraparyaṅka*), [in the form of] One Head and Four Arms (*ekamukha caturbhuja*)[260] of which the first two are joining together the palm of the hands (*pragṛhītāñjali, añjaliṃ kṛtam*) in front of the breast, the lower right hand holding a rosary (*mālā*) of white crystal, the lower left hand a white lotus (*puṇḍarīka*) blossoming in the direction of the ear, [a body] being ornamented with the [thirty-two minor] features and [eighty major] marks [of a *Mahāpuruṣa*], decorated with sundry precious ornamentations and donned in a garment made of various [sorts of] silk, with a body-complexion resembling in colour the rising sun shining upon a Massif of glacier-

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254 The following piece of prose is apparently borrowed from **MṆKB** E (A) 13a6-14a3, which is slightly more detailed than **GLR**, albeit **GLR** does contain some telling differences.

Another version, standing close to the rendition of **MṆKB**, is found in Chap. II of **PMKTH**, 9.1-13.7. It is retained in metrical form throughout and evinces an almost identical wording, albeit being slightly more detailed. The birth in this text is not that of Avalokiteśvsara but that of Padmasambhava.

King bZang-po mchog is, **MṆKB** 13a6-13b1 and **PMKTH** mention, denoted a *cakravartin*, being an emanation of Amitābha and he rules over the four *dvīpa*-s (= the world). He is fully accomplished in material prosperity and power, wedded to one thousand spouses and yet issueless, and finally highly pious. Cf. also **KTHDNG** (CA) 430.14ff.

255 In **MṆKB** E (A) 13b2-3 it is an envoy (*pho nya*) endowed with swiftfootedness who collects flowers.

256 **MṆKB**: mTsho Padma-can. **PMKTH** 9.8, **KTHDNG** (CA) 430.18: 'O-ma-can gyi rgya-mtsho.

257 **MṆKB** 13b3 and **PMKTH** 10.1: about the size of the wings of a vulture (*yal ga rgod kyi gshog pa tsam*).

258 **MṆKB** E (A) 13b4-6.

259 The description of the figure emerging out of the lotus differs from the testimony in **MṆKB**, e.g. the splitting into four parts, the mentioning of the cross-legged posture and the details of the *ekamukha caturbhuja*, etc. are lacking from **MṆKB**. Further, the mention, already at this point of the narrative, of Avalokita being the Adjuvant converting Tibet is similarly lacking from **MṆKB** and clearly reflects Bla-ma dam-pa's conscious attempt to render his consecutive story into a coherent whole. **PMKTH** 10.9, 11.4-5 mentions the birth of five brother infants (*khye'u mched lnga*).

260 On the form of Caturbhuja [Sadakṣarī] Lokeśvara, cf. U. Toyka-Fuong, vol. 2 (A.F. 78), B 43 I-VIII, pp. 121-22. **MṆKB** adduces that the figure emerging was a young boy of sixteen years of age (*khye'u lo bcu drug lon pa'i na tshod*), who was subsequently called Padma-las skyes and Padma'i snying-po. For this birth-scene, being identical both in the Srong-Vita and the Padma-Vita, cf. also Blondeau, 1985, p. 118. On the concept of sixteen years of age, cf. Sagaster, 1989-91, p. 293, n. 23.

mountains; the hide of an *eṇeya* antelope[261] covered his left shoulder until his breast; his hair was endued with five knots (*pañcacīraka*) and decorated with precious jewels accompanied by the smiling and palatable countenance [of his], radiating light and rays of light in all ten directions.

The king and his retinue rejoiced and cheered [at this marvellous and spectacular sight] and [immediately] escorted [the figure] to the royal palace accompained by much music.[262]

Subsequently, the king addressed Buddha Amitābha in the following words:[263]

> "Out of the anther of a lotus[-flower] amid a lotus-covered [lake]
> Miraculously born [as] a hair-knotted (*cīrin*) transformational body,
> Embellished by precious ornaments, endued with the colour of glacial mountains
> Captivating completely [one's] mind by beholding its attractive and beautiful body-form,
> This emanational body (*nirmāṇakāya*) most marvellously decorated with the characteristic features and marks [of a *Māhāpuruṣa*]
> [Is] it a *heir-apparent* (*rgyal bu*) [destined to] uphold my [royal] lineage
> or
> [Is] it a emanationall body [destined to] work for the welfare of sentient beings[?]"

So Buddha Amitābha responded:[264]

> "A lake with lotuses wide and with [water] attributed with the eight qualities,
> This emanational body, a Jinaputra [truly], born out of a lotus,
> Is Mahākāruṇika Ārya-Avalokita:
> Being adorned with precious ornaments, with a hue like the *kunda*-flower,
> This supreme body [of his] wonderfully endued with the characteristic features and marks [of a *Mahāpuruṣa*]

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261 Eṇeya or eṇa, a kind of black antelope, **MNKB** 14a1 merely says *ri dvags kyi lpags pa*.

262 This statue was brought to the palace of king bZang-po mchog and installed as his *mchod gnas* according to **MNKB** 14a2-3.

263 This versified seven-lined nine-syllabic passage is lacking from **MNKB**, the only reminiscence is the following laconic passage, *loc. cit.* 14a3-4: *de nas chos skyong ba'i rgyal po des ston pa sangs rgyas snang ba mtha' yas la | sprul pa 'di gang gi sprul pa lags | 'di'i ming ci yin zhes gsol pas*. As this brief passage shows, the versified passage in **GLR** must be conceived as a rhetoric question addressed to Amitābha.

If this and similar passages thus do not reflect Bla-ma dam-pa's own formulation, the original may possibly be traced to an earlier version of **MNKB** or awaits being traced in another cognate Vita-cycle ascribed to the cult of Avalokita and to king Srong-btsan sgam-po.

264 Similarly, cf. previous note, this versified response by Amitābha, is also lacking in **MNKB**, where the only reminiscence is the following laconic passage, *loc. cit.*, 14a4-5: *sangs rgyas snang ba mtha' yas kyi zhal nas | rgyal po chen po sprul pa 'di ni sangs rgyas thams cad kyi 'phrin las sems can thams cad kyi don byed pa | dus gsum gyi bde bar gshegs pa thams cad kyi thugs las sprul las sprul pa | 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug ces bya ba yin no*.

Unworthy [certainly] it would be for him to be upholding your royal lineage,
In that Snow-clad Kingdom, a barbarous borderland
Promoting by means of [his] great compassion (*mahākaruṇa*) the welfare of sentient beings [instead],
Indeed he is the very emanational body that converts each individual in a manner best suited to him."

At that [very] moment, the earth trembled in six directions[265] and the gods sent down a rain of flowers.

[III] [The Benefit of the Six-Syllabic Formula]

Buddha Amitābha then placed his hand on the head of that emanational body [representing Ārya-Avalokita] and [solemnly] announced: "O Son of good family! The sentient beings living in the Snow-capped barbarous borderland [of Tibet] have neither been converted by the Buddhas of the Past, nor will they [likely] be converted by the Buddhas of the Future and even for the Buddhas of the Present Period it [would] be a [most] difficult task [to undertake], but due to the strength of your earlier aspiration-vows (*praṇidhāna*] they shall [now] be converted. Excellent! Excellent! May the sentient beings living in the Snow-clad [Country of Tibet] immediately obtain a blissful body in a happier state avoiding the fate of the three lower damned states (*durgati*), [merely] by hearing the sound of the Six-syllabic (*ṣaḍakṣarī*) [formula (*vidyā*)][266] [recited] and by beholding your body, O Noble One!

May the [wicked creatures] being rampant in the Snow-capped [Country of Tibet], who inflict harm on the life [of living beings], and who snatch off the healthy complexion of [fellow] living beings, [creatures] such as carnivorous beings (*sha za*, *piśāca*), *gdon* (*graha*)-creatures, *bgegs* (*vighna*)-demons, *rakṣasa*-ogresses etc., may they all come to have a mind directed towards Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), being benevolent and compassionate, after their harmful dispositions have been fully allayed, merely by hearing the sound of the six-syllabic [formula] [recited], and by beholding your body, O Noble One!

May the animated beasts living in the Snow-capped [Country of Tibet] such as the beast of prey (*gcan gzan*, *śvāpada*), the *dred*, the bear (*dom*), the leopard, the tiger [all] endued with a pernicious and wicked disposition (*ma rungs pa gdug pa'i sems*) and who cause fear

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265 A narrative phenomenon of trite occurence in numerous Mahāyāna-sūtras and Tibetan narrations, and usually accompanying an unusual event. Cf. e.g. **KV** 108.2.2.

266 The Six-syllabic (*ṣaḍakṣarī*) formula *dhāraṇī*: *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, cf. **KV** *passim*. It is also called the 'great magical spell' (*mahāvidyā*), the 'king of the magical spell' (*vidyārāja*), 'the great queen of the six-syllabic formula' (*yi ge drug pa'i rig sngags kyi rgyal mo chen mo*), the 'quintessence or *paramahṛdaya* of Avalokiteśvara', 'the highest maxim' (*gsung mchog*), cf. **KV** *passim*; and the 'sovereign of all kings (*sarvarājendra*)'. Textual parallels are profusely provided by the key-figure behind the detection of the cycle of the Six-syllabic formula and its dissemination in Tibet, Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer. Relevant for the present section on the benefit of the Six-syllable formula are found, with slightly different wordings, in numerous places in the *zhal-gdams skor* (F) section of **MNKB** and in his **CHBYMTNYP** 406b3-414b4 and **KTHZGM** Chap. 37-39, 171.3-184.15, which offer a similar-worded exposé dedicated this teaching.

by letting their roar be heard and who drink the blood and devour the flesh [of their victims] after having deprived them off their lives, may they [all] come to live in mutual affectionate love [regarding one another] like parents after their wicked thoughts have become fully allayed, merely by hearing the six-syllabic [formula] [recited] and by beholding your body, O Noble One!

May all those sentient beings living in the Snow-capped [Country of Tibet] who are bodily tormented by hunger and thirst and exhausted in misery, may they become thoroughly relieved of this misery of hunger and thirst and have whatever wish they [can] think of met with, after a nectar-rain of food and drink have fallen, merely by hearing the sound of the six-sylabic [formula] [recited] and by beholding your body, O Noble One!

May all those sentient beings living in the Snow-capped [Country of Tibet], the miserable ones, the blind ones, the sick ones and those with their senses incomplete, who [all] have been unprotected and unguided, may they all become [bodily] strong, regain their senses complete, become relieved from all diseases, merely by hearing the sound of the six-syllabic [formula] [recited] and by beholding your body, O Noble One!

May the sentient beings living in the Snow-capped [Country of Tibet] have the mortal term for their existence postponed, when they behold your body, O Noble One!

May [they] be relieved from [all] diseases, after [you] have become the great Physician!

May [you] become a leader (*nātha*) for those without protector!

May [you] become a refuge (*śaraṇa*) for those without a haven!

The lot of being the chosen, tutelary deity (*yi dam lha*, *iṣṭādevatā*) in the Snow-capped borderland [of Tibet] rests with [you,] Mahākāruṇika [Ārya-Avalokita]. Depending on you [as] the tutelary deity, countless Buddhas and Bodhisattvas will make their arrival in that barbarous borderland in the future, whereafter the Teaching of Buddha will spread and propagate. The religious lot (*chos kyi skal pa*, **dharmabhaga*) [of Tibet] is the Six-syllabic [formula][267] and relying upon this quintessence (*sñing po*, *hṛdaya*) all the teachings (*chos*, *dharma*) preached by the Buddhas will spread and diffuse in the future in that barbarous borderland, [which thus] will be enjoying Saddharma.

OṂ MAṆI PADME HŪṂ

This six-syllabic [formula]

is the very nature which unifies in one the Intent (*dgongs pa*, *saṃdhi*) of all the Buddhas,

is the Essence (*sñing po*, *hṛdaya*) which unifies in one the basis of the 84.000 *dharmaskandha*-s,[268]

is the Mystic Formula (*gzungs sngags*, *dhāraṇī*, *mantra*) which synthesizes letter by letter (*yig 'bru re re nas*) the Essence (*snying po*, *garbha*) of the Five [Dhyāni] Buddha

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267 For a parallel cf. **KV** 255b5ff. Cf. Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 405b3-4: Avalokiteśvara...*bod kha ba can kyi rgyal khams spyi mthun gyi lha skal...*; **KTHZGM** 170.11-12: *bod kyi lha skal thugs rje chen po.*

268 The articles or items of the doctrine (*chos kyi phung po*, *dharmaskandha*, P. *dhammakkhandha*), usually amounting to 84.000 (*dharmaskandhaśena caturśītisahasravidham*), var. 80.000, cf. É. Lamotte, *Histoire*, pp. 163-64. These items are conceived as doctrinal antidotes (*gnyen po*, *pratipakṣa*); for a note on its spread and division in parts of Tibetan literature, cf. Ehrhard, 1990, p. 238.

Families (*rigs lnga, pañcakula*) and the Lord of the Secret (*gSang-ba'i bdag-po, Guhyapati*),

is the Origin of all Qualities (*yon tan thams cad kyi 'byung gnas, sarvaguṇākara*) and of Prosperity (*dge legs, kalyāṇa*),

is the [very] Root of all Supernatural Accomplishments (*dngos grub, siddhi*) [bringing] happiness and benefit and

is the Main Path [leading] to Heaven and Liberation.

OṂ MAṆI PADME HŪṂ

[Solely] by seeing just once this six-syllabic [formula], the highest maxim (*gsung mchog*) and the essence of all teachings, [one] will even attain the irreversible stage (*phyir mi ldog pa'i sa, avaivartika-bhūmi*),[269] and thereby become a caravan leader (*ded dpon, sārthavāha*) rescuing the worldlings;

[Solely] by hearing [it just once] one will even attain a body of heavenly bliss, and thereby become a captain rescuing the living beings;

If it is heard by an animal or an ant in the process of dying (*'chi kha ma*), [the creature] will be released from [its present] body and [immediately] be reborn in Sukhāvatī;

[Solely] by recalling [it just once] one will even be purified from all defilements of sin accruing from negative activities and accumulated from beginningless existences, [becoming as pure] as the [rays of] the sun [when] striking the glacier-snow, and one will subsequently become reborn in Sukhāvatī;

When touching [it just once,] one will [instantly] secure empowerment (*dbang bskur, abhiṣeka*) from an immeasurable number of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas;

By meditating just once upon it, the three [stages of] studying (*thos, śruta*), reflecting (*bsam, cintā*) and meditating (*bsgom, bhāvanā*)[270] will successfully be accomplished (*go chod*) and the entire span of vision (*snang tshad*, i.e. the world of phenomena) would appear in form of the Absolute Body (*chos sku, dharmakāya*) and the trove (*nidhi*) promoting the welfare of the worldlings will be opened.

If carried upon your body, O Son of good family, this body will become [like] the bodily relics (*ring bsrel, śarīra*) of Buddha, and thus remain unaffected [not only] by the four hundred and four diseases, but also remain unharmed by [the elements] fire and water, by poison, weapon or [by attacks from] demons pertaining to the upper and lower regions, etc.[271]

Whenever this six-syllabic [formula] was written on costly jewels, on cotton cloth, paper, on bark, or, merely, on the ground or on a stone etc., it would [in merit be tantamount to] be causing to write [all] the 84.000 *dharmaskandha*-s,[272] so one would in this

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269 Of *bodhisattva*-s not liable to turn back, i.e. firmly set on the road to Enlightenment.

270 The three stages resemble the well-known stages relative to *prajñā*: *cintāmayī prajñā*, *śrutamayī prajñā* and *bhāvanāmayī prajñā*.

271 Cf. similarly, **rNam-dag bde-chen zhing gi smon-lam**, 13r, tr. Schwieger, 1978, pp. 69, 84-85.

272 For *dharmaskandha*, cf. note 268 *supra*. Cf. similarly **KV**, where the first passage quoted replaces the Six-syllabic formula with the king of the Mahāyāna-sūtra [i.e. **KV**] **KV** 243a7-8: *sems can theg pa chen po'i mdo dkon mchog gi rgyal po za ma tog bkod pa 'di 'bri ba de dag bsod nams kyi phung po ji lta bu lags | rigs kyi bu de dag gi bsod nams kyi phung po ni dpag tu med par 'gyur ro || gang theg pa chen po'i mdo dkon mchog gi rgyal po za ma tog bkod pa 'brir 'jug pa de dag ni chos kyi phung po brgyad khri bzhi stong 'brir 'jug par 'gyur ro*. The second passage worth

very life enjoy happiness, attain the fruit of Buddhahood within this existence and within this very body - be sure not to entertain any doubts (*the tshom*, *vicikitsā*) or misgivings (*yid gnyis*, *vimati*) about this!

Furthermore, whereas one may be able to weight the King of Mountains, Sumeru on a pair of scales, no one shall [ever] be capable of measuring the [quantitative] amount of merits [acquired] by the recitation (*bzlas pa*, *japa*) just once of the Six-syllabic [formula]![273]

Whereas one should [ultimately] be able to do away with a adamantine rock [merely] by rubbing it with a [piece of fine] *kāśika*-silk just once every one hundredth year, no one shall ever be capable of calculating the [quantitative] amount of merits [acquired] by reciting just once the Six-syllabic [formula].[274]

Whereas one should [ultimately] be able to [measure] the water in the huge ocean by counting each single drop of water, no one shall ever be capable of calculating the [quantitative] amount of merits [acquired] by reciting just once the Six-syllabic [formula].[275]

Whereas one should [ultimately] be able [to measure] the minute atoms (*rdul kyi phra rab*, *paramāṇu*) of [everything growing in] the Snowy [Country of Tibet] by counting each single piece of wood and green plant [etc.], no one shall ever be able to calculate the [quantitative] amount of merits [acquired] from the recitation of the Six-syllabic [formula] just once.[276]

Likewise, whereas one should [ultimately] be capable of emptying a huge house measuring a hundred miles (*dpag tshad*, *yojana*) [in extent] filled up with sesamum [seed-grains] (*til* (*'bru*)) merely by removing (*phyir bskyur*) one grain (*rdog po*) daily, no one shall ever be able to calculate the [quantitative] amount of merits [accrued] from reciting the Six-syllabic [formula] just once.[277]

Whereas one should be capable of counting each single water-drop stemming from the uninterrupted flow of rain which has poured down continuously (lit. without [distinction

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quoting is more pertinent, **KV** 259a7: *rigs kyi bu gang yi ge drug pa'i rig sngags chen mo 'di 'bri 'jug pa des chos kyi phung po brgyad khri bzhi stong 'brir 'jug par 'gyur ro.*

273 The passages in the sequel, using a hyperbolic analogy, find a parallel in the Chap. III (Part 2) of **KV**, 255b5ff. and esp. 257a5, corresponding to the chapter aptly denoted the Description of the Magnanimity of the Great Six-syllabic Formula (*sadakṣarī-mahāvidyā-mahātmya-varnana*) in the Skt. ed. Cf. also **MNKB** E (A) **Lo-rgyus chen-mo**, Chap. XI 31b4-42b6 quoting **KV**. It is also rendered in the *Zhal-gdams skor* (F + G) section of **MNKB** additional times, with slightly deviating wordings. It shall be recalled that this cycle of **MNKB** was detected by Nyang-ral, wherefore it shall come as no surprise for us to find a similar, though slightly more detailed version delineating the *phan yon* of the Six-syllabic formula retained in Nyang-ral's **CHBYMTNYP** 411a5-414b4 = **KTHZGM** Chap. 39, 180.9-184.15 (with slight differences) too.

For the first simile, replacing the Six-syllabic formula with Avalokiteśvara, cf. **KV** 269b6-270a1; **CHBYMTNYP** 411a2-b2 = **KTHZGM** 181.14-182.1: In the latter version, the present and the following simile (cf. next note) are combined.

274 For this simile, cf. **KV** 258b2-4 = **MNKB** E (A) 34a6-34b2 and WAM (G) 21b2-3. Cf. also previous note.

275 For this simile, cf. **KV** 257b7, **MNKB** E (A) 33b2-3, but also WAM (G) 21b5-6; **KTHZGM** 181.9-11.

276 Cf. parallel but differently **KV** 258a2-5 = **MNKB** E (A) 33b5-34a2, but also WAM (G) 21b45; in **GLR** Tibet is introduced, whereas the above sources relate the story about grains cultivated by people in the four continents (= the world).

277 **KV** 257b7-258a2 = **MNKB** E (A) 33b3-5.

between] day and night; *nyin mtshan med par*) throughout twelve [whole] months, no one shall [alternatively] be able to measure the [quantitative] amount of merits [accruing] from the recitation of the Six-syllabic [formula] just once.[278]

Verily, O Son of good family, it should not be necessary to relate so much [about this], [suffice it to say], that whereas one should be capable of calculating the amount of merits [acquired] from pleasing [up to] ten millions of Tathāgātas like myself by paying one's respect and by showing one's reverence, no one [by contrast] shall ever be able to calculate the [quantitative] size of the pile of merits (*puṇyarāśi*) [gained] from reciting the Six-syllabic [formula] just once.[279]

OṂ MA ṆI PADME HŪṂ

By **OṂ** the suffering of [having pre-knowledge of] birth and death among the gods (*deva*) will be eliminated.
By **MA** the suffering [stemming] from fighting among the demigods (*asura*) is eliminated.
By **ṆI** the suffering of birth, ageing, illness and death for the human beings (*manuṣya*) are eliminated.
By **PAD** the suffering [stemming] from the exploitation of animals (*tiryak*) is eliminated.
By **ME** the suffering [stemming] from hunger and thirst for the hungry ghosts (*preta*) is eliminated.
By **HŪṂ** the suffering of warmth and coldth for the hell-inhabitants (*naraka*) is eliminated.[280]

Lauded by all Buddhas alike,

The Essence embodying the True Law (Saddharma) entirely
Emerging to become the glory of all worldlings,
Pray grant the empowerment (*abhiṣeka*) [of] [this] Six-syllabic (*ṣaḍakṣarī*) [formula]!

The Empowerment [embodying] the quintessence (*hṛdaya*) of all Buddhas
May it today be bestowed upon you:
All the Buddhas having gathered [here],
Bestow the empowerment of the King of Magical Spells (*rig sngags*

278 **KV** 258b8-259a2 = **MṆKB** E (A) 34b6-35a2. **CHBYMTNYP** 411b5-412a2 = **KTHZGM** Chap. 39, 181.4-7: instead of twelve months these texts have one year resp. twelve years.

279 Slightly abbreviated, otherwise *verbatim* quoted from **MṆKB** E (A) 35a2-3, but see also **CHBYMTNYP** 413a3-b1 = **KTHZGM** 182.12-183.1.

280 The same pattern employed here finds numerous parallels in **MṆKB** WAM (F) where the *phan yon* of the Six-syllable formula is rendered numerous times. The key-figure, as noted earlier, behind this cycle is Nyang-ral, wherefore we find, not unsurprisingly, the above passage almost identically paralleled in **CHBYMTNYP** 407a2-5 = **KTHZGM** Chap. 38, 174.2-9, but see also **CHBYMTNYP** 410b5-411a5 = **KTHZGM** Chap. 38, 179.13-180.3.

The following metrical exposition, however, on the individual syllables combined e.g. with the six *pāramitā*-s remains untraced in the material available.

rgyal po, vidyārāja)!

OM, the Transcendence of Benevolence (*dānapāramitā*),
[Represented qua] the Blessed One, the non-avaricious (**amātsarya*),
The Absolute Medium (*chos sku, dharmakāya*) embodying all Buddhas,
Pray, bless (*byin gyis brlab, adhiṣṭhāna*) [him with] the empowerment!

MA, the Transcendence of Endurance (*kṣanti-pāramitā*),
[Represented qua] the Blessed One, the wrathless (**akrodha*),
The Enjoyment Medium (*longs spyod rdzogs, saṃbhoga*[*kāya*]) of Great Bliss (Mahāsukha),
Pray, bless [him with] the empowerment!

NI, the Transcendence of Morality (*śīla-pāramitā*),
[Represented qua] the Blessed One, bereft of the vices of passions (**kleśadoṣakṣaya*),
The Emanational Medium (*sprul pa'i sku, nirmānakāya*) [of] the spontaneously manifested Three Media (*sku gsum, trikāya*),
Pray, bless [him with] the empowerment!

PAD, the Transcendence of Contemplation (*dhyāna-pāramitā*),
[Represented qua] the Blessed One, the unwavering (**avikṣipta*),
The BODY (*sku, kāya*) comprehending all knowable objects (*sarvajñeya*),
Pray, bless [him with] the empowerment!

ME, the Transcendence of Dilligence (*vīrya-pāramitā*),
[Represented qua] the Blessed One, the slothless (**akauṣīdya*),
The SPEECH (*gsung, vāk*) pervading the world [with] omniscience and love,
Pray, bless [him with] the empowerment!

HŪM, the Transcendence of Analytic Insight (*prajñā-pāramitā*),
[Represented qua] the Blessed One, the encompasser of all deeds (*sarvakarman*),
The MIND (*thugs, citta*) unifying in one [all] prowess and strength,
Pray, bless [him with] the empowerment!

The Six-syllabic Maxim, the adamantine sound,
[Graciously] blessed by all Buddhas alike,
The non-plus-ultra (*anuttara*) Essence of the Law,
Pray, [grant him with] the blessing of the empowerment!"

Granting the empowerment, [all] defilements were purified and [the statue] was overflowed (*yar lud pa*) [by] the remaining water and so [it, i.e. the extra water turned into] Amitābha, who became an ornament on the head [of the statue of Avalokiteśvara].

A prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*) [by Amitābha] stated accordingly:[281]

"[By] **OṂ** [one is] endowed with the Five [kinds of] Gnosis (*ye shes lnga*, *pañcajñāna*),
[By] **MA** Compassion (*thugs rje*, *karuṇā*) pervades everything,
By **NI** the six forms of existence are guided,
By **PAD** all sufferings are allayed,
By **ME** [all] sinful defilements are consumed,
By **HŪṂ** all qualities are united:
Qua the blessing of the six-syllabic [formula]
The sentient beings of the Snow-clad [Country of Tibet]
May [they] be brought onto the Path of Liberation!
Blessed by all Victors (*Jina*)
This [maxim-]quintessence uniting [in one] the innermost nature (*yang snying*) [of all teachings],
Is the Origin (*akara*) of all benefit and happiness,
Is the Root (*mūla*) of all *siddhi*-s
Is the Ladder (*niśreṇī*) leading to heaven,
Is the Portal (*dhāra*) blocking [the way] to the lower stages of existence (*durgati*),
Is the Vessel (*nāva*) rescuing [the worldlings] from *saṃsāra*,
Is the Lamp (*dīpa*) eliminating [all] obscurations,
Is the Hero (*vīra*) overcoming the five poisons (*pañcaviṣa*) [of passions][282]
Is the Heap of Fire consuming [all] sin-defilements,
Is the Hammer (*tho ba*, *mudgara*) beating asunder [all] sufferings,
Is the Adjuvant (*mitra*) taming the barbarous borderland and
Is the Religious Lot (*chos skal*) of the Snow-clad [Country of Tibet].
Of the numerous *sūtra*-s, *tantra*-s and *śāstra*-s,
Of all [the stages of realization qua] studying, reflection and meditation, the three,
The Essence (*bcud*) uniting in one [its] nature,
The all-sufficient (*gcig chog*) Precious King,
Pray, recite this six-syllabic [magical formula]!
Qua the [benevolent] blessing of this *dhāraṇī*
In that barbarous borderland, the Snow-clad [Country of Tibet]
The sentient beings shall be brought onto the path of Maturity and Liberation
And The True Law (Saddharma) will spread and diffuse."

The Birth of the Noble [Avalokiteśvara] from a Lotus and a Demonstration of the Benefit of the Six-syllabic [Formula].

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281 The following metrical segment is untraced from Bla-ma dam-pa's assumed prime sources.

282 On the five poisons of affliction (*nyon mongs dug lnga*), different texts hold different numbers, but usually: pride (*nga rgyal*, *abhimāna*), envy (*phrag dog*, *īrṣyā*) and the three usual root vices desire (*'dod chags*, *rāga*), hatred (*zhe sdang*, *dveṣa*) and folly (*gti mug*, *moha*).

V

[How] Ārya-Avalokiteśvara for the First Time Brought the Sentient Beings of the Snow-Clad Country [of Tibet] unto the Path of Maturation and Salvation

Thereupon Ārya-Avalokita,[283] concerned with the welfare of the sentient beings of the Snow-clad [Country of Tibet],[284] and having generated his mind [towards] Enlightenment in the presence of Buddha Amitābha kneeled down on the earth with his right knee, joined together the palm of his hands (*añjalim kṛtvā*) and uttered the [following] aspiration-vow (*praṇidhāna*): "May all the sentient beings pertaining to the six classes of beings (*rigs drug*) and the three spheres (*khams gsum*, *tridhātu*) be brought to Bliss by me! In particular, may the entire number of sentient beings [living] in the Snow-clad [Country of] Tibet be put on the road to Bliss![285] Pray, may I refrain from producing any thoughts of tranquillity and comfort (*zhi bde'i bsam pa*)[286] even for a moment (*skad cig*) or remain at ease until [all] the sentient beings, [so] difficult to convert, have been brought [safely] onto the Path of Enlightenment and Liberation by me! In case [such a thought] should be produced [by me], then may my head split into ten pieces just like a capsule (*dog pa*, *stambhaka*) of cotton (*arjaka*) and may [my] body even disintegrate into thousand fragments like the leaves of a lotus!"[287]

Thereafter [he] went to the place of hell (*dmyal ba*, *naraka*),[288] where [he] preached the teaching of the Six-syllabic [formula], [thus] establishing [the hell-inhabitants firmly] in prosperity and happiness having annulled the cold and warm sufferings (*tsha grang gi sdug bsngal*, *uṣṇa-śītaduḥkha*) of hell.[289]

Thereupon he went to the abode of the hungry ghosts (*yi dvags*, *preta*), where he [likewise] preached the message of the Six-syllabic [formula], establishing them in prosperity and happiness, having allayed the[ir] suffering of hunger and thirst (*bkres skom gyi sdug bsngal*, *jighatsā-pipāsāduḥkha*).[290]

Thereupon, he went to place of the animals (*dud 'gro*, *tiryak*), where [he] preached the message of the Six-syllabic [formula], [thus] securing [these creatures] prosperity and

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283 In Chap. V Bla-ma dam-pa prosecutes the theme on the myth and legendary vita of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara, already introduced in the previous chapter. His source is also here in part **MṆKB**, partly reminiscences of a mythographical and biographical narrative dedicated the Avalokiteśvara-cult found in other sources. Cf. Appendix note 283 for a fuller discussion.

284 Cf. **MṆKB** E (A) **Lo-rgyus chen-mo**, Chap. 4: *Slar sems bskyed brtan-par mdzad-pa* 16a1-17b2. Again, the mentioning of Tibet here is Bla-ma dam-pa's addition, as it is lacking in **MṆKB**.

285 Cf. **MṆKB** 16a2-3, differing slightly in wording, again the mentioning of Tibet is lacking from **MṆKB**.

286 **MṆKB** has *rang zhi 'dod pa'i blo*.

287 The mention of the disintegration of the body into thousand pieces is lacking from **MṆKB**. This legend is found in numerous sources and is a common theme, cf. Wayman, 1983, p. 625.

288 In the description of the six *gati*-s, **MṆKB** E (A) 16a4-17a2 differs again from **GLR**, as it is not Avalokita who visits theses places, but six rays of light emitted (*'od zer drug spros*) from his body that bring about an elimination of suffering; further, there is no mention of any teaching of the Six-syllabic formula and finally **MṆKB** has the order reverted, by starting with the abode of the gods. Finally, the bulky *Zhal-gdams skor* (F) of **MṆKB** WAM contains numerous textual parallels to the present section. In the slightly lengthier exposition of the same topos offered by Nyang-ral, the exposition deals with the story as to how Mahākārunika beheld the six *gati*-s by way of three modes of *karuṇā* (i.e. *sems can la dmigs pa'i snying rje*, *chos la dmigs pa'i snying rje*, *dmigs pa med pa'i snying rje*), cf. more detailed and parallel **CHBYMTNYP** 407a5-410b3 = **KTHZGM** Chap. 38, 174.9-178.9.

289 **MṆKB** E (A) 16b6-17a2. Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 409b1-410b3 = **KTHZGM** 177.15-178.9.

290 **MṆKB** E (A) 16b7-8. Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 409a5-b1 = **KTHZGM** 177.5-15.

happiness, having annulled [for them] the suffering of exploitation (*bkol spyod kyi sdug bsngal*).[291]

Thereupon he reached the realm of man (*mi*, *manuṣya*), where [he likewise] preached the message of the Six-syllabic [formula] establishing them in prosperity and happiness, having appeased the[ir] sufferings of birth, aging, sickness and death (*skye rgas na 'chi'i sdug bsngal*, *jāti-jarā-vyādhi-maraṇaduḥkha*).[292]

Next, he arrived at the region of the demi-gods (*lha ma yin*, *asura*), preaching the message of the Six-syllabic [formula] and [thus] established them in prosperity and happiness, after he had appeased [for them] the sufferings [accruing] from disputes and fightings (*'thab rtsod kyi sdug bsngal*).[293]

[He] then [finally] arrived at the abode of the gods (*lha*, *deva*), where [he likewise] preached the message of the Six-syllabic [formula] establishing [them] in prosperity and happiness [too] after [he] had quenched [for them] the god's sufferings [consisting in acquiring any pre-knowledge] of falling [from their abode] and dying (*lha 'chi ltung gi sdug bsngal*).[294]

He next arrived in the Snow-capped Realm [of Tibet],[295] the barbarous borderland, and looking [around], he [realized] the Upper (*stod*) [Tibet], i.e. the three regions (*skor gsum*) of Upper (*stod*) mNga'-ris (i.e. West Tibet) to be [like] [a/the] Continent of the Antelope (*ri d[v]ags gling*, **mṛgadvīpa*),[296] resembling [in shape] a vessel (*rdzing*) and to those [living there] he taught the teachings of the Six-syllabic [formula], [firmly] bringing [them] prosperity and happiness.

The Lower (*smad*) [Tibet], i.e. the] three [districts] of mDo-Khams-sGang (i.e. East Tibet) [he recognized] to be [like] [a/the] Continent of the Birds (*bya'i gling*),[297] resembling [in shape] a field (*zhing*) and to those [living there] he demonstrated the teachings of the Six-syllabic [formula], establishing [them too] in prosperity and happiness.

The Four Horns (*ru bzhi*) of the Central (*bar*) [part of Tibet, i.e. the provinces] dBus [and] gTsang, [he recognized] to be [like a] Continent of the beast of prey (*gcan gzan gyi gling*),[298] resembling [in shape] an irrigation-canal (*yur ba*), and to those [living there] he taught the teachings of the Six-syllabic [formula] which thereby secured [for them] prosperity and happiness.

Then [he] went to the summit of the Red Hill (*dMar-po-ri*) [in] Lhasa and looking upwards, [he] [immediately] observed that the lake of 'O-thang [located there][299] [in fact]

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291 **MṆKB** E (A) 16b4-5. Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 409a1-5 = **KTHZGM** 176.14-177.5.

292 **MṆKB** E (A) 16b2-3. Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 408a1-409a1 = **KTHZGM** 175.6-176.14.

293 **MṆKB** E (A) 16b1-2. Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 407b3-408a1 = **KTHZGM** 174.17-176.6.

294 **MṆKB** E (A) 16a8-16b1. Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 407a5-b3 = **KTHZGM** 174.9-17.

295 The following passages remain untraced.

296 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 2a5-6: *mnga' ris skor gsum sha rkyang ri dvags gling*; Tibet is usually divided into *stod* or West[ern] Tibet, *smad* or East[ern] Tibet and *dbus* or Central Tibet.

297 Cf. similarly **HBCHBY** (JA) 2a6; mDo-Khams sGang-drug, i.e. A-mdo, Khams and sGang-drug, the six ridges: Zal-mo-sgang, Tsha-ba-sgang, sMar-khams-sgang, sPo-'bor-sgang, dMar-rtsa-sgang, and Mi-nyag Rab-sgang.

298 Cf. similarly, **HBCHBY** (JA) 2a6; cf. foremost G. Uray. "The Four Horns according to the Royal Annals", *AOH*, vol. X, no. 1, pp. 31-57.

299 'O-thang, i.e. the lake 'Plain of Milk' ('O-ma'i thang), cf. Chap. XIV *infra* and esp. note 726 and for the Red Hill, cf. note 455.

was [nothing but] the [lowest, i.e. hottest] place of Hell, [i.e.] Avīci (mNar-med), [inhabited] by many myriads (*khri phrag du ma*) of living beings, who were [there] being subjected to unbearable (*bzod glags med pa*) sufferings of hunger and thirst and of being cooked and burned, thereby uttering various cries of agony and dispair, [a sight so tragic] that [he could not help] shedding tears.

And so, from his right eye a tear fell on the plain [adjacent to the lake of 'O-thang], which [immediately] turned into the Lady Tārā Bṛhkuṭī (Jo-mo sGrol-ma Khro-gnyer-can[-ma]), who uttered: "O Son of good family! Make sure not to inflict sufferings in [your] promotion of the welfare of the sentient beings of the Snow-clad [Country of Tibet]! I, too, will assist [you] in working for the welfare of the sentient beings", [and immediately thereafter she] was [again] absorbed into his right eye. This [goddess] was [to become] the future Nepalese Princess (*bal mo bza'*) Khri-btsun.

Again, from the left eye a tear fell on the ground, [this time] transforming [itself] into the Lady Tārā (Jo-mo sGrol-ma), who [similarly] declared: "O Son of good family! Make sure that no suffering is inflicted when you [are] working for the welfare of the sentient beings of the Snow-clad [Country of Tibet]! I, too, shall assist [you] in promoting the welfare of the sentient beings!", after which she [likewise] was [immediately] absorbed into his left eye. This [goddess] was [to become] the future Chinese Princess (*rgya mo* [*bza'*]) Kong-jo.[300]

Thereupon the Ārya[-Avalokiteśvara] arrived at the bank of this lake, where he taught the law of the Six-syllabic [formula], whereupon he uttered the [following] points of truth [born] out of [his] boundless compassion:[301]

> Due to [their] accumulation of bad *karman* from beginningless time (*anadikala*),
> [Living in] this great Hell of fathomless depth
> Those [beings], who are inflicted (*btses*) with sundry [kinds of] sufferings so difficult to endure
> May [they] be brought unto the island [securing the] full and complete Liberation (*mokṣa*)!
>
> Being cooked in [this] lake [full] of boiling poison,
> Being perpetually burned by the fire of Hell
> Those beings without shelter wailing and lamenting in dispair,
> May [they] always be cooled by a shower of prosperity and happiness!
>
> Tormented (*gzir*) by various [kinds of sufferings] such as heat, cold, hunger and thirst [etc.]
> The many myriads of beings living in this lake [of 'O-thang],
> After they have departed from this [miserable] body [of theirs], in my paradise

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300 Cf. analogously, **MNKB** E (A) 14b2-4: *de la spyan chab g.yas pa las lha mo sgrol ma dang | spyan chab g.yon pa las lha mo khro gnyer can byon no || sgrol ma'i zhal nas rigs kyi bu sems can gyi don byed pa la byang chub kyi sems sbyongs shig gsung ngo || lha mo khro gnyer ma'i zhal nas rigs kyi bu sems can gyi don byed pa la thugs g.yel bar ma mdzad cig | kho mo cag gnyis kyis kyang rigs kyi bu khyod kyi grogs bya'o gsungs nas | slar spyan g.yas g.yon du thim par gyur ro.*

301 The following versified paragraph is verbatim reproduced in **HBCHBY** (JA) 2a1-4.

May [they] be born [there] as pious beings of good family!

OṂ MA ṆI PADME HŪṂ"

So the Hell-inhabitants, the sentient beings, were [firmly] established on the Path to Enlightenment and Freedom, after [they] had the[ir] sufferings of cold[ness] and hot[ness] allayed and had attained a prosperous body, being disassociated with mental frustration [of any kind].

Having thus by various means established the sentient beings [pertaining to] the six classes and the three spheres and the sentient beings of the Snow-clad [Country of Tibet], so difficult to tame, in happiness, [Ārya Avalokiteśvara] was very exhausted and he set his mind in the mental equanimity (*samāpatti*) of restful contemplation (*ngal gso'i ting nge 'dzin*).[302]

Then again he [later] looked around from the summit of Mt. Pota[la][303] and he [could] not [even] think that [up till now] only about a hundredth part of [all] sentient beings of the Snow-clad [Country of Tibet] had been established [firmly] in happiness, [so] he felt very dispaired and in an instant he generated a thought of personal tranquility and ease (*zhi bde'i bsam pa*) and, perforce of his previous aspiration-vow his head split into ten pieces and his body decomposed into thousand fragments.[304]

Then Buddha Amitābha was addressed [by him] with a prayer and in a trice Buddha Amitābha turned up. Taking hold of a bundle [consisting] of [the various] fragmented pieces of the Noble One's head and body, he proclaimed as follows:[305]

"All norms of existence are conditioned,
And at the base of [it][306] is [the act of] craving (*'dun pa*);
Whatever aspiration you [may] swear
It will come true just like that.

Since the power of your [previous] aspiration-vow proved efficient,
[You shall be] lauded highly by all Buddhas [alike],
It is the truth and this in a trice assuredly
Makes it come into existence."

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302 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 2a7.

303 **MṆKB** E (A) 17a3-6, not Mt. Potala, but Mt. Meru: *thugs rje chen pos ri rab kyi rtser phyin te ye shes kyi spyan gyis gzigs pa dang | yang snga ma de tsam du 'dug nas | lan gsum du thabs dang snying rjes bton pas kyang sems can gyi khams la skye 'bri mi 'dug nas thugs mug yi chad nas || kye ma bde bar gshegs pa'i dgongs pas 'dul ba'i zhing khams bsam gyis mi khyab || nam mkha'i khams bsam gyis mi khyab | sems can gyi khams bsam gyis mi khyab bya ba bden par 'dug | ngas de tsam pa'i sems can bton yang nyung du ma song bas 'khor ba 'di mi stongs par 'dug || sems can gyi don mi 'grub par 'dug || rang zhi bde thob par byas nas mya ngan las 'das pa sangs rgyas kyi sa la gnas par bya'o snyam pa dang | sngar gyi sems bskyed dam bca' nyams nas | dbu tshal pa bcur gas so.*

304 Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 2a7-2b2 and note 287 *supra*.

305 The following two stanzas are also conserved in **HBCHBY** (JA) 2b3-4 and thus suggests that they both draw from a common source, rather than assuming that dPa'-bo quotes **GLR**, which often is the case.

306 I.e. fundamentally; **GLR** *rtsa la*, but **HBCHBY** reads *rtse la*, i.e. 'on top [of it]', i.e. in addition, which perhaps is a better reading altogether.

"O Son of good family! Do not inflict sorrow! This splitting of your head into ten pieces shall be blessed as ten heads.[307]

The ten countenances are the ten transcendences (*daśapāramitā*)

On top of them, it is having [the face of] A-mi de-ba (i.e. Amitābha) so [the statue shall] be blessed as the Eleven-headed One (*zhal bcu gcig pa, ekādaśamukha*).[308]

[Having the countenance of] Amitābha seated as the eleventh head,
[You, the Eleven-headed One] practicing the [four] kind of [ritual] acts: appeasing, expanding, dominating and violence;
Homage to the reverend (*btsun pa, bhadanta*) Avalokita.

This body of yours being divided into thousand [fragments] like the leaves of a lotus-flower [shall] be blessed as [i.e. become] thousand hands and the thousand hands [shall] be thousand Wheel-revolving Kings (*Cakravartinrāja*); the palm of these thousand hands [shall be] blessed with a thousand eyes [of wisdom] ([*ye shes kyi*] *spyan*, [*jñāna*]*nidra*).[309]

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307 Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 2b4-5 also.

308 For these prose-intervowen stanzas in **GLR**, compare **HBCHBY** (JA) 2b4-6:

‖ *rigs kyi bu khyod sdug bsngal ma byed cig*

| *khyod kyi dbu ni tshal pa bcur gas pa* |
| *'di ni zhal ras bcu ru byin gyis brlab* |
| *khyod lus rnam pa stong du bye ba ni* |
| *phyag stong spyan stong ldan par byin gyis brlab* |

| *slar yang 'gro don snying stobs skyed cig gsung* |
| *de tshe phyogs bcu'i rgyal sras kun 'dus nas* |

| *zhal ras bcu po pha rol phyin pa bcu* |
| *bcu gcig dbu la 'od dpag med pa bzhugs* |
| *zhi rgyas dbang rgyas las rnams kun mdzad pa* |
| *btsun pa spyan ras gzigs la phyag 'tshal lo* |

309 As corroborated by dPa'-bo the entire passage dealt with here may originally have been composed metrically. In the light of his text, it may be assumed that the following seven-lined ten-syllabic metrical passage in **GLR** is somewhat faulty preserved. dPa'-bo has two nine-syllabic stanzas, 2b6-3a1:

| *phyag stong 'khor los bsgyur ba'i rgyal po stong* |
| *spyan stong bskal pa bzang po'i sangs rgyas stong* |
| *gang la gang 'dul de la der ston pa'i* |
| *btsun pa spyan ras gzigs la phyag 'tshal lo* |

| *dus gsum sangs rgyas kun gyis rab tu bsngags* |
| *[m]tha[' ']khob 'dul bar rgyal bas lung bstan nas* |
| *gang la gang 'dul 'gro ba'i don mdzad pa* |

[Endowed with] one thousand eyes [representing] the thousand Buddhas
of the Prosperous Aeon (*bhadrakalpa*),
[He] has demonstrated [himself] [here and] there [in protean forms]
converting each individual according to personal disposition,
To [that] reverend Avalokita [we] pay homage.

[Unanimously and] highly lauded by a thousand Buddhas,
Having been prophesized by the Victor (Jina) to convert the barbarous
borderland [of Tibet],
[He] promoted the welfare of the sentient beings [by] converting each
according to individual disposition,
To [him] the reverend Avalokita [we] pay homage."

Having [thus] demonstrated many bodily emananational forms for the sake of converting the sentient beings of the Snow-clad [Country of Tibet], he brought all sentient beings to Maturation and Liberation.

[*How*] *Ārya-Avalokiteśvara for the First* [*Time*] *Brought the Sentient Beings of the Snow-clad* [*Country of Tibet*] *onto* [*the Path of*] *Maturation and Liberation.*

| *btsun pa spyan ras gzigs la phyag 'tshal lo* |

VI

[How Ārya-Avalokiteśvara,] having Transformed [Himself] into the King of Horses, Worked for the Welfare of the Sentient Beings

Thereupon,[310] Ārya-Avalokiteśvara worked for the sake of sentient beings of the world by various means and in order to give a[n edifying] parable of [how] the wholesome [should] be accepted and [how] the unwholesome [should] be rejected (*dge sdig gi blang*[*bya dang*] *dor*[*bya*] *gyi dpe*, **kuśala-pāpa-heyopādeya-upamā*), it is told in the **Sūtra [of the Array] of The Basket (mDo Za-ma-tog [bkod-pa], Kāraṇḍa[vyūha]-sūtra)**[311] [how Ārya-Avalokiteśvara] worked for the sake of the sentient beings after [he once] had transformed himself into the King of Horses (*rta'i rgyal po*, *aśvarāja*), the noble (*cang* (: *spyang*) *shes*, *ājāneya*) Balaha (i.e. Balāha[ka]):

In this [story it is told how] merchants (*tshong pa*) from South India, [all] with low merits, [once] set out on the outer [great] ocean in order to acquire [precious] jewels. Having embarked upon a great vessel equipped with plenty of provisions necessary for themselves, [they departed, but only] after seven days had passed, [sailing] was [to be fatally] hampered by a [most] adverse wind (*mi 'dod pa'i rlung*),[312] to wit:[313]

> [At] noon black clouds gathered like thick mist,
> Obscuring the rays of the sun, [causing] darkness to prevail,
> A terrifying gale [raged] as if the earth trembled,
> The forest and all the trees fell about;
> The waves of the ocean resembled a leaping lion;
> Whirlpool of waves almost made earth and heaven meet;
> The menchants embraced one another,
> Weeping, each [and everyone] cried out the names of their kindred (*ñe du*),
> Taken by fear and terrified, they cried for help (*'o dod 'bod byed*),
> Leaderless, despondent, tears poured forth as blood,
> In that very moment too the vessel wrecked.

Next, the merchants clinged as best [they could] to the [drift]wood from the wrecked ship, and again an adverse tempest led [them all] in one direction, until it brought [them] to the shore of the Island of Singgala [i.e. Singhala-dvīpa = Tāmradvīpa; Ceylon or Sri Lanka] inhabited by ogresses (*rākṣasī*-s), where the merchants calling upon one another by name gained dry land.

They were observed by the *rākṣasī*-ogresses, who [immediately] transformed themselves into very beautiful young women and carrying along ample food and drink they arrived at the place where the merchants rested. They deluded them by giving consolance inquiring them: "Are [you possibly] exhausted?" or "Are [you possibly] suffering?" and they satisfied [them] with food and drink. The merchants rejoiced greatly at the sight of the extraordinarily beautiful women without recognizing that they were [in fact] *rākṣasī*-ogresses and they

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310 This chapter offers the celebrated legend of how the mythological King of Horses, Balāha[ka] (known, e.g. from **Mahāvastu**, III, 67-90), an emanation of Avalokiteśvara, rescues a group of merchants from *rākṣasī*-captivity on the Ceylon island. For further discussion, cf. Appendix note 310.

311 **KV** 248a5-251a3. It is part of the section entitled *Aśvarāja-varṇana*, the Description of the King of Horses.

312 **KV** has here an unseasonable wind (*dus ma yin pa'i rlung*, *akālavāyu*).

313 This following versified passage is lacking altogether from **KV** and **MNKB**.

conversed one another in an amicable way.

The *rākṣasī*-ogresses [however] declared unanimously (*kha 'cham par*): "Ye merchants must not approach the upper part of the valley!"

Each woman then took along one of the merchants and went to her own home, where they married (*bza' mi byas*), cohabited and lived an enjoyable life.

A voice[314] [from above] appeared:

> "Merchants suffering from ill-fated *karman*,
> When they were carried along by an adverse and unwelcome storm,
> Like [an animal] when going astray is caught in a hunting-net (*ri dvags rgya*),
> [They] fell into the hands of the Lord of Death (Yama)
> with no means of escape.
>
> Those [merchants], infatuated by the idea (*bsam brlag tsho*) of taking a spouse (*chung mar 'dzin*; marrying)
> Imbued [moreover] with the erring view holding these *rākṣasī*-ogresses as goddesses (*devī*-s)
> [Thus] are deluded and while greatly satiated with food,
> They forget [all] previous sufferings like [in] a dream
> And even their minds were satisfied with joy."[315]

Then the great caravan-leader (*ded dpon chen po*, *mahāsārthavāha*) recognized [the place] to be the Island of the Ogresses (*rākṣasīdvīpa*) and [immedaitely he] became unhappy and disparaged, pondering that [if] the present [situation] promised happiness, what kind of future would [then] be in store for them, [a thought] which made him extremely uneasy. Pondering [moreover] what could be meant by the order that forbid them to approach the upper part of the valley, the caravan-leader in the evening set out, when his own spouse had fallen asleep, and went in order to inspect [for himself] the upper part of the valley. [There he] found an iron house[316] without any door, within which murmuring (*di ri ri*) clamours (*skad log*) [were to be heard]. Wondering what it was [he heard] he listened [carefully] and [soon] recognized [it as] the language of [other] merchants coming from India. He [then] climbed a tree that stood next to that [house] and inquired: "Who is inside that [house]?" The people inside that [house] responded: "We inside here are merchants who have lost our way." Asking: "For how long have you been locked up in there?", they answered: "Like you we landed here when our ship got carried away by an unwelcome storm. We were [then] led away by these women and without recognizing them as *rākṣasī*-ogresses, we married, begot children and lived happily, but when you [fellow merchants] arrived at this island we were locked up here in this iron house without [any] exit. Now we shall gradually be devoured.

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314 In **KV** 248b8 it is not a voice sounding from above, but a laughing lamp (*gad mo snyan par dgod pa*, *hasana-ratikara*) which here is at play; cf. also Régamey, "Le pseudo-hapax ratikara et le lamp qui rit", *Asiatische Studien*, vol. 18/19, pp. 175-205, who incidentally points out that the Tibetan translators did not comprehend this meaning of the 'laughing lamp'. It functioned as an adjuvant playing a role akin to Aladdin's lamp in Arabian Nights. Cf. also S. Lienhard, 1993.

315 Lacking from **KV** and **MNKB**.

316 **KV** 249a2 has an iron town (*lcags kyi grong khyer*, *ayas-nagara*).

Please consider our sufferings in this terrifying and appalling [situation] which [eventually] shall deprive [us our] life and escape right now! Now is the time for fleeing. Once you are locked up in this iron house, there is neither any room for fleeing nor any means of liberation."

Again, the caravan-leader (*sārthavāha*) spoke: "Well, certainly we shall escape, only we have no means of doing it." They[317] said: "There is a means for escape. We too gave thoughts to the need of escaping, but [this present fate of ours] is the retaliation (*lan*) for being attached to sensual pleasures (*'dod yon, kāmaguṇa*), but you should escape without getting [too] attached to anything or anyone at all! As to the method of escape, [you will] find a turquoise[-coloured] fountain (*chu mig*)[318] standing in the middle of a plain of golden sand [situated] on the northern side after you from this [place] have crossed a little pass. At the outskirts of this [well] you will find it surrounded by lapis (*baidūrya*)[-coloured] green sprouts. On the evening of the fifteenth [day of the month, at fullmoon][319] from out of space the King of Horses called Balāha, capable of carrying (*zhon chog pa*) on its back (*sgal pa*) about one hundred persons, being outmost beautiful and hanging on to a moon-beam (*zla ba'i zer la 'grogs*),[320] is going to make its appearance at that place. It will drink from this turquoise[-coloured] well, partake of the lapis[-coloured] green sprouts[321] and roll itself trice (*'gre ldog gsum byas*) in the golden sand, whereafter it will shake itself off [its dusty sand] and its horse-language will sound in human language: "All [ye] Indian merchants imprisoned on the Island of the Ogresses, who[ever] you are, where[ever] you are, ride on my back and I shall bring you [all] back to your native country!"[322] It is said that a miraculously transformed Supreme Horse will come saying thus. Having mounted it, keep your eyes closed without feeling attached whatsoever to enjoyable pleasures or towards your [own] begotten children. If you escape [accordingly], you will be free."

The caravan-leader thought that he had to act accordingly and went back. When he went to bed beside his sleeping *rākṣasī*-spouse, it was perceived by his wife, who spoke as follows: "An inquisitive (*blo nyes*) merchant might risk his own life; if one ponders differently, one may be at a loss (*phung*). Whither has the merchant-leader gone, since his body is so cold?". The merchant-leader answered untruthfully: "I [only] went to let the water!"

Next, the caravan-leader clandestinely (*lkog tu*) gathered [all] his junior-merchants (*tshong phrug*) and related in details to them [all] the events [which had taken place] and all agreed to flee.

Then on the evening of the fifteenth day, they gave the *rākṣasī*-ogresses a soporiferious drug (*smyo byed kyi rdzas*)[323] which made them fall asleep. Leading his junior-merchants, the caravan-leader crossed the little pass on the northern side, onto the plain of golden sand, where they went near to the turquoise[-coloured] well, close to [the meadow of] lapis[-

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317 In **KV** it is the laughing lamp that speaks.

318 Lacking in **KV** and **MNKB**.

319 Lacking in **KV** and **MNKB**.

320 Lacking from **KV** and **MNKB**.

321 **KV** 249b2 has the herb (*sman, oṣadhi*) called 'all white' (*sbed thams cad, *sarvaśveta*); **MNKB** E (A) 19a8-19b1 has similarly *sbed ta'i rtsva*.

322 In **KV** 249b3 the horse merely says: "Who are passing over ? Who are passing over ?" (*pha rol du su 'gro* || *pha rol du su 'gro zhes smra'o*).

323 Lacking in **KV** and **MNKB**.

coloured] green sprouts, in order to await [the arrival of] the King of Horses Balāha. And within long the King of Horses made its arrival from out of the sky, being attached onto a moon-beam accompanied by a light of rainbow. There the Best of Horses drank from the turquoise[-coloured] fountain, partook of the lapis[-green] sprouts, made three turns in the golden sand, shook off [the dust] from its body and uttered the following in human language: "All [ye] merchants who have been caught up on the Island of the Ogresses, ride on my back! Keep your eyes [completely] shut and remain completely unattached to the youthful appearance of the *rākṣasī*-s, your offspring and [all] enjoyable pleasures! I shall bring you to your native country!"

The caravan-leader [then] spoke:

> "O emanational embodiment (*nirmāṇakāya*), Supreme Horse, guiding mankind,
> We, [these] merchants,
> Sailed onto the ocean in order to acquire jewels
> But as our merit was exhausted, our vessel wrecked.
>
> By an adverse storm we were driven towards the Island of the Ogresses,
> Being caught up on the Island of the Ogresses, [like] the ill-fated ones are [caught by] the Lord of the Death,
> We have no [other] means of escaping from there,
> [We] [therefore] beg [you] to protect [us], O compassionate Best of Horses."[324]

The caravan-leader [then] mounted the horse's neck (*'jing pa*) taking a [good] hold on its ear, while the junior-merchants rode on the horse's back. He admonished [them]: "Do not in any way cling to the home of [your respective] ogress, [your] offspring or to enjoyable pleasures [of life]! Do not show even the slightest vacillation in your mind! Keep your eyes closed until you have reached the extreme end [i.e. opposite side] of the ocean!"[325]

When the Best of Horses carried them through the sky, it was [finally] perceived by the *rākṣasī*-ogresses, who [now all] turned up bringing [with them] their children. They spoke accordingly:

> "Are you [really] able to renounce [your] castle (*sa mkhar*) piled up high?
> Are you [really] able to forsake your wife (*bza' mi*) to whom you are harmoniously wedded?
> Are you [really] able to reject your [own] offspring procured from [your own] flesh (*sha nas chad pa*)?
> Are you [really] able to give up [our] food and drink tasting palatably?[326]

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324 Lacking from **KV** and **MṆKB**.

325 **KV** 248b8 merely has: *rta'i rgyal po ba la ha des khyed las sus kyang sing ga la'i gling la mi blta bar bya || sus kyang mig gis mi blta bar bya'o || zhes de skad smras*; **MṆKB** 19b3: *srin mo rnams la ma chags shig phyi mig ma lta zhig ces smras so.*

326 This part of the speech by the siren women is lacking from **KV** and **MṆKB**.

[If so,] you are [all] [truly] shameless wicked men!" Some [*rākṣasī*-s] lifted their children up in the air and some beckoned by waving with their clothes. [All this] did not go unnoticed by the junior-merchants striking them as if hit by an arrow in the middle of the heart, and thinking it was quite true [what the disguised *rākṣasī*-ogresses said], they [consequently] opened their eyes. Everyone except the caravan-leader became attached and looking back (*phyi mig bltas pa*) they all fell down. When they fell down they were seized by the ogresses, but [now] the ogresses had assumed their own form without their previous beautiful bodily forms, their faces were rugged (*gzing*), their breasts were placed upon their shoulders (*nu ma phrag pa la bkal*), their teeth protuded (*mche ba gtsigs*) and without being able to wait even for a moment (*dar cig*) they devoured [the poor merchants].[327]

When thereafter the Best of Horses (*rta mchog*, *aśvaratna*) arrived at the shore of the ocean, it spoke: "Guild-leader (*tshong dpon*, *śreṣṭhin*) open your eyes and dismount!" When he opened [his] eyes he found that his assistants were [all] lacking. Grieved, he weepingly asked: "O King, Best of Horses, where are my junior-merchants?"

The Best of Horses too threw its feet to the ground and weeping [bitterly], it spoke accordingly:[328]

"These junior-merchants lacking [all] the merits [which] you possess,
Instead of thinking about their native country [in] Jāmbudvīpa,
Being [karmically] ill-fated, they got attached to the Island Ogresses, so lost (*phung*) [they are];
Instead of thinking of their parents, their beloved friends,
They got attached to the countenance of a youthful *rākṣasī*-ogress, so lost [they are];
Instead of thinking of [begetting] children beneficient to one's relatives,
They got attached to the offspring of a deceitful *rākṣasī*-ogress, so lost [they are];
Alas! Alas! Indeed the sentient beings are to be pitied (*sñing re rje*)!
The disciple (*slob ma*, *śikṣya*) who has killed [his]
Tantric teacher (*vajrācārya*)
When he [becomes] imprisoned in the hellish place of Avīci,
Even though the *guru*'s compassion is great [then] what can he do [to help]?
Having developed false views about procuring children
And being carried away by an unwelcome adverse wind,
Even though the parents' affection is great, what can they do [to help]?
When the junior-merchants fell because they looked back,
Ignoring [altogether] the instruction of benevolent words,
Then what can the Best of Horses do, although highly skillful in flying?
Guild-leader don't weep, listen more to me!
The happiness and sorrow of this life is like a dream (*svapna*) and an illusion (*māyā*),
Like the water [falling] from a precipitous mountain (*ri gzar chu*) and the thunder-cloud of space,

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327 Analogously KV 251a1-2; MNKB 19b4-5.

328 The following metrical piece is lacking from KV and MNKB.

Therefore do never get attached to the [fleeting] happiness [offered] by the [ephemeral] cycle of transmigration (*saṃsāra*)!"

The Best of Horses [then] gave a religious discourse (*chos bshad*) on the Four [Noble] Truths (*catvary (ārya)satyāni*). The guild-leader wiped away his tears and was brought to a place in sight of his own home. Again the Best of Horses departed into space like a vanishing rainbow.

Thereupon the guild-leader went to his own home, and all [his] relatives and [his] parents [soon] gathered there, [where they] grabbed hold of the guild-leader and wept. He then gave [them] a joyous account [of his experiences]. Later again, the parents and close relatives of the junior-merchants turned up, and weepingly, [they] cried out the names of each men, "Where is my father? Where is my elder brother? Where is my uncle? Where is my grandchild?"

The guild-leader then gathered the parents and the close relatives of the junior-merchants and explained in great detail [to them] [how they] in the beginning set out on the [great] ocean, [how] the vessel wrecked due to a devastating storm and moved by an adverse wind they were carried to the Island of the Ogresses; [how they], without identifying them as ogresses, married [these creatures], begot children and [how they,] upon recognizing them as ogresses, sought for a means to escape and being shown a means to flee by the people [imprisoned] in the iron-house [he further explained how] the [poor] junior-merchants fell [from the horse-back] because they looked back failing [thus] to observe the instruction given by the King of Horses, etc. Everybody [listening to this explanation] developed a dégout (*skyo ba*, *udvega*) against the circle of transmigration (*'khor ba*, *saṃsāra*), gained confidence in the cause and effect of karmic causation (*las rgyu 'bras*) and [thus] became [well] established in the True Law.

Analogously to this parable (*dpe*), [all] those who have perpetrated a sin after having become addicted to this [ephemeral] life will, similar to the junior-merchants who fell [to the ground] because they looked back [and got attached], find no time for escaping from the damned states (*ngan song*, *durgati*) [of existence] after they have roamed around in the cycle of transmigration.

[Alternatively,] those who take [serious] practice in the True Law, without getting addicted to this [ephemeral] life, will, similar to the caravan-leader, become enlightened (*sangs rgyas par byed*, i.e. become a Buddha) after having attained the bliss of heaven (*mtho ris*, *svarga*) [and] liberation (*thar pa*, *mokṣa*).

[How Ārya-Avalokiteśvara] having Transformed [Himself] into the King of Horses, Worked for the Welfare of the Sentient Beings.

VII

The Descent of the Tibetan Race from the Union of a Monkey and a Female Rock-ogress

Thereupon,[329] Ārya Avalokita conferred upon an ape who [could] display miracles (*rdzu 'phrul*, *ṛddhi*) the vow (*sdom pa*, *saṃvara*) of a lay-devotee (*dge bsnyen*, *upāsaka*)[330] and [subsequently] sent him off to the Snow-clad Realm of Tibet in order to meditate (*sgom pa*, *bhāvanā*). There, while the ape [sat] meditating on a black (*rog po*) rock, that is while meditating on the thought [of] enlightenment (*byang chub kyi sems*, *bodhicitta*), on compassion (*snying rje*, *karuṇā*) and on benevolence (*byams*, *maitrī*) and while showing affection (*mos par byed*, *bhaktiṃ kṛ-*) towards the profound doctrine (*chos zab mo*, *gambhīradharma*) of emptiness (*stong pa nyid*, *śūnyatā*),[331] a female rock-ogress (*rākṣasī*), tormented by [the retributory consequences of bad] *karman*, made its appearance there, [where she] displayed many signs of passion and libido [towards the ape] whereafter [she] disappeared [again].[332]

Later, the rock-ogress assumed the shape (*chas su byas*) of a woman[, approached again] and addressed the ape: "You and I, the two, should cohabit."[333] But the ape responded: "I am a lay-devotee of Ārya-Avalokita, so if I became your husband, I would lose my vow."[334] The rock-ogress then intervened: "If you do not become my husband, my time is done (*tshe'i dus byed*, *kālaṃ kṛ-*)",[335] upon which she took a rest close to the ape.

Again, the rock-ogress rose, and spoke to the ape in the following words:[336]

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329 Prosecuting the overall topos of the various aspects of the *gter ma* Vita-cycles pertaining to the cult of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara and king Srong-btsan sgam-po, Bla-ma dam-pa renders in this chapter the celebrated mythological narrative of the genesis of the Tibetan race descending from the union of a Bodhisattva-ape (*byang chub sems dpa'i spre'u*), (later conceived as) an emanation of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara and a rock-ogress (*brag srin mo*), (conceived as) an emanation of Tārā.

As explicitly stated **MNKB** E (A) 72a3-4, 95b2-3; **KCHKKHM-1** 647.6-648.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 48.2-5, 80.13-14 etc. the idea of an ape-gestalt in this myth is directly associated with or inspired by the ape-king (*spre'u rgyal po*) and champion (*gyad*) Ha-lu ma-da = Hanūmān, the resourceful figure and protagonist known from Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, a tale of considerable popularity already in the dynastic period in Tibet, cf. most recently J. W. de Jong, 1989. *In casu* this ape-champion is made an emanational pupil (*sprul pa'i slob ma*) of Avalokiteśvara and then introduced into the present myth. For further discussions and a survey of the sources for this chapter, cf. Appendix, note 329.

330 **KCHKKHM-2** 48.9-10, **KCHKKHM-3** 381.1-3, whereas **MNKB** E 72a5 and **CHBYMTNYP** 154a5 and **MBNTH** 17b2-3 have *gtan khrims lnga*, and **KCHKKHM-1** 648.3-4 combines by saying *dge bsnyen gyi gtan khrims lnga*.

331 This narrative element which delineates the topics of his meditation is lacking from all versions, aside from a reminiscence found in dPa-bo's rendition, **HBCHBY** (JA) 3b7.

332 **MNKB** E (A) 72b2-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 648.5-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 48.16-49.7; **KCHKKHM-3** 381.3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 154b1-5 and **MBNTH** 17b3-6 where it is narrated that the female rock-ogress donned herself in the cloth of a female ape, approached the *bodhisattva*-ape, where she bared her breast and genitals and signalled interest in sexual indulgence for seven full days.

333 **MNKB** 72b3-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 648.6-649.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 49.1-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 154b6-155a1; **MBNTH** 17b6.

334 **MNKB** 72b4-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 649.2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 49.8-10; **KCHKKHM-3** 381.7; **CHBYMTNYP** 155a1-2, the latter adding that the *bodhisattva*-ape then fled to Zo-thang Gong-po-ri (cf. note 349 *infra*) being pursued by the rock-ogress.

335 **KCHKKHM-1** 649.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 49.11-12; **MBNTH** 18a1.

336 This versified *cri-de-coeur* exclaimed by the ogress is taken over almost verbatim from **MNKB** E (A) 72b5-73a3, but see also similarly **CHBYMTNYP** 155a5-155b4. Where **GLR** holds twelve lines, **MNKB** has seventeen lines and **CHBYMTNYP** offers sixteen lines. The five additional lines, to

"Alas, You great King of the Apes,
Pray, show some concern for me and listen:
Perforce of [previous] karmic acts I have been born into the race of the female ogresses (*rākṣasī*-s),
As my passion (*'dod chags*, *rāga*) for you is so great, I am attached to you and long for you,
And perforce of [this] passion I besiege and beseech you:
If I do not become your wife (*khyim thabs*),
I shall eventually join not only a [male] ogress (*srin po*, *rākṣasa*),
But also each and every day kill ten thousand sentient beings,
And moreover every evening devour about one thousand living beings;
And after unmeasurably [many] ogress-infants have been born
This very Snow-clad Realm [of Tibet]
Shall be transformed into a town of ogresses
Whereafter sentient beings, wherever they are, will be devoured by ogresses;
Therefore - have [some] consideration for me and embrace [me] with your compassion!"

Thus she [lamented] in a doleful voice and shed tears, which made the *bodhisattva*-ape ponder: "Suppose I became this [ogress'] husband, then I should violate my vow, and [alternatively] if I do not do it, it will cause very much sin."[337] So in a trice, he went to Mt. Potala [in South India], into the presence of Ārya [Avalokita] [whom he] addressed [with] the following request:[338]

"Alas compassionate Lord of The World (*'gro ba'i mgon po*, *jagannātha*),
I have safeguard [my] vow as a lay-devotee as if [it is my own] life,

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be inserted in a penultimate position prior to the last line, reads, **MNKB** 73a1-3:

| *des na bdag ni 'di ru 'chi bar 'gyur* |
| *shi nas bdag cag las kyi dbang gis kyang* |
| *bdag ni mi [b]zad dmyal ba'i gnas su lhung* |
| *sdom pa bsrungs pas mi phan khyod la sdig 'ong* |
| *khyod kyi byang sems sdom pa'ang nyams nas 'gro* |

Cf. also **MNKB** E (Ca) 98a6-98b3; **KTHDNG** CA 431.19-432.5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 3b-4; absent from all **KCHKKHM** versions.

337 **MNKB** 73a3-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 49.13-17; **KCHKKHM-3** 382.1-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 155b5-156a2.

338 **MNKB** E (A) 73a4-6, E (Ca) 98b5-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 649.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 49.19-50.2; **KCHKKHM-3** 382.4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 156a2-6.

This versified cry of despair consisting of seven nine-syllabled lines is evidently taken over from **MNKB** 73a5-6, similarly retained in **CHBYMTNYP**, but both versions here only hold six lines, lacking the fourth line in **GLR** reading: *gdung pa'i smre sngags sna tshogs bton gyur nas*, which either reflects that Bla-ma dam-pa has quoted an earlier, more complete version of **MNKB** or it may represent his own addition; again all **KCHKKHM** versions lack this versified segment altogether and merely give us an utmost brief piece of prose; cf. also **KTHDNG** (CA) 432.19-433.1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 3b4-5 here only renders three lines.

But a [female] ogress (*rākṣasī*) of the *bdud*-race is beset with passionate feelings [towards me];
Uttering various kinds of lament and wailing,
She besieges me and tries to deprive me of my [precious] vow;
How shall I behave towards her in order to safeguard my vow?
[O] compassionate Lord of Benevolence (*byams mgon, maitrīnātha*), I entreat you to [show] concern!"

Ārya responded: "Become the husband of this rock-ogress!" and from the sky above, the Jo-mo Bhṛkuṭī and the Jo-mo Tārā, the two, also declared [in unison]: "This is truly excellent!"[339]

Then Ārya[-Avalokiteśvara] blessed the ape and the rock-ogress as a married couple whereafter he blessed [by way of prediction] the Snow-clad [Country of Tibet] so that it would be endowed with three [lasting] properties [in the future]:[340]

[1] That in a future time the Teaching of Buddha will spread and diffuse to last [there] for a long time;

[2] That [in the wake of the introduction of Buddhism] spiritual-virtuous friends (*dge ba'i bshes gnyen, kalyāṇamitra*) will arrive [there] uninterruptedly, and [finally]

[3] That with the disclosure of mines (*gter kha*) [teeming with] precious metals [etc.] happiness and prosperity will spread in all ten directions [thus securing the posterity of Tibet] etc.

Thereupon the ape and rock-ogress, the two, cohabited as husband and wife (*bza' mi byas*), and thereby six ape-infants were born, each with distinct behaviour (*spyod lam*) [relative to the fact that] they each had changed existence (*tshe 'phos, janmāntaram gata, cyuta*) from one of the six states of existence (*'gro ba rigs drug, ṣadgati*) [in *saṃsāra*], viz.

the ape-infant who had transferred existence from the sentient beings of hell (*dmyal ba, naraka*) had a black countenance and was highly fit to endure hardship (*sdug sran che ba*);

the ape-infant that had transferred existence [directly] from the place of the hungry ghosts (*yi dvags, preta*) presented an ugly face and was [perpetually] longing for food;

the ape-infant who had [just] transferred existence from the place of the animals (*dud 'gro, tiryak*) was dull and with a cruel appearance (*rod ngan pa*);

the ape-infant who had transferred existence from the place of man (*mi, manuṣya*) was

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339 **MNKB** 73a5-73b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 649.5-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 50.2-11; **KCHKKHM-3** 382.5-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 156b1-5; **MBNTH** 18a4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 3b5-6.

Whereas all the other versions only mention one Tārā, **GLR** (and **HBCHBY**) have two, which thereby retain the symmetry of Śyāmā-Tārā and Sita-Tārā around Avalokiteśvara, later to be replaced by the triad: king Srong-btsan sgam-po and the two Tārā-embodiments of Khri-btsun and Kong-jo respectively.

340 This passage with the predictions and blessings are lacking altogether from Bla-ma dam-pa's prime sources, but see **KCHKKHM-3** 385.6-386.2. Fortunately, dPa'-bo, in his metrical narrative has preserved a striking parallel, **HBCHBY** (JA) 3b6-7:

| *bod khams kha ba can gyi yul 'di ru* |
| *thub bstan dar rgyas yun ring gnas pa dang* |
| *dge ba'i bshes gnyen rgyun mi chad pa dang* |
| *rin chen gter kha du ma bye ba ste* |
| *yon tan gsum dang ldan par byin gyis brlabs* |

very knowledgeable (*shes rig rgyas*), but faint-hearted (*sems chung ba*);

the ape-infant who had transferred existence from the place of the semi-gods (*lha ma yin*, *asura*) was malicious (*thu*) and very envious; and [finally]

the ape-infant who had shifted existence from the abode of the gods had a forbearing disposition (*ngang rgyud ring*) and was virtuous.[341]

The six ape-infants were brought by the father, the *bodhisattva*-ape, to the forest-grove (*nags ma*) [in southern Tibet] called the "Colony of Birds" (Bya-tshogs[-can]),[342] [a forest] teeming with fruit-trees, where he installed [them] for three years. When three years had passed, the *bodhisattva*-ape came to inspect [the place] and observed that the ape-infants [by now] had increased to five hundred ape-infants due to the power of *karman* (*las kyi dbang gis*, *karmavaśāt*, *karmādhipatya*). Subsequently, the fruit-trees ceased to exist, and having nothing else to eat, and although their parents did not eat anything at all, they asked: "Father, what shall we eat? Mother, what shall we eat?", raising [their] arms [in dispair], [feeling] exhausted and miserable. The *bodhisattva*-ape thought: "It can not be because I have been subjected to emotional affliction, but must be ascribed [my] fulfillment of the Ārya's behest, that it has come to this [situation] with the ape-infants",[343] and in a trice he went to

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341 **MNKB** E (A) 73b3-74a2; **KCHKKHM-1** 649.6-650.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 50.11-19; **KCHKKHM-3** 382.7-383.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 156b6-157b3; **MBNTH** 18a6-18b1, 19a2-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 3b7-4a2.

GLR (prose) and **HBCHBY** (verse) are here in full agreement, also in the order of succession; more conspicuously, the **KCHKKHM** versions, textually being here fairly congruous, do not mention anything about six ape-infants, an element in the myth reserved the versions found in **MNKB** and **CHBYMTNYP** (also **MBNTH**), both of which are closely cognate, the latter (following **MNKB**?, hardly possible, as it is more detailed than **MNKB** and thus suggests that these two texts draw from a common original) being, as usual, the most detailed while it generally attempts to combine or bridge the gap between the distinct Vita-versions found in **MNKB** and **KCHKKHM**. For a fuller discussion, see note Appendix, note 341.

342 **MNKB** E (A) 74a2-3; **KCHKKHM-1** 650.2-3, 653.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 50.17-19; **KCHKKHM-3** 383.2, 386.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 157b3-4, 160b5; **MBNTH** 18b1, 19b6; further sources: pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 236.4: Nags ma Bya tshang-can (different context!); post-**GLR**: **bShad-mdzod** (Haarh, 1969, p. 411): Nags-pa Bya-tshogs-can; **HBCHBY** (JA) 4a2; cf. also **KTHDNG** (CA) 432.11-12.

This place, the first 'historical' place of the Tibetan race is rendered slightly differently in the texts: **GLR** has nags ma bya tshogs; **KCHKKHM-2** & **CHBYMTNYP** and **MBNTH**: nags ma bya tshogs-can; **MNKB** reads nags rMa-bya tshogs-can, and interestingly, **KCHKKHM-1+3** & **CHBYMTNYP**: [Yar-lung] rTsan[g]-thang gi nags ma Bya tshogs[-can], the latter texts thus evidently locate it in the modern-day rTse[d]-thang (lit. 'Play-ground' for the monkeys) area of the Yar-klung Valley close to the bank of the gTsang-po river. Cf. also Reb-gong, 1987, pp. 1-2, who erringly locates this place in rDza-yul. It remains to be settled whether the name should be construed as the forest (*nags*), named the Peacock-Colony (so according to **MNKB**) or as the forest (*nags ma*) named the Bird-Colony, where the latter construction clearly is to be preferred.

These texts further mention that the place was teeming with colonies of apes (*spre'u'i khyu*) and the reason for the *bodhisattva*-ape to bring his simian off-spring there allegedly was to avoid that the 'mother' rock-ogress should devour them and in order to have them mate (*zla la*) the fellow pithecoid apes sojouring there.

343 **MNKB** E (A) 74a3-b2; **KCHKKHM-1** 650.2-651.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 51.1-13; **KCHKKHM-3** 383.3-384.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 157b4-158a3; **MBNTH** 18b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 4a2-3.

MNKB, **MBNTH** and **GLR** have the figure five hundred apes, whereas the rest mentions four hundred apes.

Mt. Potala, [where] he addressed Ārya [with] the following request:[344]

> "Alas - without realizing that marriage implied the prison of the circle of transmigration,
> And not knowing that I would be deluded by a female *bdud*,
> I have been caught up in the mire (*'dam*, *paṅka*) surrounded by [begotten] offspring;
> Unaware that passion is [like] a poisonous leaf,
> [I] have been deluded by becoming passionate out of compassion;
> Chained [now] by affection [I and my offspring are] suppressed by a mountain of suffering,
> [We have] partaken of the poison of emotional affliction and been striken by the plaque of bad *karman*;
> As I am personally tormented by a heap of suffering,
> Alas [I entreat you] Oh compassionate Lord of Benevolence,
> [Tell me] now what shall I do to rear my offspring?
> By the [behest] sanctioned by the Ārya, I have ended up like this:
> Now [the country of Tibet] resembles a town of hungry ghosts,
> And doubtlessly [we] shall [all] be [re]born in hell in [our] subsequent existence,
> Therefore, I beg you to protect [us] out of compassion."

Ārya responded to [this request]: "I shall protect your progenies!",[345] whereafter Ārya rose, grasped from the inner caverns (*khong [g]seng*) of Mt. Sumeru[346] barley, wheat, pease, buck-wheat and unhusked grain[347] and scattered it upon the ground. Thus the country became filled with the [fabulous] crops (*lo thog*) which [do] not [need] to be [sown or] ploughed (*ma rmos pa*, *akṛṣṭa*).[348] Subsequently, the *bodhisattva*-ape led the ape-infants to that [place] and handed over the [wonderful] unploughed crops to them, saying: "Now eat (*da zo dang*)!",

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344 This fourteen-lined versified *cri-de-coeur* exclaimed by the *bodhisattva*-ape is taken over from **MNKB** E (A) 74b3-74b6, but see similarly **KCHKKHM-2** 51.15-52.8 (sixteen lines) and **CHBYMTNYP** 158a3-158b4 (twelve lines). This versified passage is almost verbally congruous in all versions, but two lines differ between **MNKB** and **GLR**, i.e. line nine and line twelve in **GLR** are absent in **MNKB**, the latter line being found retained almost similarly worded in the version of **KCHKKHM-2**, which thus suggests that the original may have hold at least seventeen lines. **HBCHBY** (JA) 4a5-7, preserving a reading identical with **GLR**, has thirteen lines, by making line nine and ten into one.

345 This is a compressed rendition of **MNKB** 75a1-75b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 652.3-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 53.15-17; **KCHKKHM-3** 384.2-385.3; **CHBYMTNYP** 159a2-160a1; **MBNTH** 18b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 4a7-4b3.

346 This element with Mt. Meru or Sumeru is absent from all current versions of his prime sources, but retained in **HBCHBY** (JA) 4b1.

347 **MNKB** 75b1-2; **KCHKKHM-1** 652.4-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 54.4-6; **KCHKKHM-3** 385.5; **CHBYMTNYP** 160a2-3; **MBNTH** 19a6-19b1; **KTHDNG** (CA) 433.1-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 4b2-3.

348 This element is lacking from **GLR**'s prime sources, but retained in the parallel metrical narrative in **HBCHBY** (JA) 4b3-4; for a reminiscence, cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 55.15-16. On this kind of crop, cf. Chap. I, note 42 *supra*.

whence [the place] is called Zo[-thang] Gong-po-ri.[349]

When the ape-infants partook of the crop, [their hunger] was satisfied and [gradually] their [body-]hair and their tails shortened, they gained the knowledge of speaking and [finally] turned human.

As nourishment [they] sustained on the [wonderful] unploughed crop and leaves from the trees made it for their clothing. Thus, these people of the Snow-clad Tibet descended from a father-ape and a mother rock-ogress, the two, wherefore they could [rightfully] be divided into two distinct races, viz.:

[those] adhering to the line of the father,[350] the *bodhisattva*-ape, were tolerant (*ngang rgyud ring ba*), trustful, compassionate, labourious, and keen on a virtuous behaviour, soft-worded and able to talk; they constitute the father's lineage; [those] adhering to the mother,[351] the rock-ogress' line, were lustful, wrathful, mindful of merchandizing and profit, covetous and with a highly competitative spirit (*'gran sems che ba*), laughing soundingly, physically strong and curageous, with a behaviour not even for a moment at rest, replete with whims (*blo sna mang ba*), precipitate in actions (*byed skyen*), widely [beset moreover] with the five vices (*dug lnga*), gloating over hearing other people's mistakes and with a hot temper; they constitute the mother's lineage.

At that time the mountains turned into forests and the valleys were filled with water; when the [r]Kong-chu river-arm opened up, then all the water went there and became absorbed into the [r]Kong-chu river-arm.[352]

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349 The reading corroborated by **CHBYMTNYP** 155a1-2: Zo-thang Gong-po-ri, i.e. Gong-po-ri of Zo-thang. The sequence of the narrative is somewhat reverted in **GLR** (though dPa'-bo's version, again, here parallels **GLR** probably following it) compared with his sources. This element should properly follow after the description of the two races.

As to the first, myth-related, but currently still locatable, place-name (*yul la snga ba*) in Tibet: Zo-thang (the Plain [where it was said]: "Eat! (*zo dang, zo zhig*)" (word-play on *zo dang/thang*) or more generally the 'Plain of Food'), cf. **MNKB** E (A) 76a1-2; **KCHKKHM-1** 653.7-654.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 55.13-56.2; **KCHKKHM-3** 386.3-4; **MBNTH** 20a2-3; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. I, p. 434.3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 4b3, where the place, *inter alia*, is called Yar [k]lung[s] Zo-thang; cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 322b1-2; Stein, 1961, pp. 81-82. The narrative further provides us with the etymology of other ancient place-names associated with this old mythographical genesis of the Tibetan people: Yar-[k]lung[s] Khri-thang; Yar-[k]lung[s] rTse[d]-dang [i.e. thang] (cf. note 342 *supra*); 'Ol-kha rGyug-thang; **CHBYMTNYP** 161a1-2, (so also **KTHDNG** (CA) 434.4-5) further adds an interesting etymology of Yar-klungs, explaining it to mean the valley ([*k*]*lung*) where famine (*mu ge*; due, according to the present narrative, to the abundance of grains for the apes) was dispersed (*yar bas*), contrary to what is generally assumed: Upper Valley.

350 **MNKB** 75a4-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 651.4-7; **KCHKKHM-2** 58.11-59.2; **KCHKKHM-3** 384.6-385.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 159a6-159b3; **MBNTH** 19a2-4; **KTHDNG** (CA) 433.11-16 and in particular **HBCHBY** (JA) 4b4-5.

351 **MNKB** 75a5-76b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 651.6-652.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 59.2-15; **KCHKKHM-3** 385.2-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 159b3-160a1; **MBNTH** 19a4-6; **KTHDNG** (CA), 433.16-20; **HBCHBY** (JA) 4b5-6. Some of the qualifying predicates found in **GLR** characterizing the mother's descendants are untraced from his prime sources and most probably points to the fact that the current **MNKB** version deviates from a possible Ur-**MNKB**.

352 The original source for the following piece of narrative remains to be identified. This part of the narrative sketching the topograhical transformation of Tibet, I have failed (until now) to trace in **GLR**'s main or parallel sources, but again dPa'-bo's **HBCHBY** (JA) 1b1-2a5 proffers a clue, concluding:

Thereafter all the plains were transformed into [arable] fields, many towns were built and, before long, King gNya'-khri btsan-po arrived [from the sky] as king of Tibet and the distinction between master and subject was made. So it is said.

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om ma ṇi padme hūṃ |

| *zhes gsungs mtha' yas 'od zer bkye ba yis* |
| *dmyal ba'i sems can de rnams sdug bsngal zhi* |
| *bde bas rgyud brlan thar pa'i lam 'khod gyur* |
| *mtsho de khol ba zhi zhing rab tu gsil* |

| *kong gi chu brlag zhes bya'i zoms bas* |
| *ru bzhi chu yis gang ba de ru thim* |
| *chu gzhan dag yang de ltar thim pa yis* |
| *bod khams yul gyi rnam pa gsal por dod* |

Cf. also **SKGPDR** 5aff., with a slight difference in the succession. It provides enough information to gather a picture: Tibet is envisaged as an endlessly hellish ocean of boiling poison etc. and perforce of the endless recitations of the Six-syllabic mantric formula of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara, the sufferings of the inhabitants there are alleyed. Upon these ocean-covered mountains, valleys and soil of Tibet - due to the *pranidhāna* of Avalokita - the effluence of the [r]Kong-chu river (and the waters of the Four Horns, i.e. Central Tibet) were opened and the entire ocean sunk away there so that the Tibetan soil rose (flat or clear ?) like the palm of the hand.

Next,[353] the successive arrival of the royal lineages of the Tibetan kings[354] shall [now] be explained [in greater detail], to wit, in accordance with

the [so-called] seven [kings with the name-element] 'Throne' of 'the celestrial sphere' (*gnam la khri bdun*),

the two [kings with the name-element] 'Superior' of 'the upper sphere' (*stod kyi steng gnyis*),

the six [kings with the name-element] 'Excellent' of 'the intermediate sphere' (*bar du legs drug*),

the eight [kings with the name-element] *sde* of 'the terrestrial sphere' (*sa la sde brgyad*) and [finally],

the three [kings with the name-element] 'Mighty' of 'the underworld' (*'og gi btsan gsum*),

from [the first king] gNya'-khri btsan-po[355] and by counting each [line, then] in the twenty-seventh generation [the king] lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal, an emanation of Ārya Samantabhadra, appeared and the Teaching of Buddha took its beginning (*dbu brnyes pa*) [in Tibet].[356]

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353 This chapter furnishes us with an exposition enumerating the traditional twenty-seven (pre)-historic generations of the Tibetan royal genealogy (*Bod rgyal po'i gdung rabs, rgyal rabs*) counted from the royal progenitor king gNya'-khri btsan-po until lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal and through this figure until gNam-ri srong-btsan, the father of the first historic king of Tibet, Dharmarāja Srong-btsan sgam-po.

The chapter, like the remaining parts of **GLR**, forms a complex patchwork of quotations, *in casu* mostly metrical, hailing from a number of sources such as **[lHa-sa'i** ?] **[b]Ka[']-tshigs chen-mo, bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma, rGyal-rabs dPag-bsam ljon-shing** composed by Byang-ji ston-pa and Bu-ston's **CHBY** etc.

354 For a convenient survey of the pre-historic line of the Tibetan dynasty drawn from numerous sources, cf. Haarh, 1969, chap. 1, pp. 33ff. It appears that the traditional Buddhist historiographical tradition evinces a fairly consistent consensus in terms of the transmission of this line, as only a few irregularities can be observed. Bla-ma dam-pa's lists nevertheless deviate slightly from his surposed sources, cf. the convenient conspectus provided by Haarh, *op. cit.* pp. 33ff. In fact, new sources presented in this study, cf. *infra*, add further deviations to the traditional lists compiled and listed by Haarh.

355 The complex picture behind the many Tibetan theories and opinions (*'dod lugs, bzhed pa*) concerning the origin of gNya'-khri btsan-po has not gone unnoticed by Tibetologists. It has paved the way for a large number of studies, cf. foremost Haarh, 1969, esp. chaps. X-XI summing up previous and contemporary contributions and analyzing the three (actually more) indigenous (mainly literary) etiological traditions (*'chad lugs*) known in brief as *gSang-ba*, *[bs]Grags-pa* and *Yang-gsang* concerning the provenance of the first Tibetan king(s); Macdonald, 1971, pp. 190-230, prosecutes the same theme but incorporates previously unheeded Dunhuang material. Cf. also Blondeau, 1984, 1985 and S. Karmay, 1988. Two indigenous sources of paramount importance, while they provide invaluable new material, are now mKhas-pa lDe'u's **Chos-'byung rgyas-pa [GBCHBY]**, cf. in particular 227.13ff. and Nyang-ral's **rNying-ma'i chos-'byung chen-mo [CHBYMTNYP]**. Cf. also 359 *infra* and Appendix for a lengthy discussion on these points.

Cf. also Hazod, 1991; bTsan-lha, 1982; Byams-pa tshe-ring, 1984; Pa-sangs dbang-'dus, 1985 and Chab-spel, 1986.

356 King lHa-tho-tho-ri snyan-shal and the beginning of Dharma in Tibet: **MNKB** E (Ca) 100a2-101a2, E (Cd) 183b6-184b5; **KCHKKHM-1** Chap. V, 669.4-674.6; **KCHKKHM-2** Chap. V, 90.1-96.16; **KCHKKHM-3** Chap. V, 396.1-6 (maintaining, *inter alia*, that he is an incarnation of Śrī Vajrapāṇi, but see also here **HBCHBY** (JA) 9b4); **CHBYMTNYP** 173b1-176b4, 404b4; **GBCHBY**

[I] [The Royal Tibetan Progenitor]

In this respect, it is also said according to **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma**: "King Pāṇḍu (*sKyabs-seng*)[357] and Śātānīka (*dMag brgya-pa*) were born simultaneously, occuring successively [in direct line] after Dharmarāja Aśoka in the lineage of the Mountain-Śākya. Once when [the heirs] were quarreling over the royal power, the youngest son of three [born to] king Śātānīka, [Ru-ba skyes or Rupati named], being endowed with the characteristic marks of a Mahāpuruṣa, was in accordance with the prophecy from the gods (*lha*),[358] without ever seizing power, banished to the Tibetan country disguised in a woman's dress."[359]

According to the **History (Chos-'byung)** of Bu-ston Rin-po-che: "[The first king of Tibet, i.e. gNya'-khri btsan-po] was [by some] either [identified as] the third (*lnga tshigs*)[360] in the [Indian] lineage of king Prasenajit (*gSal-rgyal*) of Kośala or [he was identified as] the third [son of five sons of Kṣudrabala (*sTobs-chung*), the youngest son] in the lineage of king Bimbisāra (*gZugs-can snying-po*) [of Magadha] or again [even identified with] the son of king Udayana (*Shar-pa, 'Char-byed*) of Pad-sa-la [i.e. Vatsa], [all] being endowed with the characteristic marks of a Mahāpuruṣa."[361] Be what it may be, [all sources] agree that [the

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249.11-13 and **DCHBY** 105.12-106.16 (maintaining e.g. that this king was an incarnation of either Buddha Kāśyapa or the Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha, cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 9b4 quoting here the same **lDe'u chos-'byung**); **BGR** 197a5; **NGTMTPH** 3a4-5; **CHBY** 137a6 (Szerb, p. 6); **DTHMP** 16b1; **KTHDNG** (KHA) 115.15-16; **PMKTH** 343.1-4; post-**GLR**: **YLJBCHBY** 47.16-17, 51.12-14; **GBYTSH** 97b6; **MYDTH** 175.18-19; **BGRSPH** 175.18-19; **rNam-thar rgyas-pa** 43b6 (Eimer, 1979); Haarh, p. 83.

357 Also rendered as *sKya-bseng*. The sons of Pāṇḍu or Pāṇḍava-s, cf. Haarh, 1969, pp. 170-194 for this stratum of the so-called *gSang ba chos lugs*, the Buddhist tradition of the legendary origin of the Tibetan royal progenitor gNya'-khri btsan-po that professes that the first Tibetan king descended from an Indian dynasty, and thereby eventually linked him up with Buddha.

358 Could this phrase *lhas lung bstan pa bzhin*, aside from its neutral formulation, be reconstructed as **lHa[la]s [phul du byung bar] lung bstan pa bzhin*, by which is hidden an allusion [or reminiscences of an allusion] to **lHa-las phul-du byung-bar bstod-pa'i rgya-cher 'grel-ba**, which, as we shall see in the ensuing note, is singly responsible for depicting [prophetically almost] the escape to Himavat dressed in women's attire?

359 This is a very contracted rendering of the extended versions of the origin of gNya'-khri btsan-po found in the extant **KCHKKHM** redactions, cf. **KCHKKHM-1** 662.6-664.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 75.15-82.16. As is seen the **KCHKKHM-2** is by far the most detailed, propounding the *gSang ba chos lugs* (also called *gSang ba Phyag rgya can*) legendary tradition which maintains that the Tibetan progenitor originated from the Śākya Ri-brag-pa branch of the Śākyas. Both **KCHKKHM** versions relate about the dispute between Pāṇḍu and Śātānīka, and that ultimately a son is born to Śātānīka (no mentioning of him being the youngest of three sons born to him, as in **GLR**) named Ru-pa skyes.

For a full discussion of the various progenitor-theories, see note Appendix, note 359.

360 **CHBYMTNYP** 166a2-6; 166b4-5; **GBCHBY** 239.3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 5b3-4. The third (*lnga tshigs*); the term *tshigs* after an uneven number indicates that it corresponds to the median of this number: *bdun tshigs* means 'the fourth' etc. cf. Macdonald, 1971, p. 193, n. 12; Karmay, *Treasury*, p. 32, n. 5; Tucci, 1949, p. 741, n. 52.; Haarh, *ibid.*, pp. 172-180.

361 Cf. **CHBY** 137a2-3 (cf. Szerb, 1990, pp. 1-2) for the full text, also reproduced by Haarh, *ibid.*, p. 179; **YLJBCHBY** 38.4-7; **HBCHBY** JA 5b3-4; **dKar-chag** of sNar-thang, 10a.

Cf. Appendix, note 359 for a fuller discussion of the various speculations delineating the origin

ancestor is] the Lord (rJe) gNya'-khri btsan-po.

In this respect, [ancient] Tibetan records (*bod kyi yig tshang*)[362] state: "[He, i.e. gNya'-khri btsan-po] first descended upon the summit [of mount] lHa-ri rol-po [in the Yar-[k]lung Valley][363] and looking around he [soon] realized that the mountain [of] Yar-lha sham-po[364] was high-lying (*mtho*) and that the country of Yar-[k]lung was fertile (*bzang*).[365] He [subsequently] descended on the [lower-lying mountain] bTsan-thang Gong-ma'i-ri,[366] where he was spotted by [a group of] cattle-tending herdsmen (*rdzi bo*). When he reached the bottom [of the mountain] they addressed him: "Whence do you come?" and pointing with his fingers towards heaven [in response], [they knew] that he was a divine son descending from heaven, and they proclaimed [in unison]: "[You are] elected our ruler (*rje*)" and so they went off carrying [him] by making their neck[s] [function as] a throne (*gnya' bar khri byas btegs nas 'ong pa na*), [wherefore] he was called the Mighty Neck-throned Lord [rJe gNya'-khri btsan-po].[367*368] He was the first Tibetan king. He built the castle 'Um-bu glang-

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of the dynasty.

362 The identity of these records remains to be made, but the following parallel passages traced may supply a clue: **MNKB** E (Ca) 100a3-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 664.1-665.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 80.17-84.19; **CHBYMTNYP** 167b7-169b6 (cf. partially previous note); cf. also **CHBY** 137a5-137b3 (Szerb, pp. 2-4). On the other hand, the reference to (ancient?) Tibetan records may possibly point to the ancient sources amply quoted also in this chapter (and the following chapters) of **GLR** and which contains, *inter alia*, a metrical account of the royal kings, as discussed in the notes in this chapter. Cf. here foremost the detailed discussion by Panglung, 1988, pp. 350-56.

363 I.e. [Yar-lung] lHa-ri Rol-pa (or po), cf. **MNKB** E (Ca) 100a3; **KCHKKHM-1** 664.1-2; **MBNTH** 25a6; **DTHMP** 15b6; post-**GLR**: **YLJBCHBY** 39.13; but also variant lHa-ri Yol-pa (or po), cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 78.9-11; 80.19; **CHBYMTNYP** 168b1-2, **CHBY** 137b6 (Szerb, p. 3); **GBYTSH** 92a4: lHa-ri gong-po.

Cf. also Ferrari, 1958, pp. 52, 129, n. 281; Hoffmann, 1958, p. 148; Stein, 1959, p. 83; Haarh, 1969, s.v. index.

364 The mention of Yar-lha sham-po here in **GLR**, sometimes conceived as a mountain (*gangs*, *ri*), sometimes as a *lha*-god, sometimes as both, is conspicuously lacking from this part of the mythical narratives as found in **GLR**'s assumed or traditional sources, except in **CHBYMTNYP** 168a6 and **MBNTH** 25a6, where in this connection the Tibetan ancestor-king *in spe* envisaged *lha* Yar-lha sham-po before he descended, via the *dmu skas*, upon lHa-ri Yol-pa, etc. For a description of the confusion prevailing in the sources, cf. Haarh, pp. 273-275.

365 The phrase that "the mountain[[s]) of Yar-lha sham-po] was high and the land [of Yar-lung] is good" is untraced in Bla-ma dam-pa's assumed sources (at our disposal), it may interestingly enough reflect (or parallel) a part of a famous dictum characterizing Tibet and found first and foremost in the Dunhuang material, cf. Bacot *et al.*, 1940, Ms. 249, p. 81.16-18; the Treaty of 821/822 A.D. (East Inscription), cf. Richardson, 1985, pp. 108-109; Stein, No. 75, Indian Office Library, f. 36a; Pell. Tib. No. 1290 (cf. Macdonald, 1971, p. 335); cf. Haarh, 1969, pp. 200-01, 415-21; Hazod, 1991, pp. 196, 216-17; Karmay, 1983, p. 207. Cf. also **GBCHBY** 235.12-19; **MYDTH** 171.16-18.

366 Cf. **MNKB** E (Ca) 100a3; **KCHKKHM-1** 664.2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 84.9-10; **CHBYMTNYP** 168b1-2; **MBNTH** 25a6; **CHBY** 137a6 (Szerb, p. 3); **DTHMP** 15b6; pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 237.19-20 (different context!); post-**GLR** sources: **YLJBCHBY** 39.13; **GBYTSH** 92a5, etc.

Only **GLR** has bTsan-thang Gong-ma'i ri as a mountain, all other sources properly perceive it as a plain: bTsan-thang sgo-bzhi (**MNKB**: Tsan-dan sgo-bzhi); cf. also Hoffmann, 1950, p. 147; Ferrari, 1958, pp. 52, 129, n. 281; Stein, 1959, p. 12; Haarh, pp. 272ff.; Hazod, 1991, p. 213.

367 **MNKB** E (Ca) 100a4; **KCHKKHM-1** 664.3-6; **KCHKKHM-3** 394.2-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 168b4-169a4; **MBNTH** 25a6-26b3; **DCHBY** 10.17-19; **CHBY** 137b1 (Szerb, p. 3-4); **DTHMP** 15b7.

mkhar.[369]

His son was Mu-khri btsan-po.
His son Ding-khri btsan-po.
His son So-khri btsan-po.
His son Me-khri btsan-po.
His son gDags-khri btsan-po.
His son Srib-khri btsan-po.

All these are called the seven [kings with the name-element] 'Throne' (*khri*) of the celestrial sphere (*gnam*).[370]

When the *heirs-apparent* successively were capable of commanding the bridle (*chibs kha thub*; ruling),
The fathers, respectively, departed [heavenwards] via the[ir] *rmu*-rope (*rmu thag*).
Like a vanishing rainbow roaming [thither], it is also said. "These seven 'Throne'-kings had their tombs established in the celestrial sphere and
Their divine bodies were without a [physical] corpse which had vanished like a rainbow."[371] So it is said.

Further sources: pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 232.17-18 (different context!); post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 92b2; **MYDTH** 172.13-173.4; **BGRSPH** 172.12-173.4.

368 **gloss*: [*This king occured*] *when two thousand years had expired after Buddha's Nirvāna.* Cf. note 433 *infra*.

369 The mention of this famous castle at this point in the narrative Bla-ma dam-pa appears to have taken over from **DTHMP** 15b7, but is otherwise in the narrative unattested in **GLR**'s (assumed) prime sources. For this ancient castle-palace, variously spelled Yum-bu (or 'Un-bu) bla-mkhar (or sgang) cf. Haarh, s.v. index.

370 Aside from the numerous lists of these seven 'Throne' kings (*btsan po*) of space (*gnam*) cited by Haarh, ref. note 354 *supra*, we may now add another list of pre-**GLR** sources: cf. Appendix, note 370. For the names of the kings and queens of the first group, cf. **GBCHBY** 243.18-244.5.

371 This description is in **GLR** retained in prose, but as it will be clear from parallel texts and from the study by Panglung, it is in fact part of an old metrical or versified narrative (mainly denoted **gSang-ba yang-chung**, but variously titled, cf. Panglung, 1988, *op. cit.*, p. 351) sketching out the activities and in particular the tombs of the Tibetan kings; the text in **GLR** reads: *sras rnams kyis rim pa bzhin chib kha thub tsa na* | *yab rnams rim pa bzhin du rmu thag la byas* [**GLR** A: *'khyam*] *nas* [|] *nam mkha' la 'ja' yal ba bzhin 'gro yang zer* | *khri bdun bang so nam mkha'i dbyings la btab* | *lha'i lus la ro med 'ja' ltar yal* | *zhes so*. At an early stage in the transmission, the following piece of metrical (five-lined nine-and eleven-syllabic) narrative, reconstructed by me and by Panglung also, was metaphrased into prose:

| *sras rnams kyis rim pa bzhin chib[s] kha thub tsa na* |
| *yab rnams rim pa bzhin du rmu thag la byas nas* |
| *nam mkha' la 'ja' yal ba bzhin [du] 'gro yang zer* |
| *khri bdun bang so nam mkha' dbyings la btab* |
| *lha yi lus la ro med 'ja' ltar yal* | zhes so

Cf. parallel: **KCHKKKHM-1** 665.1-2; **KCHKKHM-2** 84.16-19; **CHBYMTNYP** 169b4-5;

[III] [King Gri-gum btsan-po]

The son of Srib-khri btsan-po was Gri-gum btsan-po.[372] He had three sons: Sha-khri, Nya-khri and Bya-khri. King Gri-gum btsan-po got his mind ensnared (*bslus*; i.e. went insane) by a *gdon*-demon. To a minister [of his] called Lo[ng]-ngam rTa-rdzi [the Horse-groom][373] he ordered: "You have to act as my adversary (*'thab ya*)!" Lo[ng]-ngam replied: "Why so, O ruler? I, a [mere] subject cannot be an antagonist to a ruler." However, having no power [to reject the challenge], he was forced to fight and a [propitious] day of the constellation *svātī* (*sa ri*) and *vaiśākha* (*sa ga*) [was chosen] as the time for combat.

The king possessed a dog which was an incarnated [creature], a bitch (*khyi mo*) named 'Secret Ear [for] Hearing' (Ñan gyi rna gsang ma).[374] It was sent [by the king] to the place of [minister] Lo[ng]-ngam to listen [to his plans], but Lo[ng]-ngam [soon] recognized this [trick], and [therefore openly] declared: "On the third day (*gnangs nyin*) [from now] the king, without being accompanied by a host of warriors, will arrive [here] in order to kill me. Should he appear having bound a black silken turban upon his head, fixed a mirror onto his forehead, placed a fox-corpse (*va ro*)[375] upon the right shoulder and a dog-corpse upon his left, brandishing a sword around his head and [finally] had loaded a red ox with a sack of dust (*thal sgro*), then I shall be no match for him."

[This was] accordingly reported to the king by the bitch. The king declared: "I shall

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MBNTH 26a3-4; further pre-**GLR** sources: **GBCHBY** 377.9-10; **DCHBY** 102.16.20; **DTHMP** 15b8-9; post-**GLR**: **YLJBCHBY** 40.7-12; **GBYTSH** 93a1-2; **MYDTH** 174.3-7; **BGRSPH** 174.3-5 (the source being titled **'Khor[-lo] sna-bdun**). Haarh, 1969, pp. 118-119, and first and foremost Panglung, 1988, pp. 324-25 and 350-56.

372 Gri-gum btsan-po. The present mythical narrative, rendered at different length in various sources, Buddhist, pre-Bon and Bon, is e.g. known from the following pre-**GLR** sources: **KCHKKHM-1** 665.5-668.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 84.19-89.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 169b6-172a6; **MBNTH** 26a5-6; **DTHMP** 16a1-3; further pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 244.6-248.6, 375.16-20; **DCHBY** 159.16-163.11 (interesting version); post-**GLR**: **YLJBCHBY** 40.13-44.2; **GBYTSH** 93a3-96a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 7a2-8a2 (citing mainly **Ka-khol-ma**, 7a2-7b2, which, however, in detail differs from the above **KCHKKHM** versions!, also reproduced Haarh, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-47).

The most detailed version is given in **KCHKKHM-2** (and the **Ka-khol-ma** citation in **HBCHBY** being more close to **GLR**), **GBCHBY**, **GLR** and **YLJBCHBY** (the latter mainly relying on **GLR**), although they differ in small, but telling details, and the narrative version in Dunhuang Ms. 250 (Bacot *et al.*, 1940, esp. sect. II-IV and VI, pp. 97-100, 123-28, also rendered Haarh, Appendix, I) shares in a few details elements with **KCHKKHM-2**. Cf. also Haarh, pp. 142-153, 330-331; Macdonald, 1971, pp. 196ff.; Karmay, 1972, pp. 66 *et seq.*; rGyal-mo, 1985.

It would be a rewarding task to dedicate a full comparative study to the various testimonies anent the mythical narrative of king Gri-gum btsan-po.

373 Lo[ng]-ngam is rendered variously, Lo[ng]/Le/Li-ngam etc. **YLJBCHBY** gives the full name Lo-ngam Byi-khrom and **GBCHBY** 375.18: Long-ngam Byi-ri. For his persecution of Bon, cf. Karmey, *Treasury*, pp. 58 *et seq.* Cf. also lately rTa-mgrin, 1987, pp. 96-106.

374 'The Secret Ear [for] Hearing'. Also **KCHKKHM-1** and **KCHKKHM** cited in **HBCHBY**: Nyan [gyi] rna gsang, so also **GBCHBY**: Nyan sna gsang; **DCHBY**: Nyan gyi rna gsang rma; **YLJBCHBY**: Nyan gyi rna-bas ma.

375 The element with the fox-corpse is only shared by **GLR** and the **Ka-khol-ma** version cited in **HBCHBY**. Both mKhas-pa lDe'u and lDe'u Jo-sras have a bird and an ape led on each of the horse.

perform accordingly!" [On] the third day he did like that and Lo[ng]-ngam arrived to the killing. [Lo[ng]-ngam] whistled (*so sgra btab*) and the red ox followed him. He [then] tore the dust-back [open] and [thus] made the dust whirl [around] whereby it filled the eyes [of the king]. The fox-corpse [made] the [king's] *dgra lha* vanish and the dog-corpse [made] the [king's] *pho lha* disappear. When the king [in dispair] brandished his sword around his head he [only] cut [his] *rmu*-rope. Minister Lo[ng]-ngam subsequently aimed at the mirror on the king's forehead and he released his arrow which killed the king.

The three sons of the king respectively fled to the [districts] of Kong-po, Nyang-po and sPo-bo.[376]

Minister Lo[ng]-ngam then usurped the power and appointed the [previous] king's queen as [the new] horse-groom and elected a princess as [new] consort (*chung ma*).

The [dethroned] mother-queen [thus] went to tend horses and while asleep she dreamt that she had [carnal] union with a white man, an incarnated being of [the mountain-god] Yar-lha sham-po.[377] When awakening from sleep, she observed [how] a white *g.yag*-ox rose from the pillow and departed. When eight months had expired, a clot of blood (*khrag gong bu*) about [the size of] a fist (*lag mgo*) and capable of quivering (*'gul shes pa*) was born to the mother-queen. About to throw it away, [she] felt pity [with it, recognizing] that it was her own [blood and] flesh. As for its rearing, [she] stuffed it into the warm horn of a wild ox [*g.yag*-ox] (*'brong ru dron*) as it had neither mouth nor eyes at all, and wrapped it up in a [pair of] solid (*ngar pas*) trousers.[378] When, after a few days had passed, [she] inspected it, it had turned into an infant. His name too became known as the 'Dzang gi bu Ru-la[s]-skyes [The Horn-born One].[379]

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376 **KCHKKHM-1**: Kong-po, Nyan-po and Li-yul; **KCHKKHM-2**: Kong-po, Khams-yul and gTsang-yul; **CHBYMTNYP**: Kong-po, Nyang-po, sPu-bo; **GBCHBY** 244.12-246.6 which has an interesting note on the flight of the three sons and a sister: Kong-po, Nyang-po, sPu-po; **MBNTH** 26a6-26b1; **DCHBY** 103.110-19: Kong-po, Myang, sPu-po. Cf. also Haarh, pp. 150ff: most generally: [r]Kong-po, Nyang-po and sPo-bo.

The sister is in one tradition made Lo-ngam's new consort, whereas in the present one Lo-ngam takes a princess.

377 Only **GLR** (though followed by **DTHMPSM**) maintains that the white man was an emanation of the mountain-god Yar-lha sham-po, which may indicate that Bla-ma dam-pa here either draws from an unknown source, i.e. **rGyal-rabs dPag-bsam ljon-shing**? or from another (earlier?) version of the **KCHKKHM**, such as **lHa-sa'i [b]Ka['']-tshigs chen-mo**? Cf. further **KCHKKHM-1** 667.5-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 88.1-14; (**Ka-khol-ma** cited in **HBCHBY** (JA) 7b5-7); **CHBYMTNYP** 171b4-172a4; **GBCHBY** 246.7-9 has the son of a Nāga.

378 This element with the infant being wrapped in a pair of solid trousers appears to be untraced from any of **GLR**'s (parallel or prime) sources, the only hint is the name given to the miraculous infant, aside from Ru-las skyes (cf. next note), Ngar-[g/b]sos-po/so, cf. **GBCHBY** 246.11-14; **DCHBY** 161.17; **YLJBCHBY** 43.4; **GBYTSH** 94b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 7b6.

379 Cf. also **KCHKKHM-1** 667.7: 'Dre'i bu Ru-la skyes; **KCHKKHM-2** 88.5-17: 'Brong gi Ru-las skyes (this text wrongly identifies Ru-las skyes with sPu-de gung-rgyal, where most other texts consider him to be the prospective minister of sPu-de gung-rgyal); **CHBYMTNYP** 171b5-172a2: 'Dre'i bu-pho Ru lham skyes and Blon-po Khu; **HBCHBY** (JA) 8b2: Khu-bo lHa-bu smon-bzung; **YLJBCHBY** 44.19-20: Khu-khu lTa [= lHa]-bu smon-bzungs.

In most of these texts the infant boy develops through different stages: First he is born without limbs, being inserted into the horn of a *g.yag* or a *'brong*; subsequently, growing limbs (i.e. arms and legs) he is inserted into a shaft (*lham gyi yu ba*).

More interesting is the epitethon, 'the wise son ' (*'dzang[s] g[y]i bu*; cf. similarly **DCHBY**

When he had grown ten years old, he asked his mother: "Whither have my father and brothers gone?" The mother told him in great detail the previous story and Ru-la[s]-skyes [succeeded] by various means to trace [and acquire] his father's corpse from [the river] Nyang-chu skya-mo[380] and [he subsequently] raised a tomb of the father in Dar-thang [of] 'Phying-yul.[381] [Next,] he killed [the usurpator,] the minister Lo[ng]-ngam and [then] went to invite his three brothers [back from exile], but Sha-khri and Nya-khri did not yield to the invitation. They [now] acted as rulers of Kong-po and Nyang-po [respectively] and even to the present [day] [their] lineages are [to be] found [in these districts]. [However,] the son Bya-khri was invited from the country of sBo-bo and he settled down in Yar-lungs. He [there] built his personal fortified castle (*sku mkhar*) 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse.[382] [Ru-la[s]-skyes]

114.10-13; **NGTMTPH** 5a3-5 (Uebach p. 72): 'Dzangs pa 'Breng (from *'brong*, wild *g.yag*?) gi bu; but **GBYTSH** 94b3: 'Jing gi bu), which reflects that he belongs to a well-known group of so-called seven wise men, or ministers, and that he is conceived to be the first of these seven wise ministers (*Bod yul 'phrul chen mdzangs pa'i mi bdun*) during some of the early Tibetan *mes-dbon* kings, who did wise deeds (*mdzangs pa'i las*) cf. *par excellence* **GBYTSH** 163a6-163b5:

| *Bod du chos rgyal mes dbon rim pas yis* |
| *mnga' thang chab srid spyi mthun bsod nams las* |
| *sprul pa'i blon chen bzang la mang po byon* |
| *khyad par bod 'bangs byin la drin che ba'i* |

| *'dzangs pa mi bdun bya ba 'di ltar ro* |
| *bar pa spu de gung rgyal sku ring la* |
| *gcig tu 'dzangs pa chen po 'dzeng gi bu* |
| *rgyu* [sic: *ru*] *la skyes gyi ngar gsos bya ba yin* | etc.

Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 8b2-3; Haarh, 1969, pp. 121-25; Macdonald, 1971, pp. 224-25; Karmay, 1972, pp. 69-71; Uebach, 1987, pp. 27-28, 72-73, n. 264; Chab-'gag rTa-mgrin, 1989, pp. 105-113; Tshe-dbang rdo-rje, 1990, pp. 8-9. As corroborated in **GLR**, Ru-las skyes was in fact considered to be the minister of Bya-khri, his half-brother and the prospective king sPu-[l]de gung-rgyal.

380 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 7b3 (quoting **Ka-khol-ma**); **GBCHBY** 245.16: Myang-chu skya-mo. Cf. Karmay, 1982, p. 70.

381 I.e. 'Phying-yul Dar-thang; **KCHKKHM-1** 668.2-3: Brang-mo Bran-chul zom; **KCHKKHM-2** 89.1-2: Two kings (Gri-gum *and* sPu-lde) were buried on the slope-side (*zom pa*) and summit of the mountain [named] Drang-mo drang in the upper part of Yar-lung Valley; **CHBYMTNYP** 171b3, **GBCHBY** 247.10: Grang-mo grang-chung (mentioning to-day (i.e. the 12th century) its name is Grang-mo'i gNam-gser-tig); **YLJBCHBY** 44.5-6, **GBYTSH** 95b1-2, **HBCHBY** (JA) 8b2-3: Ngar-ra thang; **DCHBY** 162.12-13: 'Phyong-po Drang-mo Drang-chung; **GBYTSH** combines these names and states that the land was called Nga-ra thang and the corpse was hidden in 'Chong-rgyas (= 'Phyong-rgyas) Grang-mo grang-chung. For a proper evaluation of some of these locations, cf. Panglung, 1988, pp. 324-27. Cf. also note 396 *infra*.

382 I.e. 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse, various readings: **KCHKKHM-1** 668.4-5: Byang-ba sTag-rtse; **KCHKKHM-2** 89.6: Phying-pa sTag-rtse; **GBCHBY** 247.18-19 and 248.12-6: During the Six Excellent kings the following six fortified castles or *sku mkhar* (*rtse drug*) were built, one by each king: Phying-sa sTag-rtse, g.Yu-rtse; dBu-rtse; Khri-rtsig 'bum-stug; mThong-rtse; Phying-ba rTse-drug); **DCHBY** 163.6; **CHBY** 137b3 (Szerb, p. 5: 'Ching-bar stag-rtse); **YLJBCHBY** 45.5: 'Ching-nga rTag-rtse; **HBCHBY** (JA) 8b7: 'Ching-nga sTag-rtse, etc. It should allegedly be located in Yar-lung Sog-kha (cf. note 431) according to Chab-spel, 1989(b), p. 101. Cf. also Ferrari, 1958, p. 58, 130, n. 292; Haarh, s.v. index; Macdonald, 1971, pp. 223ff; Beckwith, 1987, p. 13. This

embraced Bya-khri, the son of the mother and conjured the *lha*-gods and so a voice sounded from space [above]: "Your son will conquer all."[383] Although it [was] said that this son would [be more] victorious [than] anyone [else], [he] came to be famed as sPu-de gung-rgyal.[384]

[III] [King sPu-[l]de gung-rgyal and Bon]

This king seized the throne and Ru-la[s]-skyes acted as [his] minister. During the time of [this] king and [his] minister, the two, the *g.Yung-drung* [or Svastika-]Bon appeared.[385] The

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site, of great symbolic importance for the dynasty, was recaptured and inhabited in the post-dynastic period by Khri-chung, a scion of 'Od-srung, the son of Glang-dar-ma, the last king in the line, cf. note 1762 *infra*.

383 The only other version containing this prophecy is **HBCHBY** (JA) (probably citing or paraphrasing **Ka-khol-ma**) 8b6-7:

| *de tshe bar snang gnas pa'i lha rnams kyis* |
| *khyod kyi bu de kun las rgyal 'gyur zhes* |
| *brjod pas thos pas de nyid mtshan du chags* |
| *'bangs kyis sgra nyams pu de gung rgyal grags* |

From this piece of metrical narrative, the name of this mythical king Pu-de gung-rgyal is explained to be a vocal corruption (*sgra nyams*) of the king's proper name Bu-de kun-rgyal, i.e. 'The Son Who Conquers All'.

384 sPu-[l]de gung-rgyal. **KCHKKHM-1** 668.1-2; **KCHKKHM-2** 88.12, 89.2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 172a4-5; **MBNTH** 26a6-26b1: providing, *inter alia*, another etymology (cf. previous note): *sPu bo* [i.e. sPo-bo district] *nas spyan drangs pas* | *sPu'i rgyal po rtsan po zer ro* | *mtshan yang sPu rje g[d]ung rgyal du grags so*; **GBCHBY** 248.4-5: 'U-de gung-rgyal; **DCHBY** 103.14-15, 159.15-16: sPu-de gung-rgyal (maintaining *inter alia* that sPu-de gung-rgyal is the son of king Gri-gum btsan-po and queen Klu-btsun mer-lcam); **NGTMTPH** 2b7 (Uebach, p. 56): 'O-ste spu-rgyal; **CHBY** 137b3 (Szerb, pp. 4-5); **DTHMP** 16a2.

The studies focussing, wholly or partly, on this figure is enormous. Cf. first and foremost Haarh, s.v. index and ref.; Macdonald, 1971, *passim*; Hazod, 1991; Chab-spel, 1984(a), pp. 1-4.

385 The mention of g.Yung-drung Bon or Swastika-Bon and the narrative of the early Bon we find also in other Buddhist sources, cf. **KTHDNG** (KHA) 115.6ff; **HBCHBY** (JA) 8b4ff. Most of the other [Buddhist] main sources cited above only give very scarce imformation on Bon during the time of sPu-[l]de gung-rgyal.

CHBYMTNYP 169b6ff. (followed later by Chos kyi nyi-ma's **Grub-mtha' shel gyi me-long**, cf. citation in Haarh, pp. 102), however, has a very interesting passage dealing with the occurence of the gNam gyi rDol-Bon during the time of king gNam 'phru[l]-bo gzhung-btsan, (in fact, one of the eight later lDe-kings and the seventeenth king in the pre-historic line), maintaining that he is the son (sic!) of Sribs-khri btsan-po (the seventh king in this line, cf. Haarh, pp. 46-48). Here evidently the text is corrupt and the king must be identified with Gri-gum btsan-po, which is also later confirmed in the same text, 171b3. During his i.e. Gri-gum btsan-po's time, as said, the rDol-Bon (written 'Jol-Bon in the above **Grub-mtha'**) occured, cf. here also **CHBY** 137b3 (Szerb, 1990, p. 4; Hoffmann, 1950, p. 293, Haarh, p. 102). Later Chab-nag srid-pa rGyu[d] kyi Bon occured followed by Gyer-Bon. Nyang-ral combines the first occurence of Bon with the narrative of the fight with minister Lo-ngam (i.e. during the eighth king and not the first gNya'-khri btsan-po, as usually

Teacher called gShen-rab mi-bo[386] was born at 'Ol-mo'i lung-rings [in] sTag-gzigs. All the texts (*chos*) such as **Khams chen-po brgyad** [387] [etc.] were translated from the country [and language] of Zhang-zhung and [subsequently] spread and propagated.

Bon is divided into nine categories (*rigs*): the four classes of Cause Bon-po-s (*rgyu'i bon po*)[388] and five classes of Fruit [or Effect] Bon-po-s (*'bras bu'i bon po*).[389]

The five classes of Fruit Bon-po [include those] who had entered the *non-plus-ultra* (*bla na med pa*, **anuttara*) Vehicle of g.Yung-drung [Bon]; [they] aim at attaining a body of heavenly bliss (*bde 'gro mtho ris*, **sugatitah-svarga*).

The four classes of Cause Bon-po [include those] sNang-gshen [Priests of the Mundane] endowed with the 'wool tuft' (*bal thod*); the 'Phrul-gshen [Priests of the Supramundane] endowed with 'wool-colours' (*bal [m]tshon*); the Phy[v]a-gshen [Priests of the Phyva-gods or Prediction] endowed with a 'lot-diagram' (*ju thig*) and the Dur-gshen [Priests of the Tombs] endowed with 'weapons' (*mtshon cha*).

The sNang-gshen [Bon-priests] endowed with the 'wool-tufts' (*bal thod*) summon lots (*phy[v]a*)[390] and lot-blessings (*g.yang*), propitiate the *lha*-gods and *sman*-spirits; generate prosperity and glory and [thus] enhance human riches (*mi nor*).

The 'Phrul-gshen [Bon-priests] endowed with the 'wool-threads' (*bal [m]tshon*) disperse thread-cross (*mdos*) and ransom (*yas*); establish *srid* and *rten* and [thus] eliminate all immediate and subsequent (*'phral phugs*) ominous factors (*'gal rkyen*).

The Phy[v]a-gshen [Bon-priests] endowed with the 'lot-diagram' (*ju thig*) demonstrate the path leading to success [or] disaster, outroot [any] doubts as to veracity [versus] fallacy (*yin min gyi the tshom*) and explain the sullied paranormal knowledge (*zag bcas kyi mngon shes*, **sāsrava-abhijñā*).

The Dur-gshen [Bon-priests] endowed with 'weapons'([*m*]*tshon cha*) eliminate [all] obstructions [facing] the living ones, establish the graves of the deceased ones, suppress the smaller *sri*-demons, observe [and calculate] the star-constellation (*rgyu skar*) in the sky, tame the terrestrial *'dre*-demons, let the *rnga gshang* drum sound. The power was controlled by sagas (*sgrung*) and enigmas (*lde'u*).[391*392]

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assumed) and the eventual cutting of the *'od kyi lha thag*, the 'divine rope of light' connecting the *btsan po* with *gnam*, as described above note 372ff.

See also the discussion with further ref. in Haarh, p. 100ff.

386 Only **GLR** (followed and more elaborated by **HBCHBY** in an important gloss, cf. previous note) introduces the founder of the Bon-religion, gShen-rab mi-bo here in the narrative and thus makes him an approximate contemporary of king sPu-[l]de gung-rgyal. For the following Bon-exposition, cf. Hoffmann, 1950, pp. 200ff.; Haarh, 1969, 100ff.

387 Cf. Karmay, 1972, pp. 92, 130, also called **g.Yung-drung Khams-brgyad**, a Bon scriptural pendant to the Buddhist **Yum rgyas-pa**; Hoffmann, 1940, *ZDMG* 94, p. 170; Hoffmann, 1950, pp. 331-32 and *passim* for the following passage.

388 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 8b6.

On Cause-Bon and Effect-Bon etc. cf. Snellgrove, 1967, pp. 9-11 *et passim*; Karmay, 1972, pp. 18, 31 *et seq.*

389 Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 8b7-8.

390 Or summon the *phyva*-gods.

391 **GLR** has falsely *lte'u*, read *lde'u*. As already commented by Karmay, 1972, p. 34 *et passim*; Uebach, 1987, *op. cit.* p. 57, n. 185, the introduction of *sgrung*, *lde'u* (bardic riddles; often mentioned together with *bon*) are dated differently by the Tibetan historiographers. Cf. e.g. **GBCHBY** 249.4-6; **DCHBY** 105.5-6, 163.6; **YLJBCHBY** 47.1-2 (associating these phenomena

Further, [during their time] both charcoal (*sol ba*), the [residual] constituent (*snying po*) procured from burnt wood and glue (*spyin*) being the [residual] constituent resulting from melted hide (*ko ba*) appeared. And after iron-stone[s] (*lcags rdo*), copper-ore[s] (*zangs rdo*) and silver-ore[s] (*dngul rdo*) had been found [and exploited].

> These three [metal-rich] ores were melted together with charcoal [whereby pure] iron, copper and silver were extracted,[393]

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to the period during the five *btsan*-kings, about the twenty-fourth to the twenty-eighth king in the pre-historic line, cf. also other texts cited by Haarh, p. 107); **DTHMP** 16b3; **KTHDNG** (KHA) 450.7; **YLJBCHBY** 45.5-6; **GBYTSH** 95b6-96a1, 97a1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 9a1, where the latter witness maintains that the systems of *bon*, *sgrung* and *lde'u* were written on the pillar-beams (*gdung rnams*) in the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang temple in Lhasa; the sources for this is the Vita of the king, cf. e.g. **KCHKKHM-2** 254.11-256.10; **KCHKKHM-3** 463.2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 269b1-2; **GBCHBY** 291.1-6. For details on these points, cf. here Appendix, note 874 *infra*. For further ref. on *lde'u*, cf. also Haarh, pp. 100ff.

The power or royal authority (*chab srid*) was ruled by *sgrung* and *lde'u*; these two oral literary exponents of the g.Yung-drung Bon or of the gNam-gshen bon-po-s were intimately associated with the royalty of the sacerdotal Bon priesthood during king sPu-lde gung-rgyal and, possibly, later until, at least, the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po. Cf. Hoffmann, 1950, pp. 298-99ff.; Stein, 1959, pp. 419-37 and the Introduction to the present book.

392 **gloss*: *In the Bon-chronicles is it said that Bon disseminated during king gNya'-khri btsan-po and during the reign of king Gri-gum btsan-po Bon declined. During the reign of king sPu-de gung-rgyal Bon disseminated [again] and during king Khri-srong lde-btsan Bon vanished. Later, a Bon-priest (bla ma) named rNya-chen Li-sho-ka-ra rekindled the flame of Bon from Khams, which then came to dBus-gTsang. All Bon-texts were unearthed from treasuries and Bon-po communities (sde) such as Ri-zhig, Dar-lding, dGe-lding, En-tsa-kha, bZangs-ri and Og-thang etc. were established, whereby the Bon-religion was made to spread. In Bon also there were three [stages in form of] an Early, Intermediate and Later Spread.*

This or these chronicles, when this note should not be taken in a general sense, remain unidentified. Cf. foremost, on the persecution of Bon, Karmay, *Treasury*, *passim*. rNya-chen Li-sho ka-ra may most likely refer to sNya-chen Li-shu stag-ring, a mighty and fabulous figure (usually situated in the eighth century) in the Bon tradition, being a translator, progagator and sage, and acquiring an age of over 1200 years, cf. *ibid.* pp. 21, 26, 56-57 *et passim*. For the Bon-centres of Ri-zhig = Ri-zhing, Dar-lding, dGe-lding, En-tsa-ka = dBen-[t]sa-kha?, bZangs-ri = bZangs-po-ri, cf. Karmay, *ibid.* 133ff. **PMKTH** (Chap. 67, 400.1-4) also mentions the Bon-centres Yog-thang [= Og-thang] which is being placed in the sKyid-shod area and the dBen-tsa-ka to be located in the gTsang province.

393 **GLR** reads: *sol bas rdo gsum gzhu nas | dngul zangs lcags gsum bton |* Read:

| sol bas rdo gsum gzhu nas dngul zangs lcags gsum bton |

This eleven-syllabic sentence was, as seen, originally written in verse and must be part of the following three eleven-syllabic versified lines in the text as verified in a number of parallel texts. It is part of a well-known versified eulogy lauding, *inter alia*, the wise acts of (seven ministers in all, here) the first Tibetan minister Ru-las-skyes (cf. note 379 *supra*), during the reign of sPu-lde gung-rgyal. This versified eulogy probably also contained verses describing the tombs of a number of successive pre-historic kings, cf. foremost the survey in Uebach, 1987, pp. 28-29; 70-77; Panglung, 1988, *passim*.

Reminiscences of this metrical narrative is found scattered in various texts where the metrum (between nine- and elleven-syllable) and wording differ slightly; the oldest evidence is retained in

By boring holes into wood, ploughs (*gshol*) and yoke-beams (*gnya' shing*) were manufactured.
Grofting the two joints into a yoke [and attaching it to an ox] the plains were ploughed into [arable] fields.
Water was conducted in channels [led from] the sea and the fields [were then] sown.[394]

Prior to that no agriculture (*so nam*) was practised.
Father Gri-gum btsan-po and son sPu-de gung-rgyal were known as the two kings [with the name-element] 'Superior' of the 'Upper sphere' (*stod kyi steng*).[395]

The two 'Superior'-kings had their tombs established in the vegetation-free alpine stretch (*g.ya'*) and in the rocky alpine mountains (*rdza*) [respectively].[396]

NGTMTPH 5a4-5 (Uebach, p. 72-73); **GBYTSH** 164b3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 8b2-4, all texts reproduced in Uebach, n. 266 (the first versified line quoted from **HBCHBY** (Uebach, n. 266) is misread by Uebach and should, to retain nine syllables, read:

| *mdzangs pa'i las su shing bsregs sol ba byung* |

Cf. also **DCHBY** 163.6-11; **DTHMP** 16a3-4; **MYDTH** 174.13-15; **BGRSPH** 174.11-14.

394 Cf. previous note, these versified lines are part of a metrical narrative. Cf. also **YLJBCHBY** 45.7-9, **GBYTSH** 96a2-3; **DTHMPSM** 16a3 (not metrically). However, the only other texts which verbatim corroborate Bla-ma dam-pa's present quotation is **DCHBY**, *loc. cit.*, p. 114.9-11 and **BGRSPH** 174.14-17, where the first work, when briefly mentioning the so-called 'wise acts' of the seven ministers (114.9-115.12), incl. minister Ru-la[s]-skyes, cf. note 379 *supra*, cites the two penultimate lines:

| *shing la bug pa phug nas gshol dang gnya' shing byas* |
| *mthun gnyis gnya' ru bsdebs spang thang zhing du rmos* |
| *de'i gong na bod la lo thog med*

and the latter text, aside from the above two complete lines, adds:

[|] *rgya mtsho yur la drangs nas chu la zam pa 'dzugs* |
[|] *de la sogs pa'i las thabs mang du byung* |

and thus confirms that this reading, when compared against the slightly deviating readings preserved in **NGTMTPH, HBCHBY** and **GBYTSH** (all cited by Uebach, 1987, pp. 28-29, 72), contain an early and equally original version. Further, the last line, preserved in **DCHBY** and **GLR** (reading *zhing la so nam* instead of *bod la lo t[h]og*) as a piece of prose, probably is part of yet another metrical line, as demonstrated by Uebach's citations.

395 Cf. Appendix, note 395.

396 The **GLR** A has *g.ya' dang rdza* whereas the **GLR** B has *gya' dang spang*, but the latter reading should most probably be reserved to the Legs drug kings. The preferred reading *rdza dang g.ya'* confirmed by parallel texts: **GBCHBY** 377.10-11 & **DCHBY** 103.17-18; **DTHMP** 16a4; **YLJBCHBY** 45.10; **GBYTSH** 96a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 9a2; etc. Cf. first and foremost also Panglung, 1988, pp. 326-27. Incidentally, a certain inconsistency prevails as king Gri-gum btsan-po's tomb in most texts already has been described, cf. note 381 *supra*, and king Gri-gum btsan-po

Ru-la[s]-skyes acted as the constructor (*lag dpon*) of their [tombs].[397]

The son of sPu-de gung-rgyal was A-sho-legs.
His son was De-sho-legs.
His son Thi-sho-legs.
His son Gu-ru-legs.
His son 'Brong-z[h]er-legs.
His son I-sho-legs.

These are known as the six 'Excellent Ones' of the 'intermediate sphere' (*bar gyi legs drug*).[398]

> The tombs of the six Excellent Ones were established between the vegetation-free alpine stretch and the meadow stretch;[399]
> [The array of] these [tombs] even resembles a full-fledged rainbow upon a meadow.[400]

The son of I-sho-legs was Za-nam zin-te.
His son was lDe-'phrul [g]nam-gzhung-btsan.
His son Se-snol nam-lde.
His son lDe-snol-nam.
His son lDe-snol-po.
His son lDe-rgyal-po.
His son lDe-sprin-btsan.

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is usually also included among these two sTeng gnyis kings, which perhaps accounts for the fact that they are not mentioned in the **KCHKKHM** versions (though **KCHKKHM-2** 89.1-2 does mention that the two sTengs kings, i.e. Gri-gum and sPu-lde, were buried on the slopes and summit of the mountain called Yar-lung Drang-mo drang). Originally, like in previous cases, cf. note 371, the narrative was metrical and part of the text called **gSang-ba yang-chung**. We shall therefore reconstruct the prose of **GLR** into:

| *steng gnyis bang so g.ya' dang spang la btab* |
| *de'i lag dpon ru la skyes kyis byas so* |

397 Cf. also **YLJBCHBY** 45.10-11, here probably quoting **GLR**. Cf. previous note.

398 For further pre-**GLR** lists on the six kings with the name-element Excellent, cf. Appendix, note 398.

399 A part of the metrical narrative sketching out the various tombs of the kings, cf. next note. Further ref., aside from or in addition to those given by Panglung, are **KCHKKHM-1** 668.4: *ba[ng] so Dan kar g.ya' mang* [= *spang*] *mtshams btab*; **KCHKKHM-2** 89.6-7: *bang so yang g.ya' spang mtshams su btab*; **CHBYMTNYP** 172b3: *Don mkhar g.ya' spang mtshams* [*su*] *btab*; **GBCHBY** 377.11-12; **DCHBY** 104.4: *g.ya' spang mtshams su bskyal bas dur der gdab par grags*; **DTHMP** 16a5; **YLJBCHBY** 45.16-17: *bang so g.ya' spang mtshams su btab*; **GBYTSH** 96a5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 9a5. As is seen a great consensus prevails.

400 Only **HBCHBY** (JA) 9a5 similar to **GLR**, citing it or paraphrasing a common source?, has retained this part of the metrical description of the tomb. Cf. Panglung, 1988, p. 326.

These are known as the eight 'lDe' of the 'Terrestrial sphere' (*sa'i lde brgyad*).[401]

> The tombs of eight 'lDe'[-kings] were located in the middle of the river (*chu bo*);[402]
> [The array of] these [tombs] even resembles snow falling on a lake.[403]

The son of king lDe-sprin-btsan was Khri-btsan-nam.
His son was Khro-dgra dpung-btsan.
His son was Khri-de thog-btsan.

These three are known as the three 'Mighty Ones' of the 'Underworld'.[404]

> The tombs of the three Mighty Ones were established on the summit of the white glacier-mountains (*gangs dkar rtse*),[405]
> [The array of] these [tombs] too resembles mist enfolding (*na bun chags pa*) around the glacier.[406]

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401 For further lists cf. Appendix, note 401.

402 **KCHKKHM-1** 668.6: *spur sham po'i chu la skyur*; **KCHKKHM-2** 89.11-12: *bang so sham po'i chu la btab*; **GBCHBY** 377.12: *lde bdun* [sic] *dur sa chu bo'i gzhung la btab*; **DTHMP** 16a6; **YLBCHBY** 46.4-5; **GBYTSH** 96b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 9a6.
Cf. Panglung, 1988, pp. 328-29.

403 As seen previously, aside from **GLR** only **HBCHBY** (9a6) (and 'Jigs-med gling-pa's **gTam gyi tshogs theg-pa'i rgya-mtsho**, cf. Panglung, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-29) has retained the same metrical description.

404 Cf. also note 370 supra and Appendix. The 'Mighty'-kings are sometimes numbered three, sometimes five, cf. the extensive survey by Haarh, chap. I, *passim*. **GLR** is one of the only texts discounting lHa-tho-tho-ri snyan-shal among the bTsan-kings, contrary to all his prime sources. For a discussion of bTsan gsum or bTsan lnga, cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 10b7-11a2. For a list see Appendix, note 404.

405 In addition to the list and ref. in Panglung, 1988, pp. 328-331, we may cite **KCHKKHM-1** 669.2: *spur Bar pa thang du sbas te bang sa sbra[ng?] 'dra ba 'byung*; **KCHKKHM-2** 89.15-16: *de'i bang so Dar ba thang du btab | bang so sa phung 'dra zhes zer ro*; **CHBYMTNYP** 173a2-3: *spur Ngar pa thang du btab ste | bang so thal phung 'dra ba byung*; **DCHBY** 106.15-16: *btsan lnga'i mchad pa dang dur yul 'Phyings lung Dar ba thang du btab ste gru bzhir ma shes par sbra 'dra ba'i sa phung yod do*; **YLJBCHBY** 47.18-48.1 *'Phyongs lung Nga ra thang || btsan lnga'i mchad pa sa phung sbra 'dra yod | phul med mchad pa gru bzhi mi shes skad.*

406 No other text which contains reminiscences of the metrical narrative of the royal tomb has this description, cf. previous note.

[IV] [King lHa tho-tho-ri snyan-shal and *the Secret gNyan po*]

The son of Khri-de thog-btsan was named lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal.[407] This emanation of Samantabhadra safeguarded the royalty for eighty years. He raised a palace, a great residential fortification (*sku mkhar chen po*) of a [non-human,] non-erected and spontaneous [nature], [towering] atop the 'Um-bu glang-mkhar.[408] According to a prophecy [about this king] the Venerable One [Bhagavat] in Veṇuvana once [stated]: "As an auspicious portent (*rten 'brel*) for the propagation of the Teaching of Buddha in Tibet, the **Kāraṇḍa[vyūha]sūtra (mDo-sde Za-ma-tog [bkod-pa])**, ***Hṛdaya Ṣaḍakṣarī (sNying-po Yi-ge drug-pa)**, **sPang-skong Phyag brgya-pa['i mdo]**, a cubit-sized golden *caitya*, a terracotta drinking-bowl [inserted] with *cintāmaṇi*-jewels and a seal, [all] hanging on a sun-beam (*nyi ma'i 'od la 'grogs*), fell from heaven onto the roof of the king's castle [accompanied by] a prophecy announcing from heaven: "In the fifth generation after you a king will emerge, who will understand the meaning of these [texts and relics]."[409]*[410]

The king [lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal] too thought that these [religious] relics (*rten*) were indeed marvellous. Without knowing what they were, he named them 'Secret gNyan-po' (*gnyan po gsang ba*).[411] [He] placed them on a jewel-mounted throne and presented offerings to them. The benefit accuring from this [meritorious conduct] secured the king a youthful bodily skin again and he attained an age of one hundred and twenty years and he was known as "the one who attained two life-spans in one body."[412] This king introduced (*dbu brnyes*

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407 Cf. note 356 *supra* and Haarh, pp. 84ff. Dunhuang Ms. 249 (Bacot *et al.*, 1940, p. 82.15-16) reads lHa Tho-do snya-brtsan. **KCHKKHM-2** 90.3-91.1 provides the etymology of his name. This text furthermore elaborates on his life and time, maintaining e.g. that the four domestic clans (*nang gi mi'u rigs bzhi*), the Se and sMu, the lDong and the sTong already at that time had divided Tibet into Four Horns.

408 **MNKB** E (Ca) 100b2, E (Cd) 184a5; **KCHKKHM-1**; **KCHKKHM-2** 91.2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 173b4; **DCHBY** 105.13-14; **CHBY** 137b5 (Szerb, p. 5); post-**GLR**: **YLJBCHBY** 47.6-7; **GBYTSH** 97a5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 9b4-6; **MYDTH** 175.11-12; **BGRSPH** 175.8-12.

409 **MNKB** E (Ca) 100b2-6, E (Cd) 184a1-b2; **KCHKKHM-1** 669-5-673.7; **KCHKKHM-2** 91.10-95.17; **KCHKKHM-3** 396.1-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 173b4-175b3; **MBNTH** 26b4-5; **GBCHBY** 249.11-19; **DCHBY** 105.12-14; **BGR** 197a6; **NGTMTPH** 7a4-7b3 (Uebach, pp. 85-87 where Nel-pa Paṇḍita offers a more 'historical' or diverging narrative of the origin of the gNyan-po gsang-ba legend, cf. also **DTHMPSM** 17a1-3; **CHBY** 137b5-6; **DTHMP** 16a8-9; **PMKTH** 343.1-8; post-**GLR: YLJBCHBY** 47.3-17; **GBYTSH** 97a6-97b1; **DTHNGP** (I, 63.14-64.13, Roerich, I, pp. 38-39); **HBCHBY** (JA) 9b5-7; **MYDTH** 175.12-18; **BGRSPH** 175.13-18, etc.
For a fuller discussion cf. Appendix, note 409.

410 **gloss*: *It is said to be King Srong-btsan sgam-po.*

411 Or 'The Secret Friend (*gnyen po*)', with an intentional word-play on *gnyen po* (Skt. *mitra*) versus *gnyan po*, where the latter represents some aboriginal mountainous spirits that functioned as the king's *sku bla*, etc. Spirits of paramount and crucial importance during this early part of the dynasty, being included, quite often, in the royal names, cf. Macdonald, 1971, pp. 299-300; Uebach, 1987, p. 87, n. 336. Cf. also note 356 for ref. and Szerb, 1991, p. 6.

412 **MNKB** E (Ca) 100b6; **KCHKKHM-2** 96.4-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 175b2-3; **MBNTH** 27a1-2; **NGTMTPH** 7b2; **CHBY** 137b6 (Szerb, p. 6 with further ref.); **DTHMP** 16b1; post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 97a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 10b5; **DTHMPSM** 16b6; **MYDTH** 175.18-19; **BGRSPH** 175.18.

pa) the Saddharma [in Tibet].[413]

His tomb was installed in his own country,
The name of his country was Dar-thang of 'Phying-lung;
This tomb too is a heap of soil resembling a tent (*sa phung sbra*).[414]

The son of lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal was Khri-snyan gzugs-btsan.[415] He too paid the 'Secret gNyan-po' his respects and thereby [his] power increased greatly.

His tomb was raised in Don-mkhar-mda',
Resembling a heap of soil spread out (*sa phung brdal ba*) being without limit (*phul*).[416]

[V] [sTag-ri gnyan-gzigs]

His son was 'Brang-snyan-lde-ru.[417] This king took as queen (*btsun mo*), one from the D[v]ag[s]-po [province] named mChims-bza' Klu-rgyal.*[418]. [To this royal spouse] a blind (*dmus long*) son was born, wherefore he was called dMus-long dkon-pa-bkra.[419] [The queen] mChims-bza' Klu-rgyal[420] was initially very beautiful, but later, however, [her body] grew

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413 Cf. note 356 *supra*.

414 Only **GLR** treats king lHa-tho-tho-ri snyan-shal as a distinct king outside the group of the five bTsan kings, cf. Haarh, pp. 40-41, and note 404-05, *supra*.

415 Or Khri-snyan gzugs-btsan. Cf. **KCHKKHM-1** 674.6; **KCHKKHM-2** 97.1-2; **KCHKKHM-3** 396.6; **CHBYMTNYP** 176a3; **GBCHBY** 250.15; **DCHBY** 107.1; Dunhuang Ms. 249 (Bacot *et al.*, 1940, p. 82.17): Khri-snya zung-brtsan. On him see Hoffmann, 1950, pp. 210, 317; Haarh, s.v. index.

416 Cf. also **GBCHBY** 377.13-15; **YLJBCHBY** 48.4-5; **GBYTSH** 98a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 11a3 for this metrical piece. The term *phul* and *phul med* in connection with the tombs is still not satisfactorily accounted for, cf. the discussion in Panglung, 1988, pp. 328-31, nn. 32-33. My translation is certainly a *pis-aller*, based upon the fact that under the lexical entry *phul*, synonyms such as *mtha'* and *khyad par* are listed. But perhaps here is reference to a concrete entity, such as a 'present' or the like.

417 **MNKB** E (Cd) 184b3; **KCHKKHM-1** 674.6-675.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 396.7; **CHBYMTNYP** 176a4; **GBCHBY** 250.21, 375.9-15; **DCHBY** 107.2.
On this figure, cf. Hoffmann, 1950, pp. 158, 210, 299-300, 317; Haarh, 1969, pp. 335ff; Macdonald, 1971, p. 230ff.

418 **gloss*: [*She*] *was a nāgī*.
Dunhuang Ms. 249 (Bacot *et al.* p. 82.19): mChims za Klu-rgyal Ngan-mo-mtsho. Cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 51; Macdonald, 1971, p. 231.

419 **KCHKKHM-2** 97.2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 175b6-176b3; **GBCHBY** 251.9-15; **DCHBY** 107.1-6; **YLJBCHBY** 48.9-50.6.
Cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 51; Macdonald, 1971, p. 231.

420 Only **HBCHBY** (JA) 11a4-7, aside from **GBCHBY** 250.21-252.3; **DCHBY** 107.2-108.2, has retained the story, and even in more detail than **GLR**, of this royal couple and their blind-born prince.

livid and emaciated (*sngo la rid pa*). The king [being puzzled,] asked: "Once you were extremely beautiful, [so] if it is not illness (*na ba*) [which has caused your] present condition then what is it?" She responded: "The reason appears to be the lack of a [certain kind of] nourishment found in my native country but lacking in this place." [To this] the king rejoined: "Well, by all means this nourishment must be purchased and partaken of!"

Thereupon a trustworthy female-servant (*g.yog mo dam pa*) was dispatched in order to fetch this [special] nourishment. There she boiled many corpses of tadpoles in butter, and having loaded many pack-animals, she returned, whereafter the loads of nourishment were hidden in a trove. Being [thus] made invisible to any [other] human being [she] would clandestinely partake of it and her body would [again] regain its full splendour and brightness. The king thought: "This nourishment indeed is benevolent, I too must partake of it." Once when the queen was absent, he opened the door to [the store-house] with a reserve-key (*lde tshab*) and went inside. Inside the store-house he found so many leather-bags (*rkyal pa*) of butter-roasted corpses of tadpoles that he [began] to entertain [some] misgivings (*rnam rtog skyes*).[421] [Due to this traumatic scepticism] the king was ill-stroken with leprosy (*snyung du mdze*).

Subsequently, the king and the queen, the two, were buried alive in the tomb. The testament left behind to the son proclaimed: "[Remember] to present offerings to the 'Secret gNyan-po', the tutelary object of [our] ancestors; summon a physician from the country of 'A-ci [= 'A-zha][422] and when your eyes have been opened [i.e. the blindness cured], assume control of the royal power!"

> The tomb of 'Brong-snyan lde-ru was erected at Zhang-mda',
> The tomb's name too was 'The Circular [Tomb] consigning the Living'.
> So it is said.[423]

Then dMus-long dkon-pa-bkra reverently paid the 'Secret gNyan-po' his respect by presenting offerings, summoned the physician [from 'A-ci] who [eventually had] his eyes opened, whereafter he observed the *gnyan*-deer[424] walking about on the mountain sTag-[mo-]ri [in] sKyid-shod.[425] For this reason he became known as sTag-ri gnyan-gzigs.[426]

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421 Cf. also **GBCHBY** 251.7, 252.1; **DCHBY** 107.6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 11a6: *rtog pa zos*, *rnam rtog skye/za*, usually means to produce or entertain ideas, concepts etc. or rather to give way to speculations, and not infrequently with the added sense of misgivings and second thoughts. Cf. also Macdonald, 1971, p. 231.

422 Cf. **GBCHBY** 251.17; **DCHBY** 107.16; **YLJBCHBY** 49.15; **HBCHBY** (JA) 11a6: *'A-zha'i yul*, i.e. Tu-yu-hun. Cf. Macdonald, 1971, p. 232-3; Uray, 1978; Beckwith, 1987, p. 17. The ethnonym *'A-ci* in **GLR** is perhaps a reminiscence of *A-chai*, the Chinese name of these Mongolian-speaking nomadic or tribal peoples.

423 Cf. **GBCHBY** 251.14-16, 377.16-17; **DCHBY** 107.13-14: *Yar lung Zhang mdar mchad pa brtsigs te rje 'bangs gsum ka gson por bang sor gshegs so*; **YLJBCHBY** 49.19-50.1; **GBYTSH** 98b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 11b1.
Cf. also Panglung, 1988, pp. 330-333.

424 Cf. **CHBY** 138a1-2; **DTHMP** 16b2; and also **GBCHBY** 251.18: *Don mkhar gyi rtse la gnyan 'gro ba mthong bas*; **DCHBY** 107.16-17; **YLJBCHBY** 50.4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 11b2: *sTag mo'i ri la ri dvags gnyan gzigs*. Cf. Macdonald, 1971, p. 356.

425 Cf. Wylie, 1962, p. 109.

sTag-ri gnyan-gzigs passed away when he reached the age of forty.
His tomb was erected at Don-mkhar-mda',
Located to the left of [the tomb of] Khri-snyan gzung-btsan;
Also this resembles a heap of soil spread out and without end (*phul med*).[427]

[VI] [gNam-ri srong-btsan]

The son of sTag-ri gnyan-gzigs was gNam-ri srong-btsan.[428] During the time of this king, [the art of] medicine and divination were introduced from China. The [kingdoms] of rGya and Gru-gu were conquered.[429] Salt was found in the northern [districts]. The fortification Khri-brtsigs 'bum-brdugs was built. He held control of the the kingdom for sixty years before he passed away.

His tomb was built at Don-mkhar-mda',
Located to the right of [the tomb of] Khri-snyan gzung-btsan;
It was wide in extent (*phul che*)[430] and it [i.e. the edifice] had [the form of] a cart/scapula (*sog kha*);[431]
Its name too is said to be Gangs-ri Sog-kha.[432] So it is said.

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426 On sTag-ri gnyan-gzigs; cf. **MNKB** E (Cd) 184b5; **KCHKKHM-1** 675.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 97.2, **KCHKKHM-3** 396.6; **CHBYMTNYP** 176a4-b4; **GBCHBY** 252.18; **DCHBY** 107.17: sTag-gu gnyan-gzigs or sTag-khu snyan-mthong.
Cf. also Haarh, 1969, pp. 334ff.

427 Cf. also **GBCHBY** 377.19-20; **YLJBCHBY** 50.11-14; **GBYTSH** 99a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 11b6; Panglung, 1988, pp. 332-33. For the enigmatic term *phul med*, cf. note 416 *supra*.

428 Cf. **KCHKKHM-1** Chap. VI, 674.6-677.5; **KCHKKHM-2** Chap. VI, 96.1-100.10; **KCHKKHM-3** 396.7-398.2; **GBCHBY** 252.4-12; **DCHBY** 198.3-6; **YLJBCHBY** 50.15-51.8.
Recorded in the Dunhuang Ms 242 and the *Chronicle* with the name (e.g. 82.20, 101.6, 106.5): Slong-btsan rlung-nam, Khri-slong-btsan, gNam-ri slong-btsan. Cf. also Aris, 1980, pp. 64-75; Uebach, 1987, pp. 109-111.

429 Taken over from **DTHMP** 16b3, but see already **GBCHBY** 252.5-6: *mtha'i rgya drug gru gu dang hor gsum btul* followed by **DCHBY** 108.4-5. Cf. also Panglung, 1992. Gru/Dru-gu is the standard Tibetan generic ethnonym for the Turks.

430 Cf. note 416 *supra*. Tentative translation; cf. Panglung, 1988, nn. 32 and 36; **GBCHBY**, **YLJBCHBY** and **GBYTSH** have *phul skyes* and *phul skyed*.

431 Uncertain translation, mine is a *pis-aller*. The term may most convincingly refer to a chariot, cf. note 23 above. See the note in Panglung, *loc. cit.* pp. 332-333, n. 36, where he, not unconvincingly, argues for the possibility that Sog[s]-kha is a proper place-name.
Corroborated e.g. by **CHBYMTNYP** 251a1: Yar-lungs Sog-kha; **GBCHBY** 254.20: yul Yar-lung Sog-kha. It is in fact a well-known place-name and an ancient religious centre documented from Bon-sources, cf. Karmay, 1972, pp. 33, 40, 63, 101. See also Chab-spel, 1989, pp. 42-43 also called Yar-khyim Sog-kha. Cf. also note 382 *supra*.

432 **KCHKKHM-2** 100.7-9 interestingly has *rGyal po gNam ri srong btsan gyi bang so dgu rim sogs ka byas nas yar lung don dkar gyi ri la btab po*; **KCHKKHM-3** 398.3: *bang so dgung ri sogs kha bya ba | don khar gyi bdan sa brtsigs ste phul bas de skyes so*; **YLJBCHBY** 51.8-11 has *gNam ri srong btsan mchad pa Don mkhar mda'.....de nas phul skyed brtsigs pas sogs khar yod | ming*

Thus it is [to be] stated with certainty that the very foundation of all happiness and prosperity, i.e. the progeny of the Tibetan kings*[433] covered [in all] twenty-seven generations [counting] from the Lord gNya'-khri btsan-po until lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal [and that these] lasted for five hundred years.[434] Nevertheless, since none of these king[s] were [directly] associated with [the introduction of] Dharma, I have refrained from giving [their vita] in greater details.

"During the time of lHa tho-tho-ri snyan-shal Saddharma took its beginning (*dbu brnyes*). He attained the age of one hundred and twenty years. [From him] until gNam-ri srong-btsan, [in] the fourth generation, one hundred and eleven years passed." So it is explained in the **Ka-tshigs chen-mo**.[435]

This [exposition] is [only] an abbreviated outline, so should anyone want a detailed description, [they] may look it up in the **Ka-tshigs chen-mo**,[436] the **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma**

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yang gung ri sogs kha lags so skad; **GBYTSH** 100a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 12a3. Cf. also Panglung, 1988, pp. 332-335 and previous note.

433 **gloss*: *In the **Supreme Elucidation of** [**All**] **Knowable** [**Topics**] (**Shes-bya rab-gsal**) it is stated that the Ruler gNya'-khri btsan-po appeared when two thousand years had expired after Buddha's Nirvāṇa and when two thousand five hundred years had expired,* [*king*] *lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal appeared.*

The author of this gloss (Bla-ma dam-pa?, also cited **DTHMPSM** 18a3) seems to be confounding, *qua* simple combination, two consecutive, but different passages in **SHBRS** 18b6-19a2, where it is merely adduced (at least in the version handed down to us) that *more than* one thousand years after Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, the first Tibetan king gNya'-khri btsan-po appeared and after twenty-six generations king lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal made his appearance. *Hereafter* follows in **SHBRS** a celebrated prophecy concerning Tibet embodied in **Bu-mo** [= **lHa-mo**] **Dri-ma med-pa byin** [sic; read: **'od kyis**] **lung-bstan-pa'i mdo**, i.e. **Vimalaprabhāvyākaraṇasūtra** or **Vimaladevīvyākaraṇa**[**sūtra**] (not preserved in the Canon; cf. Thomas, I, 1935, p. 139), proclaiming that two thousand five hundred years after Buddha's *nirvāṇa* his Teaching will appear in the land of the red-faced.

This **sūtra**-quotation has always been much cherished by Tibetan Buddhist historiographers and is found cited in numerous places and treatises. Unfortunately, the text in question has not survived in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The text embodied in the Buddhist canon, i.e. *KG*, P. 835: **Vimalaprabhāpariprcchā-sūtra** (**Dri-ma med-pa'i 'od kyis zhus-pa'i mdo**) does not contain the above prophecy and we have grounds to assume that the **lHa-mo Dri-ma med-pa'i 'od kyis zhus-pa'i mdo** (perhaps with slightly varying titles, such as **lHa-mo 'Dri-ma med-pas zhus-pa'i mdo**; cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 175a5-6; **GBCHBY** 250.8-10) once existed in different versions, among which one probably contained this celebrated prophecy, or that, at some early point, at the inception of the *phyi-dar* period, a titular confusion among Tibetan historians took place between these almost similar-titled **sūtra**-s, confounding the **Vimalaprabhā** [or: **devī**]**vyākaraṇa** with the ditto - **pariprcchā**, while both texts probably were replete with prophecies, such as anent Khotan, cf. Emmerick, 1967, pp. 74-75 and **HBCHBY** (Chin. ed. II, 1383.8-9, 1388.17-18). For further discussion, cf. Macdonald, 1971, pp. 192-93 and Uebach, 1987, p. 157, n. 1059.

434 From **lHa-sa'i bKa'-tshigs chen-mo**, also cited **HBCHBY** (JA) 6a5. Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's **BGR** 198a2-3 and Nel-pa's **NGTMTPH** 5b4 (Uebach, pp. 74-75) have twenty-six generations and the years elapsed were 666 or 660 respectively.

435 I.e. probably **lHa-sa** [**b**]**Ka**[**'**]**-tshigs chen-mo** [or **Ka-khol-ma**], cf. **DTHMP** 15b3; parallel in **HBCHBY** (JA) 6a5; cf. similarly Haarh, 1969, p. 174; Macdonald, 1971, pp. 194-5.

436 Cf. previous note. If this title refers to the **lHa-sa** [**b**]**Ka**[**'**]**-tshigs chen-mo** [**Ka-khol-ma**], it then probably refers to an expanded version of **KCHKKHM** with diverging contents since they are both listed here.

and in the **rGyal-rabs dpag-bsam ljon-shing**.[437]

A Description of how the First Tibetan Royal Lineage Made its Appearance.

437 Currently non-extant. Written by a certain (Bon-po?) Byang-ji ston-pa Shes-rab-'bum in 1286 A.D. (*me pho khyi*), cf. **DTHMP** 21a5-7, **YLJBCHBY** 51.11-15, containing, *inter alia*, highly important chronological data and historical genealogical lists. As **DTHMP** mentions, the author of this chronicle, when writing his work, gathered many historical sources and then consulted a certain dPag-thog-pa Rin[-chen] rdo-r[je], who, Dung-dkar declares, *loc. cit.*, 1981, p. 335, n. 260, himself was the author of a work entitled **mNga'-ris La-dvags kyi rgyal-rabs lo-rgyus** (not identical with the work edited by Francke). Cf. also Vostrikov, 1962, s.v. index; Macdonald, 1963, p. 153; Uebach, 1987, p. 35, nn. 106-108.

IX

The Birth of the Dharmarāja [Srong-btsan sgam-po] from the Emanation of Four Rays of Light Issuing from the Body of Ārya Avalokita

Next,[438] having realized that the time for converting the sentient beings of the Snow-clad country of Tibet had come, Ārya Avalokita let four rays of light issue from his body,[439] viz. one ray of light emanating from his right eye, headed [southwards] to the country of Nepal enfolding the entire Nepalese country in light, [whereby] not only the Nepalese king Deva-lha [i.e. Devadeva] was covered in light, but also the town of Kho-bom [i.e. Kathmandu],[440] [with the royal] *nāga*-palace.

Thereafter the [various] rays of light gathered and entered the womb of the queen of Deva-lha. And so when nine or ten months had expired (*zla ba dgu ngo bcu lon pa na*), a most extraordinary princess (*lha gcig*) was born, a princess out of this world, born with a body being endowed with a white body-colour appearing with a beaming ruddy complexion and with a countenance exuding a scent of yellow sandalwood (*haricandana*) and [moreover equipped with the endowments fully] mastering (*mnga' brnyes*) all the oeuvres of sciences (*vidyāśāstra*): This was the Nepalese princess (*bal mo bza'*) Khri-btsun.[441]

Again, a ray of light issued from his left eye taking direction towards China, where it covered the entire country of China, enfolding [thereby] not only the Chinese [Tang-]emperor Ta'i-dzung [i.e. Tai-zong] in light but also the imperial residence Zim-shing Khri-sgo.[442] Thereupon the rays of light gathered and entered the womb of the empress of the Chinese emperor. Then when nine or ten months had expired, a most extraordinary princess was [similarly] born, a princess being out of this world, born with a body being endowed with a bluish bodily hue appearing with a beaming ruddy complexion, her countenance exuding a [fresh] scent of the blue lotus and [she too had the endowments] mastering all the oeuvres

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438 This short chapter recounts briefly the mythological narrative of king gNam-ri srong-btsan, being part of the larger biographical narrative dedicated Dharmarāja Srong-btsan sgam-po. Parallel texts: **MNKB** E (Ca) 101a2-102a2; **KCHKKHM-1** Chap. VI, 674.6-677.5; **KCHKKHM-2**, Chap. VII, 97.1-100.10; **KCHKKHM-3** Chap. VI, 396.6-398.3; **CHBYMTNYP** 176b4-181b2. These versions are, as we have already seen in the previous chapters, *grosso modo* congruous. A part of the narrative, when not the entire account, may plausibly have existed in a prose and a metrical version, as (part(s) of) the mythological narrative is found in a versified, poetical version in e.g. **HBCHBY**, cf. e.g. the next note. Nevertheless, as to the prose-version, **KCHKKHM-2** and **CHBYMTNYP** provide us with the most detailed and verbatim congruous account.

439 This part of the narrative on the cult of Srong-btsan sgam-po, describing the issuing of rays of light from Ārya Avalokiteśvara, which struck down on and enlightened the Nepalese capital, the Chinese capital and the royal palace of gNam-ri srong-btsan, i.e. Byams-pa mi-'gyur-gling, the triad, and which thereby led to the birth of the two princesses and of Srong-btsan sgam-po etc. are all conspicuously absent from all the usual major prime sources of **GLR** referred to in the previous note (at least in their present editions at our disposal). However, this part of the mythological exposition is found, as we have already seen in the previous chapters, preserved in a metrical account on the royal period (on this, cf. Panglung, 1988, *passim*) embodied at great length in **HBCHBY** (JA) 13a5-15a2.

The slightly more detailed prose-version preserved in **GLR** and the metrical version in **HBCHBY** are also here markedly congruous and suggests that Bla-ma dam-pa's citation here merely reflects the existence of a prose-version of this narrative which has been in circulation alongside the metrical version.

440 **HBCHBY** (JA) 13a6: Kho-phom.

441 Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 14a2-3 and chapter XII *infra*.

442 Zim-shing khri-sgo, cf. note 123 *supra*, where we also find the reading Ke-shi[ng] khri-sgo (i.e. entrance to the imperial throne), all reflecting Ch. *jingshi*, 'city', i.e. Chang-an. **HBCHBY** (JA) 13a7: Zim-shi'i yul.

of sciences: This was the Chinese princess (*rgya mo bza'*) Kong-jo [i.e. Wencheng Gongzhu].[443]

Again, a ray of light issued from his countenance [and heading for] the snow-clad country of Tibet, it struck down on the precipitous gorge path (*'phrang*), where the water [of the river] rushed against the rocks, whereby [it instantly] was transformed into the Dharmakāya, i.e. [an inscription of?] the Six-syllabic [formula, that is the] 'Secret gNyan-po' converting [this] barbarous borderland. This [inscription] was [subsequently known] as the Six-syllabic [formula] of the [place named] Upper Gorge (Yar-'phrang).[444]

Again, a ray of light emanated from the heart [of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara] and went to the Snow-clad kingdom, enveloping the entire Snow-capped Country of Tibet in light, whereby not only [the place] sBra stod-tshal [of] Yar-[b]snon[445] was covered in light, but also the palace Byams-pa mi-'gyur-gling.[446] [Finally] king gNam-ri srong-btsan was enfolded in light

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443 Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 14a3-4 and chapter XIII *infra*.

444 **MNKB** E (Ca) 109b6, WAM (G) 30a4: Gye-re'i brag (*yig 'bru rang byung*) = **KCHKKHM-2** 288.3-4 = **CHBYMTNYP** 283b6 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 62b3; **KCHKKHM-1** 696.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 125.7-8: Gye-re Yar-'phreng; **DCHBY** 108.15-16: Yar-'phreng; **KTHDNG** (KHA), 221.19-20: Yar-'phreng. Precise location remains to be fixed, but Bu-ston, **CHBY** 148b6, 149b3 (Szerb, pp. 65, 69) mentions, *inter alia*, a Gye-re lha-khang. Cf. also Tucci, 1949, pp. 254, 626 and p. 682, n. 58, locating Gye-re to the south-west of Lhasa, along the bank of gTsang-po; cf. Szerb, p. 69, n. 21; **HBCHBY** (JA) 13a7, 62b3 and **NGTSH** (CHA) 145.2 (= 5a3): Gye-re'i Yar-'phreng, i.e. Yar-'phreng [of] Gye-re. For Gye-re, cf. also note 863.

During the time of king gNam-ri srong-btsan silver-ores were found at Ge-ri'i brag and at the slaty slopes (*rdza*) of 'Phreng-po copper-ores were traced, cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 97.12-13. Further, tradition attributes to Tsong-kha-pa the rediscovery at dBus-stod Gye-re in the sTod-lung Valley of *chang* drinking vessels, pots which were treasury- or *gter-ma*-wise hidden by Srong-btsan sgam-po; cf. Vitali, 1990, p. 84, n. 4. Cf. also Uebach, 1987, p. 92 n. 399, but mainly note 456 *infra*.

445 **NGTMTPH** 5b5 (Uebach, pp. 76-77) in a gloss has sGra-stod-tshal; **HBCHBY** (JA) 13b1 and **DTHMPSM** 18a1 (Tucci tr. p. 145) similar to **GLR** (prob. quoting it) both read: Yar-snron sBra-stod-tshal, i.e. sBra-stod-tshal of the Yar-sn[r]on district; Nyang-ral in **CHBYMTNYP** 198b5, 199b3-4 and **MBNTH** 39a2, relating the same story (cf. note 454 *infra*), also gives sBra-stod-tshal of sNon. **MNKB** E (Ca) 109a5 and b6 resp. has Brag-stod-tshal and sNron-mda' sGra-stod-tshal, E (Cd) 193a3: sBra-stod-tshal of gNod-sbyin (i.e. belonging to the Yaksa-s!). sBra-stod-tshal as the *pho brang* of the father in sKyid-shod was actually an important historical site. For a fuller discussion, cf. Appendix, note 445.

446 **MNKB** E (Ca) 101a4, E (Cd) 185a3; **KCHKKHM-2** 97.10-12; 98.6-7: *pho brang* Byams-snyoms mi-'gyur; **KCHKKHM-3** 396.7-397.1, 475.1-2 (the latter quote appears to identify *pho brang* Byams-pa mi-'gyur with Khra-'brug); **CHBYMTNYP** 176b5-6, 287a2-3; **MBNTH** 27a6; **CHBY** 138a2 (gloss, cf. Szerb, p. 7, n. 15); **GBCHBY** 294.17; **DTHMP** 16b3-4; **KTHDNG** (KHA), (Chap. XIII) 145.15-16, 147.8-10: Byams-pa mi-'gyur *gtsug lag khang chen* was raised by the king; (Chap. XIV) 147.9-10: *thog mar mi 'gyur byams pa'i gtsug lag khang* || *g.yu ru Khra 'brug*...; **GBYTSH** 100a5; **DTHMPSM** 18a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 39a1-2.

Byams-pa mi-'gyur [gling] is the famous residence and palace of the king, which, it appears, according to some sources, was just another name for the Khra-'brug *vihāra* in the Yar-lung Valley, cf. foremost dPa'-bo's **HBCHBY**, arguably the oldest temple in Tibet and raised during the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po. Khra-'brug is one of the twelve geomantic temples to pin down the supine *rākṣasī* (cf. note 836, Chap. XIV *infra*). Cf. also Nel-pa, **NGTMTPH** 8a5 and dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 13b1-3. It thus cannot be excluded that the king was actually born in this palace.

Some confusion still prevails since we have two names for this palace: Byams-pa mi-'gyur and Byams-snyoms mi-'gyur. Against identifying the Khra-'brug Byams-pa/snyoms mi-'gyur as the

also.

Thereupon the rays of light converged and entered the womb of 'Bri-bza' Thod-dkar-ma,[447] the queen of king gNam-ri srong-btsan whereby auspicious signs filled all the ten directions.

Then as nine or ten months had expired a most distinguished son was born[448] in the royal palace of Byams-pa mi-'gyur-gling in a fire-female-ox year.[449] He was born with Buddha Amideva [i.e. Amitābha] poised as head[-ornament], his arms and feet marked with the 'wheel' [of the Law] ([*dharma*]*cakra*)[450] and with sapphire-blue head-hair. [He] was blessed by the Buddhas, the Bodhisattvas expressed their *maṅgala*, the gods had a shower of rain falling and the earth shook in six directions.

In this respect three [different] modes of perceiving (*mthong lugs*) [this extraordinary event][451] appeared: In the view of the Buddhas of the ten directions, [this event, metaphorically speaking, was nothing but] Ārya-Avalokita who, perforce of the impact of [his] previously [sworn] aspiration-prayer (*praṇidhāna*), had brought the sentient beings of the Snow-clad Country of Tibet to Maturity and Liberation whereafter this barbarous

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birth-place of the king is the location of Brag/sBra-stod-tshal (cf. previous note) which most certainly must be situated in the Mal-gro region. For further discussion of this interesting problem, cf. Appendix, note 446.

447 **MNKB** E (Ca) 101a4, E (Cd) 185a3-b2: Tshe sPong-bza'am 'Bri bza' thod-dkar; **KCHKKHM-1** 675.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 98.7-8, 98.17: Tshe-srong bza' 'Bri-mo thod-dkar; **KCHKKHM-3** 396.7-397.3; **CHBYMTNYP** 176b5-6: Tshe-sPong za [= bza'] 'Bring-mo za [= bza'] thod-ga [= dkar]. pre-**GLR**: **BGR** 197b1: Tshe-spong bza' 'Bri-ma tog-thi; **MBNTH** 27a5-6; **DCHBY** 108.7; **NGTMTPH** 3a5 (Uebach, pp. 58-59); **CHBY** 138a2 (Szerb, p. 7, nn. 12-13); post-**GLR**: **YLJBCHBY** 51.15-16; **HBCHBY** (JA) 13b2.

Dunhuang Ms. 249 (Bacot *et. al.* p. 82.22): Tshes-pong za 'Bring-ma thog-dgos. On this figure, cf. Haarh, s.v. index; Aris, 1979, pp. 64-66, 72-75.

448 Cf. **MNKB** E (Ca) 101b1-6, (Cd) 185b2-186a6; **KCHKKHM-1** 676.3-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 99.6-10; **KCHKKHM-3** 397.3-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 177b2-178a1.

449 Cf. note 446; **BGR** 198a3; **NGTMTPH** 5b5 (Uebach, pp. 76-77); **CHBY** 138a2 (Szerb, p. 7); **DTHMP** 16b4; **GBYTSH** 100a5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 13b2; **DTHMPSM** 18a1; **DSYML** 57.5ff. Only **CHBYMTNYP** 177b2, among **GLR**'s usual or assumed prime or earlier parallel sources, corroborates in its narrative this date (and even adds that he was born in the third month of this year), which generally is conceived to correspond to 557 A.D. or 617 A.D. As already discussed by Tucci, 1947, and by Uebach, 1987, pp. 29-30, the chronological data transmitted in the Tibetan Buddhist historical sources are beset with a number of serious defects which shall prevent us from establishing factual, historically well-founded dates. Srong-btsan sgam-po's birth-year has perpetually stimulated great controversies among Tibetan historians, and the opinions are many and diverging, and so also the number of modern studies dedicated the unravelling of this chronological knot. We find no indication of his birth-year (but of his death-year, cf. the note 1046) transmitted in the usual Vita-sources of the king (e.g. **MNKB**, **KCHKKHM**), and first with Nyang-ral and the Sa-skya-pa scholars were attempts made to establish the chronology of the dynastic figures. As may be adduced from most sources the king passed away at between eighty-two and eighty-five years of age. Now, assuming the king was born in 557 A.D., this would place the death of the king around 637-642 A.D., which only barely corresponds with the correct 649 A.D. In the final analysis we shall opt for 569-649 A.D., see note 1046 for further discussion.

450 Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 177b3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 13b3-4. Cf. also the notes 866 and 1073 *infra*.

451 **MNKB** E (Ca) 101b6-102a1, (Cd) 185a6-b2; **KCHKKHM-1** 675.7-676.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 98.18-99.5; **CHBYMTNYP** 177a4-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 13b5-6 (metrical, but corresponding with **GLR**), whereas the other prose-versions differ somewhat.

borderland here had become like a flashing lamp [illuminating] a dark and obscure place[, wherefore Tibet became] regarded as a Continent of Jewels.

In the view of the Bodhisattvas of the ten stages (*daśabhūmi*) [this event similarly] was viewed as Ārya-Avalokita transforming himself into an incarnated king in order to guide to Dharma the sentient beings of the Snow-capped Country [of Tibet], a barbarous borderland, and [subsequently] to promote the welfare of the sentient beings by converting each according to individual disposition.

[Finally,] in the eyes of the common people (*mi nag tha mal ba*) [the incidence] was [nothing but] the birth to the king of a wonderous being, a prince without peer.

When the prince grew up, [the child] became well-versed in [the skill of] handicraft (*bzo, karman*), mathematics (*rtsis pa, gaṇanā*), crafts and sport (*sgyu rtsal, śilpa*) and the five sciences (*rig pa'i gnas, vidyāsthāna*) [thus] becoming a talented personage. This made the ministers utter: "This lord of ours is [indeed] multi-talented and [moreover endowed] with a profound mind." And so [his] name became known as Srong-btsan sgam-po [The Rightous Mighty Profound One].[452]

When the [prospective] king attained the age of thirteen, the father passed away and [the heir] assumed the throne.[453]

By now,[454] the Dharmarāja Srong-btsan sgam-po thought: "[I] must [seriously] ponder over which place I shall seek out in order to work for the welfare of the sentient beings here in the Snow-capped [Country of Tibet]; [as] my ancestor lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal, the embodiment of Ārya Samantabhadra, [once] set up a residence upon the summit (*rtse*) [palace] of the Red Hill (dMar-po-ri) [of] lHa-sa,[455] I too shall seek out this most prosperous and delightful location, a place trodden by [my] paternal ancestors, [and there] work for the benefit of the sentient beings."

Subsequently, [the king] spent that night (*dgung mnal*) at sBra stod-tshal [of] Yar-bsnon, in the morning he had breakfast, unloaded [his] burdens close to [the place where] the Six-

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452 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 14a1-2.

453 Cf. **MNKB** E (Ca) 102b2-6, where there is no mention of the father passing away; **CHBYMTNYP** 178b4: twelve years; **HBCHBY** 14a4-5: thirteen years.

In the main biographical-hagiographical Vita-cycle it is told that when the heir-prince reached the age of thirteen, it entailed his assumption of power (or the *abhiṣeka*) over the entire Tibetan realm and over the neighbouring countries. This was in these mythographical writings associated with the miraculous emanational creation of *Buddhakṣetra*-s from his body, cf. **MNKB** E (Ca) 102b2-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 677.5-680.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 104.4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 179b4-5; **MBNTH** 29a5-30a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 14a7-14b3, 53b7. Cf. foremost Appendix, note 92.

454 In fact, the remaining section of the present chapter here seems to be somewhat misplaced in **GLR**. According to Nyang-ral's **CHBYMTNYP** and **MBNTH**, this part of the Vita-cycle of Srong-btsan sgam-po describes the king's reflections as to which place would be the most appropriate to set up his permanent residence in order to work for the welfare of the sentient beings. This part of the narrative should properly follow after the section in the Vita-narrative where king Srong-btsan sgam-po had managed to acquire a sandalwood statue of his tutelary deity, as retold in **GLR** Chap. XI, q.v. Cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 199a3-200a6; **MBNTH** 38b5-39a5.

455 Cf. **KCHKKHM-1** 694.5, 695.2: 'O-smad lHa-sa dMar-po-ri; **CHBYMTNYP** 199b2-3; **MBNTH** 39a1: dMar-po-ri, the little ridge (in lHa-sa) of the paternal ancestors (*dMar po ri pha mes kyi ri'u shul*), (once) trodden by lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal, the incarnation of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra; cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 1b3-4, 14b4: dBu-ru Shod-chen lHa-sa dMar-po-ri. For a geomantic depiction of dMar-po-ri, cf. Appendix, note 455.

syllabic [formula] [was carved] at the [place named] Upper Gorge (Yar-'phrang),[456] the pack-animals were led for grassing and wheat-[seeds] were sown. The king [then] had his body washed in water, [and immediately] the prime minister observed in the water various multi-coloured and glittering rays of light. Asking the king: "Lord, what is it? It is certainly a great marvel that such rays of light can emerge in the water!", the king responded: "Great nephew-ministers, listen! It is the Six-syllabic [formula] (*ṣaḍakṣarī*), the highest maxim (*gsung mchog*) which had manifested [itself glitteringly] on this rock, the Letters [of] Dharmakāya, the Six Secret Syllables, the Quintessence (*hṛdaya*) synthesizing the innermost nature (*yang snying*) [of all teachings], the Religious Lot of the Snow-capped [Country of Tibet], the Adjuvant taming the barbarous borderland, the Origin of all benefit and happiness, the Very Nature unifying in one the intent (*samdhi*) of all the Buddhas and the Road leading to Maturity and Liberation for all sentient beings here in the Snow-capped [Country], a barbarous borderland. And this [inscription of magic formula] is also capable of working for the benefit of many sentient beings!"[457]

Offerings were [consequently] presented to the [formula-inscribed] rock whereby sundry kinds of light rays issued from this rock, which hit the rock on the opposite side [of the gorge]. Thereby both sides [of the precipitious gorge] were connected in the luster of a rainbow, a fact which prompted the naming of the [local] village to Rainbow Lustre ('Ja'i-mdangs).[458] On this rock, moreover,*[459] statues of gods made themselves visible all by itself.

Proceeding from there [the king reached lHa-sa where] he took up residence on Red Hill (dMar-po-ri) by establishing [his] palace there.

The Birth of the Dharmarāja [Srong-btsan sgam-po] from the Emanation of Four Rays of Light Issuing from the Body of Ārya-Avalokita.

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456 Cf. slightly more detailed **MNKB** E (Ca) 109b6-110a3, (Cd) 193a2-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 695.4-696.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 124.11-125.9, 288.3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 199a1-200b1; **MBNTH** 39a1-3.

Here, *inter alia*, it is mentioned that the rock of Yar-'phrang resembles the wings of the bird Phoenix (*bya khrung gi gshog pa 'dra ba*); **HBCHBY** (JA) 14b5: Yar-'phrang [of] Gye-re; **DTHZHG** 18.22: 'Phreng [of] Ge-re, etc. cf. for further references, note 444 *supra*.

457 Cf. parallel **MNKB** E (Ca) 109b6-110a3, (Cd) 193a4-b3; **KCHKKHM-1** 695.4-695.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 124.2-125.9; **CHBYMTNYP** 199b3-200a3; **MBNTH** 39a3-4; cf. also **HBCHBY** 14b5-7.

It is here maintained that this was the first self-manifested Six-syllabic inscription found in Tibet. Cf. previous note.

458 Cf. analogously **HBCHBY** (JA) 14b7-15a2; **DTHZHG** 19.4.

459 **gloss*: *Avalokita, Khāsarpāni, Śrī Hayagrīva etc. Later, [these figures] were carved [into the rock] by Nepalese [i.e. Newari] sculptors.*

Cf. analogously **HBCHBY** (JA) 15a1-2; **DTHZHG** 19.1-3. Cf. also note 773 *infra*.

X

[How] Minister Thon-mi [Sambhoṭa] Invented an Alphabet from India[n Pattern] and [how] the Laws [Based upon] the Ten [Buddhist] Virtues were Enacted by the King

[I] [Mission to India]

Next,[460] there being no script in Tibet for enacting secular laws (*rgyal khrims*) based upon the ten virtues (*daśakuśala*) of Buddhism (*chos*, *dharma*), [for] enhancing the five [objects] of sensual pleasures, [for] dispatching gifts to and fro [and for] imparting (*sgo ba*) the precepts of the doctrine (*chos kyi bka'*) to the subjects under his sway, [the king Srong-btsan sgam-po] dispatched seven sharp-witted ministers to India in order to learn the script, but they returned after having encountered three kinds of demons (*'dre*) on the border.[461]

Consequently, the son of Thon-mi A-nu, named Thon-mi Sambho-ṭa,[462] [equally] a

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460 The present chapter covers highly interesting material, inasmuch as it partly contains an extract from an important, possibly quasi-historical document delineating the script-mission by Thon-mi to India containing a unique description of the Tibetan alphabet, using here material apparently untraced in any other source. The chapter further outlines the legislation allegedly contrived by Dharmarāja Srong-btsan sgam-po along with a brief enumeration of the ministers serving under him. Some portions of the chapter are also found in a versified account of the royal period retained in **HBCHBY**, the latter text embodying by far the closest version to **GLR**, due perhaps to the fact that they draw from a common original or that dPa'-bo metrically paraphrases **GLR**.

The importance of the chapter attracted the interest of a number of scholars; R. A. Miller, 1963, pp. 1-18 and 1976, pp. 85-101 early took an interest in the first part, the quasi-historical section on the Tibetan alphabet and script, as said containing quotations from a long-lost dossier arguably penned down by Thon-mi Sambho-ṭa. Later, Claus Vogel, 1981, produced a complete edition and annotated translation of the chapter. Vogel's translation is clearly far from flawless, and a number of his questionable readings I shall, for the reader's convenience, duly register in my notes. Nevertheless, due credit must be accorded Vogel for having recognized the importance of the chapter, for having taken pains to address the many problems met with in this text as well as for his identification of a number of figures.

For a full survey of the identifiable and parallel sources for this chapter, see Appendix, note 460.

461 The first attempt, cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 105.6-9; **KCHKKHM-3** 406.1-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 181b4-6; **MBNTH** 30a5-6; **CHBY** 138a4-5 (Szerb, p. 8); **HBCHBY** (JA) 15a5-6 citing or paraphrasing here Nyang-ral. Contrary to **GLR**, which mentions seven men, most other texts speak about a group of sixteen men participating in the initial, abortive mission.

462 Cf. **MNKB** E (Ca) 102a3; **KCHKKHM-1** 681.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 105.8-9 and 107.10-11; **KCHKKHM-3** 406.7-407.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 182a1-2; **GBCHBY** 298.10-11: Thon-mi 'Bring-sto-re A-nu; **DCHBY** 117.10-11: Bod-phrug Thon-mi 'Bring-to mi A-nu; post-**GLR**: **KTHDNG** (NGA) 401.22-402.2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 15a7-15b1 (partly metrical), where he is called Thon-mi Sambhota, the sharp-witted 'little man' (*mi chung*; *mi chung* possibly merely reflects Skt. A-nu, his or his clan's later Indian-inspired soubriquet, cf. also Mi-chung Sambhoṭa), son of [m]Thon-mi A-nu Rag-ta of (the place) Lug-ra-kha of the [m]Thon (clan and district). Identification of this location is not unproblematic, cf. note 515 *infra*, but **DTHNGP** (II, 874.4, Roerich, p. 746) = **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 339a5 record one Ru-mtshams Lug-ra-kha (as the birth-place of a Tantric named A-seng in the XIIIth century). For Ru-mtshams of gTsang, cf. also **PMKTH** Chap. 93, 561.9-10 and Petech, 1990, p. 55. Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 153-55, claims that Lug-ra-kha of Thon still is to be found situated in the district (*rdzong*) of sNye-mo. Cf. Ferrari, p. 69, n. 621 and Map for the valley of sNye-mo.

However, sKyog-ston Rin-chen bKra-shis (author of the XVth century thesaurus *Li-shi'i gur-khang*), among others, claims that the script-inventor's name was Thu-mi Sa-'bo-ra and, adding in a gloss, he maintains that A-nu (i.e. Thon-mi) was son of one Thu-mi sNang-grags of the place lHo gNyal (or southern gNyal) and while Sa-'bo-ra may reflect Skt. Sambhoṭa/Sambhadra, a place in

shrewd (*yid gzhungs*), sharp-witted (*dbang po rno ba*), and multi-talented (*yon tan du ma dang ldan pa*) personage was dispatched [by the king] to India in order to learn the script, having handed over to him a great [amount of] gold.

There, the minister, having gone in the southern direction of India, got wind of the existence of a brahmin named Li-byin,[463] a philological (*yi ge'i sgra*) expert. Having gone to the whereabouts of this brahmin, [Thon-mi] reverently paid his respects and addressed [him]:[464]

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the district of gNyal called Sa-'bur-po is found and that his name appears to have been derivated from this toponym. Cf. *Li-shi'i gur-khang*, p. 1 (and so also Tshe-brtan zhabs-drung, 1980, *op. cit.*, p. 5 and Chab-spel, *ibid.*, p. 154). gNyal (often also erronously dMyal) is the district and valley of gNyal-chu in lHo-kha, to the south-east of the Yar-lung Valley, cf. Ferrari, p. 51, n. 258 and Map.

In fact, the latter is part of another track of arguments presented in later historical traditions which attempts to link Thon-mi with the district of gNyal. Cf. e.g. **DTHNGP** (I, 457.10-12, Roerich, pp. 376-77), where, sometime in the XIIth century, a council (*chos 'khor*) (dedicated?) Sambhota was held.

It would seem that the two above diverging paternities hardly are reconcilable. Possibly, two branches of his clan (or descendants) settled in the two distinct districts, both boasting descent from the famous script-inventor. From the XVIIIth century at least, a Thon-clan is recorded to have existed in Kha-rag (in the valley of sNye-mo) and in this place the tomb of the famous minister should also be found, cf. Petech, 1973, p. 64.

KTHDNG (CA) Chap. 3, 437.8-9: Of the Thu[-mi]-clan, three ministers were famed in the dynastic period: 'Bring-to-re A-nu [= Thu-mi Sambhota], Thu-mi rGyal-mtshan snang-la-'phan (= Dunhuang *Chronicle* 100.17, 101.15-16: mThon-myi 'Bring-po rgyal-mtshan-nu, great minister under the reign of gNam-ri and Srong-btsan) and one Thu-mi Klu-mang 'dred. The last one remains unmentioned in other sources.

The India-inspired but faulty soubriquet Sambhota (Sam(yag)-, *Sadbhauta/bhoṭīya, **bod yang dag pa*) evidently reflects that he in India, Kashmir or rather later in Tibet was glorified as the 'true Tibet(an)'.

463 Thon-mi and his retinue of seven or sixteen followers met two Indian scholars during their mission: the *pandita* Li-byin (*Kamśadatta) and the brahmin lHa['i]-rig-pa['i] Seng-ge (*Devavidyāsimha). **GLR** introduces both in this narrative. **MNKB** 102a4 only has lHa rig-pa'i seng-ge, so also **CHBY** 138a4 (Szerb, p. 8, n. 11); **KCHKKHM-1** 681.4-5 contrarily only has Li-byin; **KCHKKHM-2** 105.11-12 also only has Bram-ze Li-byin Ti-ka; **KCHKKHM-3** 407.1-2 has Le-byin; so also mKhas-pa lDe'u in **GBCHBY** 298.10 and lDe'u Jo-sras in **DCHBY** 117.11; **CHBYMTNYP** 182a3-5 has both figures: lHa'i rig-pa seng-ge, even providing his lineage: Nālandā vihāra: From Tsandra-pa (*Candragomin), Rin-chen blo-gros (*Ratnamati), Gang-pa'i zla-ba (*Pūrnacandra), Ma-na sam-gha (*Mānasamgha) through lHa'i rig-pa seng-ge. (On these names, cf. recently Verhagen, 1991, sect. IV.2.2.2 *et passim*). Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 15b1. Tshe-brtan zhabs-drung, *op. cit.* p. 7-8, maintains that Karma sMon-lam 'od-zer in his commentary to Thon-mi's **Sum-rtags** attempts to read the name of *pandita* Li-byin as Li-bi ka-ra, i.e. Lipikāra, the 'scriptmaker'. Nel-pa (Uebach, 1987, pp. 88-89) further mentions that a certain rTag-lo re-khom assisted Thon-mi on the mission. The mention in Nel-pa, 7b7, in a gloss of a certain Legs-byin, a name puzzling Uebach, is clearly nothing but a corruption of Li-byin.

464 Only dPa'-bo gTsug-lag's **HBCHBY** seems to have preserved this versified or metrical petition. Assuming that both texts (**GLR** and **HBCHBY**) ultimately go back to a common, more detailed source which contains the variant readings of both, we may conclude that in some parts of the narrative, **HBCHBY**'s rendition, which, as known, is completely metrical, is much more detailed than **GLR**, at other places **GLR**, as *in casu*, provides the richest narrative. Of the present metrical piece (nine-syllabled, seventeen lines) preserved in **GLR**, **HBCHBY** (JA) 15b1-3 shares the lines 4, 7-8, 12-13, 15-16.

"Of the race of the gods, being most miraculous and abounding in compassion,
Born in the caste of a brahmin by possessing endowments,
By dint of [these] endowments refined in former lives
[You have become] accomplished in scripture (*lung, āgama*), logic (*rigs, yukti*) and philology (*yi ge'i sgra akṣaraśabda*).[465]
You - great brahmin, knowledge-holder (*vidyādhara*) and savant,
Pray be considerate and listen a little to me!
I am a minister from Tibet, a barbarous borderland
And my king is Mahākāruṇika [embodied];
Having assumed the throne at the age of thirteen,
At a time when the king was sojourning on the jewel[-mounted] throne,
He realized the need] to satisfy [his] retinue and [his] subjects with the Dharma
And to enact the secular law [based upon] the ten virtues,
[But] as the custom of letters [i.e. writings] was lacking altogether in my country,
He [therefore] consigned to me a huge amount of personal gifts,
And dispatched me to your country to learn the alphabet.
The mass of writings (*yi ge*) on [the science of] language (*sgra, śabda*) and epistemology (*tshad[-ma], pramāṇa*),
Pray, be kind and impart [these] to me unreservedly!"

[With this] petition, [Thon-mi] handed over the gold [to Li-byin]. The great brahmin, having accepted the gold, responded:[466]

"Listen well! Blessed one, son of [good] family
Knowledgeable minister Thon-mi named,
To you, great minister, comprehending the meaning of the two truths,
Philology (*yi ge'i sgra*) and poetry etc.,
And, moreover, all the[ir] wonderous achievements
To you, great minister, I shall teach!
In the kingdom of Tibet, a barbarous borderland, may you
To the people, with the manuals of philology and epistemology[467] [thereafter] bring satisfaction!"

[With this] proclamation, [Li-byin] led [Thon-mi] into his jewel[-laden] mansion where he taught [him] the letters of the alphabet and so minister Thon-mi expanded his acumen for knowledge and having lifted up the lamp of wisdom he learned the the script. Whereas the *na ga ra*[468] and the *ga ta*[469] classes [of letters], found in abundance, were inadaptable to the

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465 Vogel, *op. cit.* p. 26 *et passim* somewhat inprecisely renders *lung rigs yi ge'i sgra* as scripture, lore [and] literary language.

466 For this versified paragraph, cf. parallel **HBCHBY** (JA) 15b3-6.

467 Vogel, *ibid.* p. 27, is here again somewhat inprecise.

468 Cf. Vogel, *ibid.*, p. 27, n. 11. Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 182a6-182b1 mentions the existence of sixty-four types of alphabets or scripts (*yi ge'i rigs mi 'dra ba drug cu rtsa bzhi*) in India (following

Tibetan [language], the manifold *mātṛkā* (*ma*) class [of letters] he formed into the vowel signs (*dbyangs yig*).[470] The Lañtsha [or] god's script (*devalipi*)[471] and the Vartu-la [or] serpent's script (*nāgalipi*),[472] all being spontaneously created, [he] fashioned into Tibetan letters.

[II] [The Invention of the Tibetan Script]

"The fifty Indian letters:[473]
Of the thirty principal letters,[474]
Ten [are] prefixed letters[475] and ten finals;[476]
None of the individual Indian letters -
Except those which [may] be employed by themselves[477] -
Is applicable to every [other letter];

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here **Lalitavistara**), which again could be reduced to three [main] scripts: The godly alphabet of *lāñtshva*, the serpent or *nāga*-script of *nāgara* and the human script of *bhagruma*. Here Nyang-ral is at variance with other sources, where *vartula* is the *nāgalipi* and the *nāgara* is the human script (*manuṣyalipi*).

469 Cf. *ibid.* n. 12.

470 I follow here Vogel, *ib.* p. 27, his emendation and reading, although, admittedly, the sentence is still not satisfactorily accounted for.

471 Cf. Vogel *ib.*, the god's script *lāñtsha* being a corruption from *rañjā*, is a kind of Gothic *devanāgarī* prevalent in particular among Buddhists in Nepal. Its use in Tibet is mainly in rendering ornamentally Sanskrit mantric formulae. It allegedly became the pattern for the Tibetan headed *dbu can* script. Bu-ston and dPa'-bo, among others, maintain that Thon-mi based the Tibetan script on *nāgara* and a Kashmirian script-form.

472 The *nāga*'s script, a variation of *lāñtsha* of roundish (*vartula*, *zur can*) fashion. It is alleged, doubtfully, that it constituted the pattern for the Tibetan headless *dbu med* script.

473 The following prose-interwoven versified (seven-syllabic) narrative on the invention of the Tibetan script is unique in Tibetan literature. A rough, albeit markedly diverging, parallel is found in **KCHKKHM-2** 106.5-107.9; cf. also **KCHKKHM-3** 407.5-7; Nyang-ral's **CHBYMTNYP** (prose) 182b1ff. and dPa-bo's **HBCHBY** (JA) 16a4-b2.

The fifty letters of the Indian language: ten vowel-signs (*dbyangs yig*): *a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ ḹ* and four diphthong signs: *e ai o au*; (although both Nyang-ral and dPa'-bo speak about sixteen Indian vowel signs, cf. here Tshe-brtan zhabs-drung, 1980, p. 16); thirty-three consonants (*gsal byed*, *gsal yig*): *ka kha ga gha na, ca cha ja jha ña, ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa ta tha da dha na pa ba bha ma ya la va śa ṣa sa ha*. And three secondary: ṃ ~ ḥ. The class of five reverted signs (*log pa'i sde tshan*, i.e. cerebral signs, *ṭa* etc.) and the class of 'thick' signs (*'thug po*, i.e. aspirated *gha* etc.) did not find any equivalent (*dod po med pa*) in Tibetan phonetics and was rejected by Thon-mi, cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 182b5; **HBCHBY** 16a5-6. Cf. also Tshe-brtan zhabs-drung, pp. 16-18.

474 Cf. Vogel, *op. cit.* n. 21: All consonant signs found as the first element of ligatures: *ka kha ga gha na ca cha ja jha ña ṭa ṭha ḍa ṇa ta tha da dha na pa pha ba bha ma ya la va śa ṣa sa ha*.

475 Cf. Vogel, *op. cit.* n. 22: All consonant signs occuring at the beginning of actual words as the first component of ligatures: *ka gha ja ta dha pa śa ṣa sa ha*. Inaba and Miller suggest instead of ten to emend to five.

476 Cf. Vogel, *op. cit.* n. 23: *ka na ṭa ṇa ta dha pa ma la ḥ*.

477 I.e. the vowel and diphtong signs.

All these [I i.e. Thon-mi] collected in [my] mind.
Having taken them as patterns, [I] contracted them,
And [re]arranged [them into] thirty Tibetan letters:
Each and every single letter of the alphabet,
[Its] artistic feature was successfully designed.
The twenty principal letters:

ka, kha, ca, cha, ja, nya, ta, tha, pa, pha, tsa, tsha, dza, va, zha, za, ya, sha, ha, a

One alphabetic character fit to be spared (*med kyang rung ba'i yig*):

va,

Five prefixal letters (*'phul yig*):[478]

ga, da, ba, ma, 'a

and ten finals (*mtha' rten*):[479]

ga, nga, ba, ma, 'a, da, na, ra, la, sa.

Five very precious letters (*shin tu gces pa*):[480]

ga, da, ba, ma, 'a,

Nine footed (*rkang pa can*) letters:

ka, ga, ta, da, na, nya, zha, sha, ha.

Six letters absent in the Indian [language]:

ca, cha, ja, 'a, zha, za.

Sixteen affiliated (*bu*) letters:[481]

ka, ga, nga, da, ta, na, pa, ba, ma, ca, ja, nya, tsa, dza, la, ha,

Of parent (*ma*) letters seven were constructed:[482]

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478 I.e. *sngon 'jug lnga*.

479 I.e. *rjes 'jug bcu*.

480 I.e. usable both as prefix and suffix.

481 Cf. Vogel, *op. cit.* n. 28: 'letter-sons', letters which can be written below other letters with the exception of the subscripts proper.

482 Cf. Vogel, *op. cit.*, n. 29: 'mother-letters', letters which can be written above other letters incl. the superscript r.

ka, ga, ba, za,

[Of which three are] universal parent (*kun gyi ma*) letters: ra, la, sa*[483]
The letter la in particular have four parent letters:

ka, ga, ba, za are the parent [letters] of la.*[484]

The letter la in particular has two affiliated letters:
The letters ca and ha are affiliated letters of la
The letters tsa and dza are affiliated letters of ra
[These] are ten letters holding their own position
Neither forming prefixes and finals
Nor forming parent or affiliated letters:

kha, cha, tha, pha, tsha, va, zha, ya, sha, a,

The letters ga and ba apply to everything (*kun tu rgyu*),*[485]
Three [signs] soar like a hat atop [other letters]:
[The vocalic signs] o (*na ro*), i (*gi gu*) and e (*'greng po*);
Three [signs], beautiful like bolsters, beneath [a letter]:
Subscribed-ya (*ya-*[*b*]*ta*[*gs*]), -ra (*ra-*[*b*]*ta*[*gs*]) and u (*zhabs kyu*);
Seven letters [to which] -ya (*ya-*[*b*]*ta*[*gs*]) is attached:

kya, khya, gya, pya, phya, bya, mya.

[Further,] eleven letters [to which] -ra (*ra-*[*b*]*ta*[*gs*]) is attached:

kra, khra, gra, pra, phra, bra, mra, sra, shra, dra, hra,

The [vocalic] letter u (*zhabs kyu*) applies to every [letter] (*kun tu khyab*):

kyu, khyu, kru, khru [etc.],

Also applying to subscribed -ya and -ra

The [various ways] of subscriping and combining [the letters] [easily] come to [one's] mind.

Further, the Lāñtsha [script] resembling the god's script,*[486]

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483 **gloss*: *The three parent* [*letters*] *of all subscripts.*

484 **gloss*: *To these four characters only la can be subscribed.*

485 **gloss*: *Forming parent and affiliated* [*letters*], *the two and forming prefixes and finals.*

486 **gloss*: [*Regarding such things*] *as the construction the affiliated letters ha and 'a and the creation of the inverted na* [= *ṇa*], *reverted sha* [= *ṣha*] *and reverted tha* [= *ṭha*] *etc.: These were later constructed by pandita-s, experts in the discrimination of letter when the Sanskrit language were to be transformed into magic formulae* (*dhāraṇī*).

having taken it as pattern, he made [it] into the headed (*dbu can*) [Tibetan script].

The Vartu-la [script] resembling the serpent script

having taken it as model, he made it into the cornered (*zur can*) [Tibetan script].

The above [narrative] is only a resumé (*zur tsam*), should you want to know [more] details, you may consult the following [treatises penned] (*de dag*) by Thon-mi:[487]

[1] **Dang-po yi-ge'i rnam-'gyur gyi bzo-brtsams**
[2] **Ka-smad sum-cur bsgyur**
[3] **sDeb-sbyor bsgrigs-pa'i gzhi-ma**
[4] **Thon-mi mdo-rdzi'i sgra-mdo**

Further, minister Thon-mi studied with *paṇḍita* lHa-rigs seng-ge[488] all the treatises of grammar (*śabdaśāstra*), thus becoming an expert in the five sciences (*rig pa'i gnas, vidyāsthāna*).[489] He translated the **[Mahā]sannipātaratnaketu[-dhāraṇīsūtra] ('Dus-pa Rin-po-che'i tog)**, the **Kāraṇḍa[vyūha]sūtra (mDo Za-ma-tog)**, and [further] twenty-one **sūtra**-s and **tantra**-s of the Avalokita[-cycles][490] into Tibetan; in one chronicle there is even a statement saying that he translated the **Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā (Shes-rab kyi pha-rol tu phyin-pa stong phrag brgya)**. In sum, minister Thon-mi became a savant in many accomplishments of learning.

Then, when the minister was setting out for Tibet [again], he addressed the brahmin:[491]

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487 Bu-ston, **CHBY** 138a5 (Szerb, p. 8), mentions the existence of eight treatises indited by Thon-mi Sambhoṭa (the testimony of which is followed by dPa'-bo and Sum-pa mkhan-po, etc.). The number, not to talk about the titles of these eight works, amounting to six lost, discounting here the universally known and Canon-included [Nos. 4348/4349]: **Sum-cu-pa** and **rTags kyi 'jug-pa**, have haunted Tibetan historians almost as a nightmare ever since, and Bla-ma dam-pa seems to be the only (followed by dPa'-bo, quoting **GLR**), at least the first, who ventures to offer a clue to the remaining lost grammatical treatises in the present passage, which we here attempt to construe as a brief list containing four titles of his lost compositions. For a fuller discussion, cf. Appendix, note 487.

488 Cf. note 463 *supra*.

489 Cf. Mvy. 1554ff.

490 None of these translations have survived in the Tibetan Canon probably while they were composed in the archaic pre-revised Tibetan language which was superseded by the new language codified at the inception of the IXth century. For a survey of his translations, cf. foremost dPa'-bo's **HBCHBY** (JA) 17a1-7 where e.g. the twenty-one **sūtra**-s and **tantra**-s of the Avalokiteśvara cult (passage wrongly translated by Vogel, p. 30) are found listed, and where dPa'-bo's source is **bKa'-chems Lo-rgyus chen-mo**. A lengthy exposition dealing with these twenty-one Avalokita-cult texts are in fact found in the **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** of **MNKB** (cf. E (A) Chap. XXXV, 78a5-90b3). The list by dPa'-bo is somewhat corrupt f.ex. are items listed twice. Cf. also Nyang-ral's **CHBYMTNYP** 184b5-185a2, where it is equally mentioned that a number of written advises (*gdams pa*) on *lha chos* and *mi chos* were translated (from Sanskrit?) by Thon-mi and later deposited in the mChims-phu temple. See also **NGTMTPH** 7b7-8a1 (Uebach, pp. 88-89) and also Tshe-brtan zhabs-drung, 1980, pp. 32-35.

491 This piece of poetry is also found quoted almost *verbatim* in **HBCHBY** (JA) 15b6-16a4; cf. also Tshe-brtan zhabs-drung, 1980, pp. 10-11.

"O Son of the Victor: "[We] are obliged [to you]",
Most marvellous: "[Your] kindness is immense",
Compassionate One: "[Pray] grant [us your] blessing!"
In the sky of immaculate knowledge
The constellation of Wisdom and Means,[492] the two, has risen,
The clouds of pure prayers have congested,
The sun and moon of the writings of grammar and epistemology have risen,
[All] dispelling the darkness of ignorance of the living beings;
In[to] the [huge] mental ocean of Repose (*bde*) and Transparency (*gsal*),
The [small] mental rivulets (*chu bran*)[493] of Awareness (*rig pa*) flow;
[An ocean upon which] the water-birds of pure prayers are swimming,
[This ocean] that treasures the Jewel of the writings of epistemology and grammar,
Does away with the poverty of the worldlings.
On the trunk of the spotless Illusion Body (*māyākāya*)
The branches of Wisdom and Means are growing.
The flowers of the accomplishments of learning blossomed,
The fruits of the writings of epistemology and grammar being [fully] mature;
We, minister Thon-mi [and companions etc.] are obliged to [you]
For granting [us] [all wishes] without reservation:
"[We] have come to the country of India,
[Where] [we] have met you, O sage.
The letters, the basis of [all] accomplishments,
[We] have comprehended fully.
[We] shall return to Central Tibet,
[Where] the king shall make a feast [in our honour];
[The king who] safeguards the kingdom in accordance with Dharma;
To the ministers and subjects, headed by the king
[We] shall spread the writings of epistemology and grammar,
Making it available to everyone.
[For all this] [we] are obliged [to you]", O Son of the Victor!"

Having spoken thus, he touched the feet of [the *paṇḍita*] with his head,[494] [whereafter] he went back to Tibet equipped with numerous Mahāyāna scriptures. [There] a feast of welcome [in his honour] was staged beyond imagination. When the king arrived to [take] the

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492 Vogel, throughout his translation, renders the usual elliptic *thabs shes*, i.e. the very well-known pair *upāya* and *prajñā* with art and science! - having here evidently been inspired by the faulty rendition in Jäschke's Dict. p. 229.

493 The form *chu bran* or the homonymous *chu phran* as rendered in **HBCHBY** are synonyms, but *chu bran* in particular connotes the sense of a '(water)-servant', i.e. a sort of tributary water-feeding, either a larger river or as here a lake or an ocean, so a word-play is involved. The present simile or analogy, Vogel, *op. cit.* p. 31, renders with the following monstrosity: "the poured-out water of knowledge and understanding is spreading."(*sic*!).

494 Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 31, has: he placed the [brahmin's] foot on the crown of his head,... (*sic*).

seat [at] the [welcome-]party, minister Thon-mi presented [him] with a first-offering of the letters (*yi ge'i phud*),[495] having classified the o-vowel, i-vowel and the u-vowel:

> "Effulgence of complexion, beautiful in full splendour of scent and appearance,
> Discriminate and incessant in the depth of [his] advice,
> Having eliminated all propensities as to bad *karman*,
> Noble, undefeated, truly holy,
> Well gone, steadfast in truth, wise,
> Aware and appreciative of the quietude of contemplation,
> The highest leader, conquering the host of affliction
> Completely vanquishing Māra, [the embodiment] of the three poisons.*[496]
> The Spiritual Son of Avalokiteśvara,
> Carrying the name Srong-btsan sgam-po,
> Homage to you, Oh Dharmarāja."

The king was highly pleased with this praise; he pondered over the precious Teaching

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495 This is the famed first script-specimen offering (*yi ge'i phud*) tendered by Thon-mi to the king and consists, in a poetic language, of an eulogy to the king. For a fuller discussion of this celebrated ode to the king, see note 495 in Appendix.

496 **gloss*: *This script-specimen offering is to be found engraved on a rock-[slab] at the temple of Dzen-khog sna-rdo*. This still unidentified location is written Jen-khog snang-rdo in **HBCHBY** (JA) 17a1. mKhas-btsun bzang-po, 1986, p. 195 locates Dzen-(or Jen-)khog snang-rdo in dBu-ru Shod, the navel of which is Ra-mo-che. It may indirectly be corroborated by Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 185a4-5, who writes that a sample of Thon-mi's writ is found on a rock at lHa-sa, that resembles a black tortoise stretching out (*sbal nag gyi na la* [*sic*! *nyal*?] *rgyangs pa 'dra*), cf. note 769. From the latter note we can adduce that precisely the mountain located to the north of lHa-sa and which resembles a black tortoise - one of the animals of the cardinal points borrowed from Chinese divinatory lore - is identifiable with the boulder of Pha-bong-kha. This is also noted by Tshe-dbang rdo-rje, 1990, p. 14, but he apparently maintains that the *pho brang* [sic!] of Pha-bong-kha perched on bDe-mchog ri-bo due north of Potala is not the Dze-na khon sna-rdo'i [*sic*] lha-khang, which, we may assume, is his garbled reading of the Dzen-khog snang-rdo above. Chab-spel *op. cit.* 1989, p. 157 identifies the place *sku-mkhar* Ma-ru.

In Ferrari, 1958, *op. cit.* p. 102, a reference is made to an ancient specimen of Thon-mi's writing: The six-syllabic formula on a stone next to the verandah of the Rigs-gsum mgon-po temple at Pha-bong-kha. This location is traditionally housing the meditation cave of this Dharmarāja and is intimately associated with his life. It may well be connected with the ancient temple of Dzen-khog sna[ng]-rdo.

Of similar interest, dPal-'byor bzang-po in his **GBYTSH** 102b2-103a3 presents another eulogy addressed to (the statue of) Jo-bo Thugs-rje chen-po and to Avalokiteśvara maintaining it to be the first writing in the Tibetan language. The praise or homage consists of five seven-syllabic quatrains and are markedly religious in content. What is more, dPal-'byor bzang-po even proclaims that this written ode (where, to be true, the diction is distinctly classical and certainly not archaic) is to be found inscribed on a rock next to the Zla-ba'i brag in lHa-sa. In this poetic homage the Six-syllabic formula is the object of praise. Now, as to the identification of Zla-ba'i brag in lHa-sa, it is most likely nothing but Gla-ba'i tshal gyi brag, a famed site lying at dKar-chung to the west of lHa-sa already from the time of king Srong-btsan sgam-po. Cf. note 729 *infra*.

of Buddha, he paid [his] respect and [showed] deference [to the inscription].[497] When the king [next] paid extensive honour to the minister [Thon-mi], the other ministers were quite upset with envy, and openly proclaimed: "Suchlike honour by a ruler to a subject is inappropriate." Minister Thon-mi, in order to quench their competitive attitude, spoke accordingly:[498]

> "I, minister Thon-mi, great in kindness, I
> In India, where the roads are difficult to travel,
> Have undergone austerities, though the temperature for the body was high,
> [To] him, the learned brahmin Li-byin,
> [I] paid homage with a pious mind,
> Presenting him gifts of gold and precious jewels,
> [He] taught [me] the letters of the alphabet, whose meaning is difficult to find,
> And made instructive directions which removed [all] doubts in [my] mind,
> [Thus] teaching [me] to become expert in the letters of vowels and words.
> The fifty Indian letters,
> I systematized into thirty Tibetan letters,
> [Whereby] an assuring awareness of my own expertise arose in my mind.
> All the immediate qualities I fully understood.
> [So] I am pleased with the present [life] and happy about the future.
> In this kingdom of Tibet, a barbarous borderland,
> I am the first learned man to arrive,
> I shall be [as] a lamp dispelling darkness,
> [Our] king resides in the fashion of the sun and the moon;
> Amid my fellow ministers, one like me is not found,
> Towards the people of the Snow-capped Tibet,
> Am I, Thon-mi, not great in kindness?"*[499]

When this had been spoken, the [other] ministers looked at one another and [their] jealous disposition was obliterated.

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497 Vogel, *op. cit* p. 32 translates the sentence as if the king first paid his respects to the minister, but this is wrong, the Dharmarāja first showed his veneration to this concrete piece of Tibetan script and subsequently directed his praise towards its inventor. So also understood by Chab-spel, 1989, p. 157.

498 This piece of poetry is called Minister Thon-mi's song of self-praise (*nga rgyal glu*) and it is also found preserved in dPa'-bo's **HBCHBY** (JA) 17a3-7; **DTHZHG** 21.12-18. **GLR**'s source for this metrical piece remains to be identified. Cf. e.g. also Tshe-brtan zhabs-drung, 1980, pp. 13-14; Chab-spel, 1989, pp. 158-59.

499 **gloss*: [*This is*] *called Thon-mi's self-pride.*

[III] [The Enactment of the Laws]

At that time, among the three hundred extraordinarily famous ministers (*yang grags kyi blon po*)*[500], there were sixteen ministers of great reputation (*ming chen*), [in other words] three hundred ministers [in all], headed by (*thog drangs pa*) sixteen ministers of the lineage of the *bodhisattva*-s, [that is] the four great ministers that were indispensable (*med thabs med pa'i blon chen*):*[501] Ministers conducting the affairs of the exterior, interior and intermediate affairs, [rendering] the service of the king's body, speech and mind. Further, there were six powerful ministers of the exterior, six excellent ministers of the interior and four ministers of wise [i.e. magic-noetic] counsel (*bka'i 'phrul*).

Of these, the six excellent ministers of the interior:

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500 **gloss*: *The names of the following ministers of the exterior, interior and the intermediate affairs are [all] gleaned from the* **Thang-yig chen-mo**.

Vogel, *op. cit.* p. 33 renders the phrase *yang grags kyi blon po* as 'ministers of lesser fame'. This is positively wrong. The adverbial component *yang* qualifying an adj. or a noun in these constructions always connotes the sense of intensification, i.e. 'extra' or 'further'.

The title **Thang-yig chen-mo** does *not* refer to the commonly known **rGyal-po'i bka'i thang-yig**, vol. KHA of O-rgyan gling-pa's pentad **bKa'-thang sde-lnga**, although precisely vol. KHA in its colophon is called **rGyal-po'i dkar-chag Thang-yig chen-mo.** It may possibly refer to another work, namely its *Vorlage*, that is lDan-ma rtse-mang's homonymous **rGyal-po'i dkar-chag Thang-yig chen-mo**, the version which O-rgyan gling-pa allegedly had treasure-wise recovered and edited as KHA in his pentad-*gter-ma*. This highly important work was composed by lDan-ma rtse-mang on the behest of Padmasambhava and on the request of king Mu-tig btsan-po and his consort Yum-chen btsun-mo. Cf. the colophon to **KTHDNG** (KHA) 227.18-22 and *ib.* Chap. 19, 215.7-10 where this work is also coined *rGyal-po'i rNam-thar chen-po* and *sNang-srid gtan la 'bebs thang-yig*. Cf. also Haarh, 1960, p. 148; Haarh, 1969, p. 159; Uray, 1972, p. 56. This work is deplorably non-extant.

A different clue altogether may be that the work, again, may refer to a work entitled **Bod kyi Thang-yig chen-po** (identical with lDan-ma's work?) employed e.g. by the lDe'u scholars. The possibility of any reference to some early version of the **[Pad-ma?] bKa'i Thang-yig chen-mo** remains to be settled, as a certain literary dependency may be established, cf. e.g. the notes 528 and 1318 *infra*. In fact, as e.g. seen in note 507 *infra*, where the name of a minister can be listed during two distinct periods, it nourishes our suspicion that a minister-list was produced during the later part of the dynasty or at the outset of the *phyi-dar* period, a list covering a large period of the dynasty, and that this list found its way into a scroll (*bka'i thang-yig*) (or originated in such a dossier), (later?) known as **Thang-yig chen-mo**. This then became the common source for later historians. This would also account for the fact that a number of the ministers listed in the sequel in **GLR** functioned under different kings, and their attempted enumeration here, as if they all served under king Srong-btsan sgam-po, is a typical later idealization or rationalization, so also the standardization of their names.

This list is also included in **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a1-6. Cf. Appendix, note 500 for further details.

501 **gloss*: *so-called.*

Uray translates *med thabs med pa'i blon po* as 'not unexperienced councillors'. This expression in fact covers both the meaning of 'nicht unfähig' and indispensable.

'Phrul gyi sNa-chen rigs-bzang,*[502]
Zhang-po rGyal gyi khram-bzang,*[503]
Cog-ro Rig-pa'i skad-bzang,*[504]
lHar-gzigs Shog-po bstan-bzang,*[505]
Ka'i gNyags-ston 'phel-bzang,*[506]
sBas-lcang dPal gyi legs-bzang,*[507] etc., one hundred ministers [in all] rendered

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502 **gloss*: Of *Khra-'brug*.

Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a1: 'Phrul gyi gNa'-chen rigs-bzang. This figure remains conspicuously absent from documented historical material and records, but his name is confirmed by the Vita of Srong-btsan sgam-po where he occurs *passim*, albeit there allotted diverging functions, cf. e.g. **MNKB** E (Cd) 208a4: sNa-chen-po functioned as *bka' blon*; **KCHKKHM-2** 266.4: *nang blon* sNa chen-po; 320.16: *chos blon* sNa chen-po; **KCHKKHM-3** 473.1-7: sNa[ng] chen-po; **CHBYMTNYP** 286a6-b3: sNa chen-po. The Guide of the Vth Dalai Lama records that an idol representing Zhang-blon sNa chen-po was installed in Jo-khang, cf. **TSLKHKCH** 10b5.

503 **gloss*: [*He*] *is* [*from*] *Hor*.

Cf. **HBCHBY** 18a1. As yet unidentified.

504 **gloss*: *Of* [*the*] *Cog-ro* [*clan*].

HBCHBY (JA) 18a2: Cog-ro Rig-pa'i kong-bzang. mKhas-pa lDe'u, **GBCHBY** 265.2-3, 297.17-18 has one Cog-ro sKyes-bzang [or -gza'] rgyal-'gong who, in order to purify his sins, built the temple of mKhar sTod gNam-ru-[gong]. **BZH** (Stein ed. 8.11, Chin. ed. 9.18) and **CHBY** 139b4-5 (Szerb, p. 19) all having Cog-ro sKyes-bzang rgyal-gong. On a possible identity of this figure, carrying the name [Cog-ro] rGyal-mtshan [g.]Yang-gong, cf. Uray, 1972, pp. 42-43 and the clan, cf. Tucci, 1949, p. 737ff. **KCHKKHM-2**, 266.7-10, 320.18 (cf. also note 500 *supra*) in a minister-list enumerates a few Cog-ro options: Chos-blon Cog-ro Dar-rgyal Mang-po-rje srong and Cog-ro brGyan but also Chos-blon Cog-ro brGyan-g.ya' gong-bza'. However, the identity is quite doubtful, or at least the chronology is corrupt, because **CHBYMTNYP** maintains that minister Cog-ro sKyes-bzang rgyal (together with mChims Khri-thog rje-'bar and sNa-nam gyi Zhang Khrom-pa skyes, cf. note 1171) were ministers under [Mes] Ag-tshoms and moreover responsible for the decline of Buddhism over a hundred year after the passing of king Srong-btsan sgam-po. **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 437.5-6: Cog-ro sKye-bzang rGyal-ma-'og; (CA) Chap. 19, 489.10: Cog-ro sKye-za rGyal-'gong.

505 **gloss*: *A Khams-pa*.

Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a2: lHa-gzigs Shog-po bstan-bzang. As yet unidentified.

506 **gloss*: [*From*] *rGya-ma* [*in*] *Yar-ston*.

Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a2: Ka sNyag-ston 'phel-bzang. As yet unidentified. rGya-ma is usually considered the birth-place of king Srong-btsan sgam-po, cf. Ferrari, 1958, pp. 44, 109; Uebach, 1987, p. 145, nn. 947-49; Dowman, 1988, pp. 103-05 and foremost the notes 446-47 *supra*.

507 **gloss*: *Also called sKyid-thag ring-mo of sBas*.

Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a2: sBas-cang dPal gyi legs-bzang.

On this figure and the clan sBas (also dBas/dBa's], cf. Uray, 1972, p. 42. The above name in the gloss is corroborated from the general Vita of Srong-btsan sgam-po, cf. e.g. **MNKB** E (Cd) 208a4: 'Bal Ring-po functions as *phyi blon*, WAM (G) 39b2: 'Bal sKyid-stag ring-mo; **KCHKKHM-2** 266.12-13, 321.4-5: *chos blon* sBas-btsan bZang dpal-legs; **KCHKKHM-3** 473.3, 474.7: 'Bal sKyid-stan ring-po; **CHBYMTNYP** 286a6, 286b6: Bal Gyi-[= sKyid-] gtan [= thag] ring-po; dPal Gyi brtan; **GBCHBY** 294.9 and 15: *blon po* 'Bal Gyi-dan ring-po. Most conspicuously, he turns up in a list of ministers active under Khri-srong lde-btsan during the erection of bSam-yas, cf. note 1338 *infra*. Again we can suspect that the occurence of this minister both in the Vita of Srong-btsan sgam-po and during king Khri-srong lde-btsan can be ascribed to the fact that the ultimate source for this minister-list goes back to one **[bKa'i] Thang-yig chen-mo**, cf. note 500. Otherwise unidentified. The toponym/ethnonym sBal/'Bal/sBas/dBa's (identical with

personal service to the king and [conducted] all the internal affairs [of the state].

The six powerful ministers of the exterior:
Khyung-po sPun bzang-btsan,*[508]
Lam-khri bDe-lhag khri-btsan,*[509]
Mu Khri rDo-rje gnam-btsan,*[510]

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the sBa[s], rBa clan) may be located to the N.E. Tibet, as suggested by Stein, *Tribus Anciennes*, p. 69.

508 **gloss*: *Of the Khyung-po [people and clan] of the North.*

Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a3 Khyung-po Pun-zun-btsan.

Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 180a5-6: Khyung-po sPu-thang gzung-rtse, whereas mKhas-pa lDe'u, **GBCHBY** 253.17-18: Khyung-po sPu-stang zung-rtse, (adding that he and Mong Khri-lto-ri snang-tshab (cf. note 510) acted as ministers during this king). Khyung-po, mKhas-pa lDe'u, *op. cit.*, 264.11, 265.3-4, mentions, was *inter alia* the one who was in control of the pass-ways (*la sgo*; or read: *las sgo*, trade) in the north in order to keep the salt-traffic running open and he secured the free passage of the *mdzo*-cattle.

Further he was compelled, in order to cleanse his sins or moral defilements (*sdig sbyangs*) for the victims he had caused while acting as *dmag dpon* of/in Hor, to erect the temple of sTod-lung Lum-pa. Listed and activities detailed in the Dunhuang *Chronicle* (Bacot *et al.*, 1940, p. 101.21-35, 106,21-107.1, 111.14-112.10): Khyung-po sPung-sad zu-tse; Macdonald, 1971, pp. 229ff., 249-55. In **HBCHBY** (JA) 18b7 he is listed as *khod* [= *khos*] *dpon* of Zhang-zhung (repeated also in *Bod kyi snga-rabs khrims-srol yig-cha bdams-bsgrigs*, p. 33). The latter information is worth noting, as the Khyung-po clan (which originated in the north-east of Tibet, and which as territorial appanage (*yul gyi dbang ris*) during the dynastic period received and occupied the lower gTsang province, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 19b4), probably was ardent Bon-po-s (cf. the entry with the names coming from the Khyung-po clan, Karmay, 1972, s.v. index). The same Bon-text (Karmay, 164b, tr. p. 80 has a Khyung-po sPu-dang gzu-tse (falsely made into two names by Karmay)) listed as a Bon-ascetic and magician! **KCHKKHM-2** 266.7, 320.17-18: *chos blon* Khyung-po Yul-bzung-rtse/Yul-zu-rtse (a confusion with the name of minister mGar, also called the 'Country-conquerer'?). **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 436.16-17: He does not figure among the three famed ministers from the Khyung-po clan listed in this text: Khyung-po Yu-yur zur-tsho, Yungs-rta ring-po and Mi-ring Zos-dkar.

On some important biographical data on this central figure, denoted Khyung-po sPung-sad zu-tse in the oldest material, and his role as administrative chief of Zhang-zhung, cf. Uray, 1972, pp. 36-42. This figure acted as minister under gNam-ri srong-btsan and his son Srong-btsan sgam-po, and was probably a decisive aid enabling these kings to consolidate their power and thus form the embryonic Tibetan empire, cf. Beckwith, 1987, pp. 16-17. On the Khyung-po clan, cf. also Vitali, 1990, pp. 94-98 and Jackson, 1984, pp. 111-114, 137-138 for a note on the legendary origin-myths of the Khyung-po's.

509 **gloss*: *Of [the district of] Yar-stod.*

Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a3: Lam-khri bDe-blag khri-btsan. **KCHKKHM-2** 266.14, 321.6-7 registers one: *chos blon* Lam-sde Khri-bzang lod-btsan, adding that he was appointed as *khas blon* (= *[m]khod/s blon*, cf. note 519) of the Drug-gu spar (= Dru-gu = Turks) in the north. *Floruit* uncertain. Cf. also note 500 *supra*.

510 **gloss*: *From rGyal-ba in 'Phan-yul.*

Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a3: Mu Khri rDo-rje rnam-btsan. **KCHKKHM-2** 266.6-7, 320.17: Mong Khri [r]Jo-ri gnang-btsan. He is doubtlessly identical with Mon [gi bu] Khri do-ri snang-tshab/btsun, i.e. one of the seven wise ministers of the dynasty (cf. Uebach, 1987, pp. 27-29, 70-75) enumerated in a number of historical sources. Already listed in the Dunhuang *Chronicle* (Bacot *et al.*, 1940, p. 100.26-32): Mong Khri do-re mang-tshab. Cf. Uebach, p. 71, n. 257. He allegedly functioned as minister under sTag-ri snyan-gzigs, the grandfather of Srong-btsan sgam-po. Cf. note

mThing gi Byang-chub mchog-btsan,*[511]
Thar-pa Klu'i dpal-btsan,*[512]
Rong-po 'Phrul gyi sde-btsan,*[513] etc., one hundred ministers [in all] conduct the exterior affairs [of state].

Having patterned [the art of] handicrafts and arithmetic from the countries of China and Mi-nyag in the east, translated the word of Saddharma from the country of India in the south, made treasures of victuals and [other] luxuries of [material] enjoyment from the countries Sogdiana and Nepal in the west, adopted [the art of] jurisdiction and labour from the countries of Mongolia and Uighuria in the north; in sum, by having control over and enjoying the four quarters, the [Tibetan] king ruled over half the world.[514]

Thon-mi Sambho-ṭa,*[515]
mGar sTong-btsan yul-bzung,*[516]

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500 *supra*.

511 **gloss*: [*He*] *was* [*from the country of*] *'Jang*.
Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a3: Thing Byang-chub mchog-btsan.
As yet unidentified. The remote country of 'Jang is usually interpreted differently in the annals of the Tibetan history. In the dynastic period the La-myva (i.e. the Nan-zhao state and petty dynasty) occupied this area in northern Yünnan, along the banks of the Yangtse river.

512 **gloss*: [*He*] *was* [*from*] *'Phyong-rgyas*.
Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a3: Thar-pa Klu-yi dpal-btsan.
Is he the same as the minister occasionally emerging in the Vita of Srong-btsan sgam-po under the name lHa-lung rDo-rje dpal? cf. e.g. **MNKB** E (Ca) 140a2, (Cd) 208a5 *et passim*; **CHBY** 139b1 (Szerb, p. 13, nn. 14, 17 for further ref.). Otherwise unidentified.

513 **gloss*: [*He*] *was* [*from the*] [*district*] *Son* [*in*] *Yar-lung*.
Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a3: Rong-po 'Phrul gyi lde-btsan.
As yet unidentified.

514 Cf. similarly **HBCHBY** (JA) 22b7. By the mention of Mi-nyag we cannot, at this early period, formally talk about Tangut or Xixia which first came into being in 1038 A.D. This ethnonym during this period refers to the people called Dang-xiang by Tang China. When we after all assume that it refers to Tangut, it is because we may assume that the present passage or section originated in the early period of the Sa-skya-s, cf. below, and therefore is (as also other material) a later interpolation. For this passage, somewhat oddly called a 'Catalogue of the Goods of the Four Quarters', cf. Uray, 1972, pp. 56-57. There can be no doubt that this section, finding no parallel in the usual sources underlying **GLR** and which mentions the laws of Hor, cannot have come into existence before the Sa-skya-pa period of rule in Tibet as noted already by Uray, 1972, p. 56.

515 **gloss*: *Of Lur Ra-ga of Thod*.
Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18b5. Cf. note 462 *supra*.

516 **gloss*: *Of* [*the district*] *Ram-pa in sTod-lung*.
GLR reads mGar Srang-btsan. Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a5: mGar gyi sTong-btsan yul-bzung.
The Country-Conquerer. The most prominent military and political figure in the dynastic period and a pre-eminent protagonist on the mythological scene in connection with king Srong-btsan sgam-po. He and his clan virtually controlled Tibet from the death of Srong-btsan sgam-po until the end of the century. He himself passed away peacefully in A.D. 667 at Ris-pu. Registered, e.g., in the Dunhuang *Chronicle* (Bacot *et al.*, 1940, p. 101.36-38, 117.20-21, 118.7): mGar sTong-brtsan yul-zung. **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 436.17-19 maintains that the mGar[-clan] came from the Pa-gor [area or clan] and that five ministers of this clan were famous during the dynastic period: Aside from mGar Srong-btsan yul-bzung, Khri 'Bring btsan-srol, bTsan-snya sdom-bu, Khri-thog-rje A-nu and Khri-sgra zin-lung.

'Bri Se-ru gong-ston,*[517]

Nyang Khri-bzang yang-ston,*[518] [etc. in all] one hundred ministers levelled [social] differences (*bar gyi khod snyoms*)[519] and - in accordance with the king's behest - enacted the code of the ten virtues:[520]

Presents (*bya dga'*) to be bestowed on the good ones,[521]

For a useful biographical essay on him, cf. foremost Uray, 1972, pp. 31-36; Richardson, 1990(c) and Chab-'gag rTa-mgrin, 1989(a).

517 **gloss*: *From 'Bri-khung*.

Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a5-6: 'Bri Si-ru gung-ston.

He appears as a stable figure in numerous parts of the Vita of Srong-btsan sgam-po, where a few of the sixteen exterior and interior ministers occasionally are mentioned, cf. e.g. **MNKB** E (Cd) 208a4: 'Be Se-ru gung-ston functions as *bka'i phyag tshang*; **KCHKKHM-2** 266.11-12, 321.2-3: Chos-blon 'Bri bSe-ru gung-ston and Brong Se-ru gung-ston; **CHBYMTNYP** 286a3. Otherwise unattested from more reliable sources.

518 **gloss*: *Of Ser in Nyang*.

Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 18a6-7: Khri-bzang yang-ston, gNyags kyi bu. Confirmed by **KCHKKHM-2** 266.12, 321.4: dMyags/gNyags Khre'u or Khri'u-bzan/bza' yang-ston. This figure is known from the Vita of the king. Minister sNyags [kyi bu] Khri-bzang yang-ston is in some historical works registered as the fifth/seventh wise minister among the seven usually listed, cf. Uebach, 1987, pp. 27-29 and p. 75, n. 275. He was minister during the reign of king Khri-lde gtsug-btsan. See also **BZH** (Stein ed. 2.12: gNyags Khri-bzang blon; Chin. ed. p. 2.20-21: gNyags Khri-bzang yang-ston). He was allegedly dispatched to China as envoy in order to invite the Chinese princess Gyim-shing Kong-jo in 710 A.D., which places his *floruit* firmly outside the period of king Srong-btsan sgam-po. What makes his prominent listing all the more surprising, is the fact that some sources (cf. note 1138 *infra*) have depicted him as guilty of regicide by slaying the crown-prince lJang-tsha lHa-dBon, the alleged son of Mes Ag-tshoms (cf. Appendix, note 1137). But he is also listed as minister under Khri-srong lde-btsan, cf. note 1343 *infra* and so also note 500 *supra*.

519 For a discussion of this passage, cf. Uray, 1972, p. 57. The term *khod* in *bar gyi khod* has nothing to do with another key term in the legislation of this period: *khod/khos/mkhos*, which, opting for the reading *mkhos*, should be understood, not as an institution, but arguably as a sort of department of supplies and provisions, of which there appears to have been thirty-six, cf. **GBCHBY** 270.9-11, 271.7-272.8, 273.21; **HBCHBY** (JA) 18b7-19a6, 21a3; cf. also *Bod kyi snga-rabs khrims-srol yig-cha bdams-bsgrigs*, pp. 33-34, 39.

520 For a full survey of the codification and law-making during the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po, cf. mKhas-pa lDe'u's **GBCHBY** 253.16ff. of which dPa'-bo apparently presents us with an almost parallel exposition, **HBCHBY** (JA) 18b4ff. Here Uray's pioneer work: *The Narrative of Legislation and Organisation of the mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, pp. 58ff. must be consulted, though in the light of **GBCHBY**'s lengthy and difficult passages new research must now be conducted. Uebach, 1992, pp. 823-31, has made a first attempt to unravel this section in **GBCHBY**.

521 This appears to be one of the *bstod pa gsum* or the 'three praises' listed in a minister's prescribed code (*blon khrims snol ma*), stating that when someone [acts] good, he should be presented with presents even if the one rewarded should turn out to be the son of one's [own] enemy (*legs na dgra'i bu legs kyang bya dga' gsol*) or if one does not praise (i.e. reward) the good ones with gifts, then who will later perform wholesome acts?

| *legs la bya dgas ma bstod na* |

Punishment to be inflicted on the wicked ones,[522]
The high to be restricted by laws,
The low to be protected by [various] means,
The body-guard to be divided into four units,
Highland water to be assembled into ponds,
Lowland water to be conducted into channels,
[The system of] measurement and weight to be organized,
Fields to be divided into plots (*lhu*),
[The art of] writing to be taught to men,
Horses to be marked with colours (*mdongs su bris*) [to ensure ownership],
Customs [consisting of] good examples to be established,
Punishment to be inflicted on those instigating quarrels,
Variable fines to be introduced on murderers,
Stolen [goods] to be substituted eightfold and with the stolen [object it be] ninefold,[523]
Those committing adultery (*byi byas pa*) to be banished to other countries, after dismembering parts of their limbs[524] and to those lying the tongue to be cut off.[525]

| *slan chad legs pa su yis byed* |

cf. mKhas-pa lDe'u, **GBCHBY** 275.14-276.14; **HBCHBY** (JA) 21b4, 21b7-22a1 and also Chab-spel (ed.), 1989(a), p. 40.

522 Cf. previous note. Contrary to the previous code, this is counted among the 'three dispraises' (*smad pa gsum*), compelling the ministers to punish anyone committing wicked acts, even when it is one's own son (*nyes na rang gi bus nyes kyang chad pas gcod pa*) and urging anyone to take a strong stand against the culprits, otherwise it remains difficult to distinguish the wise from the wicked and the wicked may afterwards never discontinue perpetrating sinful acts:

| *ngan la nan tur ma byed na* |
| *nam yang dran shes rem mi 'gyur* |
| *nyes la chad pa ma bcad na* |
| *phyi nas nyes byed rgyun mi chad* |

cf. **GBCHBY** 276.7-9; **HBCHBY** (JA) 21b4, 21b7-22a1; Chab-spel, 1989(a), pp. 40-41.

523 This is one of the six authoritative degrees of the royal code (*bka' lung rgyal khrims*, *khrims chen*) that, *inter alia*, as second code prescribed that stolen goods be repaid eightfold to ordinary people, and when it concerns the king's property eightyfold and when the items belong to the religious community then the stolen objects must be repaid hundredfold (*ma byin par mi len pa'i khrims dkon mchog gi nor brkus na brgya 'jal rgyal po'i nor la brgyad cu 'jal 'bangs kyi nor la* [or *skye bo la*] *brgyad 'jal du bcas pa*), cf. mKhas-pa lDe'u's **GBCHBY** 270.19-271.6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 22a3-5; Chab-spel, 1989(a), p. 41. **KCHKKHM-2** 6.17-18, 109.1 (cursory, and differing slightly); Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 186a1ff., while only briefly touching upon the legislation of Srong-btsan sgam-po, nevertheless here adduces that the stolen items should be compensated sevenfold, and eightfold with the stolen entity itself. Cf. also C. Bell, *Tibet: Past and Present*, p. 24.

524 Cf. previous note. The code prescribed the dismemberment of limbs to repay adultery.

525 Cf. the two previous notes. The code here states that in order to abolish lying, Triratna and the *lha klu gnyan po* must be taken as witnesses. Cf. also briefly **KCHKKHM-2** 6.18, 109.2-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 186a6.

Further, [a set of sixteen pure popular rules of conduct (*mi chos gtsang ma bcu drug*) were codified:][526]

[1] to seek refuge in the Three Jewels and to show [them] devotion and to pay [them] respect;

[2] to show gratefulness to one's parents and honour [them];

[3] not to forget [one's] benefactors, [i.e.] the father, uncle and elders, the three, and to repay them in kind[ness];

[4] not to quarrel with upper-class people and noblemen, but to yield [to them];

[5] to adapt [oneselves to them] in all [their] manners and behaviours;

[6] to fix one's mind to the Buddhist religion and to [the art of] writing and [subsequently] to understand [their] meaning;

[7] to have faith in the law of karmic causation and to avoid perpetrating sins altogether;

[8] to extend help to friends and neighbours and not to nourish mischievous sentiments [towards them];

[9] to act honestly and to stand witness;

[10] to show moderation in food and liquor and to behave chastely;

[11] to pay debts in time;

[12] to refrain from conducting fraud in weighting and measuring;

[13] not to indulge in [any] reflections on affairs in which one is neither elected nor comissioned;

[14] not to lend ears to women in the course of council and to remain self-reliant;

[15] if [a case] turns out to be incomplete [i.e. involving doubts] as to veracity or fallacy (*yin min gyis*), then one should pledge [one's] oaths after having called the *yul lha* and the *bstan srung* as witnesses, etc.

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526 The following is an enumeration of the so-called sixteen points of pure popular conduct (*mi chos gtsang ma bcu drug*), cf. mKhas-pa lDe'u **GBCHBY** 254.17 (no listing); **DCHBY** 110.6 (no listing); **HBCHBY** (JA) 22a3-b2; Chab-spel, 1989(a), p. 42. Again the question crops up: What is the source for this codification and where should we find the *locus classicus*? Scrutinizing the older material, only **KCHKKHM-2** 109.9-10 mentions the *mi chos chen po bcu drug* (no listing), upon the pattern of which, the king allegedly made his ten *kuśala*-based laws. The **KCHKKHM-2** is usually considered to reflect the oldest, at least the most complete, version of the king's alleged Testaments, assumed to have been issued in the XIth century. If, therefore, this is not a later interpolation (*lhad* [*b*]*zhugs*) inserted into this text, say in the XIIIth cent., an assumption which cannot be disqualified, as this version of **KCHKKHM**, judged from the transmission-lineage given, was recopied or handed down until the mid-XIIIth century, then the origin or introduction of this system must be dated further back in time. Otherwise they are first mentioned in the works of mKhas-pa lDe'u and lDe'u jo-sras (the dating of which is still not definite, but presumably around 1260 A.D.) and thereafter first in **DTHMP** (so also Uray, 1972, p. 59) and we may assume that these sixteen moral codes did not originate or became universally known much before this period. However, after its recording in **GLR**, this list found its way into almost every subsequent historical work in Tibet. Nevertheless, the conclusions reached by Uray, *op. cit.* p. 65, must in the light of the testimony of **GBCHBY**, not to talk about **KCHKKHM-2**, be altered accordingly. The list in **GLR** and **HBCHBY** appears to be complete, but according to my counting only fifteen rules in all are listed. Perhaps the list in **GLR** is incomplete and the word *la sogs* occurs at the end of the enumeration. Cf. also Meisezahl, *Zentralasiatische Studien*, vol. 7, pp. 221-61. Chab-spel, 1989(b), p. 142 (rephrased).

Having [thus] taken the ten virtues as pattern, the twenty [secular] laws of Tibet (*Bod khrims nyi shu*) were set in system (*gtan la phab*) at Sho-ma-ra*[527] and affixed with the seal of the king and all the ministers, and so they were propagated [in Tibet] like the light of the sun and moon:[528]

> Acting accordingly, the ruler and the subjects [alike] were happy;
> The teachings expanded and the royal power developed in the ten directions;
> As the religious laws [thus] had been made, the subjects paid heed to his behest;
> The entire kingdom was happy with the [noble] act[s] of the Divine Ruler of Man (*mi rje lha*)[529]
> Men being brave, horse[s] being swift, [such] enjoyments are god-like;
> Applying confidence in the Dharma, [they] are happy in this and the subsequent existence;
> By avoiding quarrel and strife, everyone regarded [one another] as

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527 **gloss*: [*In*] *sKyi*[*d*]*-shod*.

Cf. also mKhas-pa lDe'u **GBCHBY** 271.7; **HBCHBY** (JA) 19a1. On this site, cf. Tucci, 1956(a), p. 76, n. 1 and foremost Uray, 1960, p. 32, n. 4; Uray, 1972, pp. 33, 43 (with further references). This site occurs repeatedly in the Dunhuang Annals. The place was no doubt one of the key administrative centres of Tibet during that time. The twenty codes are the sixteen pure moral codes (of somewhat later origin?) and the four fundamental laws, twenty in all, cf. Uray, 1972, pp. 58-59. More pertinent, in **BZH** (Stein ed. 73.12) this phrase (i.e. *sKyid shod Shong ma rar gtan la phab*) is traced, but here referring to the period under Ral-pa-can (ca. 815 - 836 A.D.) alluding to the systematization or regulation of *bre*, *srang* and *zho* measures and weights, cf. note 1432 *infra*. This can either mean that Sho-mo-ra retained its importance throughout almost the entire dynastic period as the leading administrative centre of the state, where all matters and temporalities pertaining to juristiction were sworn in. Alternatively, attributing more historical weight to the latter witness, it is conceivable that the Vita-compilers may have taken this sentence from **BZH** or a similar source and inserted it into the present narrative on the king's legislation. Another possibility is also feasible: The basic source for both references may, again, be the nebulous **Thang-yig chen-mo** responsible for the concocted minister-list also, cf. note 500 *supra* and next note. Later sources speak about Sho-ma-ra of sTod-lung[s], probably while sKyid-shod was too vague a geographical term.

528 For the following poetic passage cf. similarly **HBCHBY** (JA) 23a2-b2, either following or paralleling **GLR**. Cf. also Uray, 1972, pp. 55-57. As this final metrical piece is lacking altogether from well-known sources, one would suspect that it originates from **Thang-yig chen-mo**, cf. also note 1318 *infra*.

529 This epithet of the Tibetan kings is legion in numerous works, cf. e.g. **KTHDNG** (KHA) 130.10: (The king who) arrived as the lord of man from the gods of heaven (*gnam gyi lha las mi yi rje ru gshegs*); it can be documented, with slightly different wording, f.ex. in the full title of **MBNTH** and in Nel-pa's **NGTMTPH** 2b2, 5b4 (Uebach, pp. 54-55, 74); but see also **MNKB** E (Ca) 115a2, **KCHKKHM-1** 708.6, **KCHKKHM-2** 139.6, **MBNTH** 46a4: *'bangs ni mi yin rje ni lha yis byas*; **BGR** 198a3; **DCHBY** 100.19 and 102.3-4: *gnam gyi lha las ni babs mi yul du rjer gshegs*; **YLJBCHBY** 47.1. Its locus classicus is derived from an expression repeated numerous times in the early Tibetan inscriptions, cf. Richardson, 1985, pp. 81-82, 86-87, and *ibid*. pp. 108-109, i.e. from the *rdo-ring* of the tomb of king Khri-lde srong-btsan and from the 821/822 A.D. Sino-Tibetan Treaty (East Inscription): *gnam gyi lha las* || *myi'i rgyal por gshegs te*. See also Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, II, p. 93.

parents;[530]
As the [art of] writing [gradually] was taught to everybody, [it conduced to] disseminating the Teaching of the Dharma;
As spiritual friends advocating non-virtuousness were lacking, the jewel of the ten virtues was found;
As this was carried as the crown on everybody's head, the sun of happiness rose;
As everybody [merely] are emanational creations, there were no tax or corveé-service (*'u lag*);
In the firmament of space, the eight-spoked wheel rose;
On the cloddy ground (*dog mo'i sa*),[531] the eight-petalled lotus grew;
On the mountains [towering in] the intermediate [space], the eight auspicious symbols were complete;
All the trees gave shade in the pleasances;
All birds not only sent forth various cries;
But all the places moved in six ways;[532]
The gods sent down a rain of flowers;
[In] a divine grove with auspicious and pleasant rocks
Under the cool shade of a walnut trunk,
The great Dharmarāja [Srong-btsan sgam-po] sad poised on a throne;
Accompanied by a host of brave, wise and miraculously endowed ministers,
Being circumambulated fully by his Tibetan subjects and retinue;
The tent of the multi-coloured rainbow,
Folding like a canopy [hung] from the sky,
Under which the king was seated;
Heaps of foods such as treacle, grapes, sugar, etc. possessing a hundred flavours
Were offered by the king and rendered his retinue satisfied;
For the physical recreation of the great Dharmarāja
Masqueraders [dressed as] lion, yak-lion and tiger-lion,
Drummers, dancers etc.
Successively offered dances and games;
With the great drum of the gods, guitars,
Music and cymbals, etc. [he] was being entertained.
The scents of supreme herb, aloe, sandal and
Incenses wafted according to the wind;
With parasols (*gdugs*, *channa*), pinnacles (*rgyal mtshan*, *gañjira*), banners (*ba dan*, *patāka*), ornaments (*lhab lhub*, *vibhūṣaṇa*)
And various flags the heaven was filled [in his] honour;

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530 Vogel, *op. cit.* p. 38 translates: they know all for their parents [*sic*].

531 The ritual and mythological implication of the term *dog mo'i sa* or *sa dog* in connection with the Tibetan dynasty has been discussed by Haarh, 1969, pp. 311-324; Hazod, 1991.

For the imagery of the eight auspicious symbols on the mountains and the other signs, cf. chapter XIV *infra*.

532 An event always associated with something unusual, cf. here Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 109.

Sixteen beautiful and charming girls
Bedecked with handsome ornaments and carrying flowers
Offered a treat for the ear [and a feast for the eyes] with songs and dances.
At [this] time when he executed the law [bringing] joy and happiness,
Every single Tibetan subject rode his horse full speed,
Hoisting high his flag in each tree top.
Having beaten the great drum of Saddharma
[The king] enacted the law in conformity with the ten virtues
And enhanced the enjoyment in conformity with the five objects of sensual pleasures.
Exactly in this Snow-clad Kingdom
The Law of the ten virtues, like the sun and the moon in the sky
Covered this Massif of Glacial Snow, the Country of Tibet.

[How] Minister Thon-mi [Sambhoṭa] Invented an Alphabet from India[n Pattern] and [how] the Laws [Based upon] the Ten [Buddhist] Virtues were Enacted by the King.

XI

[How] The Statues of the King's Tutelary Deity were Brought from India and Nepal

[I] [The Legend of the Snakeheart-Sandalwood Idol]

Next,[533] the great incarnated king [Srong-btsan sgam-po] thought: "I must erect a statue of [my] tutelary deity (*yi dam gyi lha*, *iṣṭadevatā*) in order to promote the welfare of the sentient beings here in this Snow-clad barbarous borderland.[534] If the material [for erecting this idol] were to be made from jewels, gold and silver, the fear remains that it would be destroyed in the last period [of Kaliyuga] by future sentient beings of low merit. If [on the other hand] it was produced from earth and stone, then the material is [far too] inferior. And if produced from some sort of wood it would [be susceptible] to cracking, so what sort of material would be [most] suitable for raising a statue of my tutelary deity?"[535]

He consequently offered up prayers to [his idol of] Ārya [Avalokiteśvara], and so at dawn [the following morning] Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, the Ārya Śrāvakas, gods and goddess etc. all arrived in space just in front [of him], convening [there] like a cloud. Ārya Mañjuśrī and Ārya Samantabhadra, the two, [each] held a precious bottle in their hands filled with ambrosial water, whereafter they conferred [upon the king] empowerment (*dbang bskur*, *abhiṣeka*) and [thus] administered him ablution. All the Buddhas tendered their blessings and all the Bodhisattvas expressed their *maṅgala*-s, whereas the gods and the goddesses, with their bodies protuding half way [out from the clouds] (*lus phyed thon tsam*), paid their homage by way of sundry kinds of divine entertainment and by having a rain of flowers fall [from the sky].[536]

Immediately, various distinct rays of light emanated from the body of the king which made the entire barbarous borderland [of Tibet], the Snow-clad [country] be covered in light, each [ray of light transforming itself into an emanational] incarnated being which converted each individual according to disposition and [thus] worked for the sake of the sentient beings and thereby even this barbarous borderland turned into a Continent of Jewels.

Subsequently, the gods univocally uttered the following words to the king:[537]

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533 The present chapter prosecutes the overall theme by offering various tales gleaned from the Avalokiteśvara-cum-Srong-btsan sgam-po Vita by presenting here a famed and popular legend that deals with the acquirement of a statue representing the king's personal tutelary deity (*yi* (or *thugs*) *dam gyi lha*). The chapter embodies basically two legends which are thematically somewhat conflated.

The main legend narrates, mainly in epic prose, the story of how the king wishes to secure a merit-accumulating and bless-bestowing sanctuary for the Tibetan people and how an emanational created *bhikṣu* named Akaramatiśīla is dispatched to India in order to search for the exquisite material, the 'snake-heart-sandalwood', to erect the idol. Cf. Appendix, note 533 for a fuller survey of the basic and parallel sources for this chapter.

534 **MNKB** E (Ca) 103b4, (Cd) 189a1-2; **KCHKKHM-1** 685.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 109.11; **CHBYMTNYP** 188a1-2; **MBNTH** 31b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 23b3-4.

535 **MNKB** E (Ca) 103b4-5, (Cd) 189a2-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 685.4-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 109.12-17; **KCHKKHM-3** 399.7-400.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 188a1-188b4; **MBNTH** 31b5-32a1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 23b4-5.

536 As the only source **KCHKKHM-3** 400.2-3 mentions where the *devaputra*-s etc. made themselves manifest: Above the Khra-'brug temple.

537 **MNKB** E (Ca) 103b5-104a1, (Cd) 189a4-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 685.5-686.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 109.17-110.4; **KCHKKHM-3** 400.3-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 188b4-189a1; **MBNTH** 32a2-5; all these versions are in prose, only **HBCHBY** (JA) 23b6-7, similar to **GLR**, offers a metrical version.

"Emanational king, Bodhisattva
You, Lord of all black-headed:
A receptacle from which one can accumulate merit and pay [one's] veneration,
If [you want to] acquire (*spyan 'dren*; invite) [a statue of] [you] tutelary deity, [then know that]:
In the southern direction of the country of India,
At the shore of the ocean of Ceylon,
Behind the [statue of] the self-originated Khasarpaṇi,
Beneath the sand of a sleeping elephant,
From the [exquisite] 'snakeheart sandalwood' tree (*tsan dan sbrul gyi snying po*, *uragasāracandana*)
Produced, the self-originated Avalokita
is there to be found, a most marvellous [statue]:
This is the tutelary deity of the king."

[Having spoken thus,] they made [themselves] invisible.

Then the king thought: "[When] this [statue of a] tutelary deity is to be fetched, no human being [will be able to] find it, so [I] will have to send an emanationally created being." Having barely thought so, an emanationally created *bhikṣu* named Akaramatiśīla, being endowed with Buddha Amitābha seated upon his head, manifested [itself] miraculously from the hair-curl between the eye-brows (*smin mtshams kyi mdzod spu*, *ūrṇākośa*) of the king.[538] [This *bhikṣu*] was dispatched in order to fetch the [statue of] the tutelary deity."

Thereupon, the emanational created *bhikṣu* arrived by way of magical faculty in the southern part of India and came to a town called dBus-'gyur. There a king called Utpala Gesar[539] [reigned], whose lineage [previously] was [adhering to the creed of the] 'inner' Buddhists, but later assumed the faith of the 'external' heretics. Each single day they slaughtered five goats and made offerings to Maheśvara. To the left of the king's palace the receptacle (*caitya*) denoted the 'Wheel-marked Lotus' (*padma 'khor-lo-can*, **padmacakrin*)[540] was found being consecrated by the former Buddha Krakucchanda ('Khor-ba 'jig).[541]

There the emanational created *bhikṣu* circumambulated [this receptacle] while assuming a cross-legged posture (*skyil krung*, *paryaṅka*) in space directly in front of the bottle[-shaped] (*bum pa*, *kalaśa*) [trunk of] this sanctuary. When this [scenario] was observed [by the king] from the topmost roof of the king's palace, it [caused much] wonder, but when the king invited the emanational created *bhikṣu* to his palace, the *bhikṣu* did not concede to come. When [he] was pressingly requested, the *bhikṣu* proclaimed: "If [you] yield to what I have to say, I shall come to your palace, when not, I shall not come!" The king [promised to] pay

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538 **MNKB** E (Ca) 104a1-3, (Cd) 189b1-3; **KCHKKHM-1** 686.3-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 110.4-17; **KCHKKHM-3** 400.6-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 189a1-189b6; **MBNTH** 32a5-32b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 23b7-24a1; **DTHZHG** 23.9-10; this *bhikṣu* is rendered variously and corruptively: Akāramatila, Akarmati; Śīla Akaramati, Akaramatiśila.

539 Also called U[d]mata Kesar, Udmanta Kesara, etc. and the town is given as [s]Ke-ru, Ko-ru.

540 **MNKB** E (Ca) 104b1, (Cd) 189b4; **KCHKKHM-1** 87.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 111.13; **KCHKKHM-3** 401.4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 190b4; **MBNTH** 32b4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 24a3; **DTHZHG** 23.17.

541 **MNKB** E (Ca) 104a3-105a1, (Cd) 189b3-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 686.6-688.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 110.17-113.3; **KCHKKHM-3** 401.4-403.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 189b6-192a1; **MBNTH** 32a1-33b4.

heed to what the *bhikṣu* would say, and so [the *bhikṣu*] went to the king's palace and acted as his chaplain (*mchod gnas*, *purohita*).

There the *bhikṣu* spoke: "You [O king] were previously an 'inner' [i.e.] Buddhist (*nang pa sangs rgyas pa*), so change [your present] creed of the 'external' [heretics], practise the system of the 'inner' Buddhists [again] and seek refuge in the Three Jewels!" The king accepted to act accordingly.

Again, the *bhikṣu* spoke: "King, you must built one hundred and eight temples and inside these you must erect one hundred and eight statues [made of] the 'snakeheart sandalwood' (*uragasāracandana*) and 'cowhead sandalwood' (*gośīrṣacandana*)!" But the king responded: "The 'snakeheart sandalwood' is to be found in the Akaniṣṭha [heaven] so I have no power to fetch it. As for the 'cowhead sandalwood', it is to be found in the northern part of the [peninsula] Malaya, where [one finds many] venemous and poisonous snakes coiled, I [have] no means of fetching it [too], [so] it must suffice [just] to raise one hundred and eight temples."

Again, the *bhikṣu* spoke: "I have knowledge [of the whereabouts] of the 'snakeheart sandalwood', so [you] will have to go and fetch it, [now] depart together with your retinue and servants along with your tools!"

The king, [i.e.] patron and chaplain (*yon* [*bdag dang*] *mchod* [*gnas*]) along with their retinue arrived next at the shore along the ocean of Ceylon [where they] found many elephants asleep on the rear side of the stone[-made] self-created statue of Khasarpaṇi.

Then the *bhikṣu* spoke: "Among these elephants the one[s] that have the[ir] face turned eastward, have [their] trunk red and upon the nape (*'jin khung*) of which a tassel (*zar bu*) of concretion (*gi vang*)[542] is found, underneath the[se] one[s] [you] find the 'snakeheart sandalwood'. When the king inquired: "How come that the 'snakeheart sandalwood' have come there underneath the elephant[s]?" The *bhikṣu* answered: "During the season when [the elephants] are tormented by the [dreadful] summerheat, those that [seek] coolness [find it] where the sandalwood is found and the leaves of the sandalwood [trees provide] ailment for the pangs of the heat. This make the elephant[s] recognize where the sandalwood is located, so that when the heat comes, they [will] sleep upon [these trees]."

Once the elephants had been scared away and the sand dug away underneath them, the 'snakeheart sandalwood' was traced. The king again inquired for this reason: "The 'snakeheart sandalwood' has never turned up in the human world, how come that it can turn up in this [place]?" [Again] the *bhikṣu* responded: "At the time when the former Buddha Krakucchanda appeared in the world, a Śrāvaka [and] an Arhat went by magical means to [the godly abode of] Akaniṣṭha, where [they] were able to acquire a lump (*gang bu*) of the 'snakeheart sandalwood'. In that lump four seeds were found. Three seeds were tendered to Buddha Krakucchanda and one seed was given to [the stone-made statue of] Jo-bo Khasarpaṇi, being inserted in the crown of its head, but [when] it became agitated by the wind [the seed] fell down behind the back of the statue. After it [subsequently] had been pressed down by the earth, it was moistened with nectar on the [fullmoon] evening of the fifteenth by the *ḍākinī*-s whereafter a sprout sprang forth. At the time Buddha Kanakamuni (gSer-thub) made his appearance in the world, [its] flowers blossomed, and when Buddha Kāśyapa ('Od-srungs) appeared in the world its fruits were ripe. When Buddha Śākyamuni made his appearance in the world, [it] had grown into a tall trunk, so when Śākyamuni

542 **MNKB** E (Ca) 105b5; **KCHKKHM-1** 690.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 114.15-16; **CHBYMTNYP** 194b3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 24a7.

passed into Nirvāṇa, the [sandalwood-]trunk split and [was] covered with sand."

Accordingly, the trunk was dug forth from beneath the sand, the branches were cut away, so that [finally] there were four clefts (*srub*) in the trunk. From these an immeasurable [amount] of rays of light emitted which [eventually] pervaded the entire universe, whereafter they were absorbed into the trunk again, [causing] a sound to occur saying: "Cut slowly!"[543]

Then the trunk split into four pieces and from its interior Ārya Avalokita Cintāmaṇi came forth, being [endowed] with ten countenances, three with a peaceful (*zhi*, *śanta*) and seven with a wrathful (*khro*, *khrodha*) countenance, [each] accomplishing the [four ritual] acts of pacification (*zhi*, *śāntika*), dominating (*dbang*, **vaśīkāraṇa*), expanding (*rgyas*, **pauṣṭika*) and violating (*drag*, **abhicāruka*), upon which rested [as eleventh head] Amitābha; its ten basic arms (*rtsa phyag*) embraced [various] insignia (*phyag mtshan*) and emitted light and rays in [all] ten directions.[544]

The sandalwood-tree made one hundred and eight pieces [in all], [from which] one hundred and eight statues were raised. [These] were [subsequently] installed in one hundred and eight temples.

Then again, in order to fetch the 'cowhead sandalwood' (*goṣīrṣacandana*) at an appropriate time, the musk (*gla rtsi*, *kastūrī*)[545] was shown [making the snakes pacified] and the 'cowhead' [sandalwood] was fetched and manufactured as in the previous [case].

Subsequently, the *bhikṣu* took hold of one full measure (*bre gang*) of relics (*ring bsrel*, *śarīra*) pertaining to the seven successive [former] Buddhas (*sangs rgyas rabs bdun*) from inside the 'bottle'[-shaped] trunk of the lotus-receptacle which was [then] sealed up (*rgyas btab*) again.

Thereafter they arrived on the island in the ocean, where [they] observed [how] on each stalk a Buddha was sitting. [They] took along a truss of the *kuśa*-grass and [when they] next arrived at the bank of the river of Nairañjanā [they] observed that a Buddha was sitting on each and single grain of sand wherefore [they] took along a full measure of sand.

Thus [the statue of] Avalokita made from the 'snakeheart sandalwood', the 'cowhead sandalwood', branches from the [holy] fig-tree (*byang chub kyi ljon shing*, *bodhivṛkṣa*), [holy] sand from the bank of the river Nairañjanā, a truss of the *kuśa*-grass and earth from the eight great hermitages [in India] etc., Indian objects and the statue of the tutelary deity etc. were [all] brought along by the *bhikṣu* and [when these items finally] arrived in Tibet, [they were] presented to the king who rejoiced greatly.[546]

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543 For the present passage, cf. **MNKB** E (Ca) 105a1-107a3; **KCHKKHM-1** 688.2-691.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 113.3-118.3; **KCHKKHM-3** 401.4-404.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 179.6-181.15; **MBNTH** 33b4-35a5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 24a7-b1.

544 **MNKB** E (Ca) 107a3-b6; **KCHKKHM-1** 691.2-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 118.3-16; **KCHKKHM-3** 404.1-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 194b1-195b6; **MBNTH** 35a5-35b5.

This statue was later inserted, together with other Buddha-*śarīra*-s, into another autogenous Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara idol equally denoted Cintāmaṇi, cf. note 801 *infra*. Cf. also Macdonald, 1967, pp. 479-481.

545 The musk obtained from a male sexual gland of Moscus moschiferus (*gla ba*) is *inter alia* believed to eradicate snake-poison, cf. e.g. Lo Bue, 1981, p. 105.

546 **MNKB** E (Ca) 107b6-110a3, (Cd) 189b4-191b6; **KCHKKHM-1** 691.4-694.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 118.16-123.4; **KCHKKHM-3** 404.4-406.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 196a1-199a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 24b1-25a3.

[II] [The Four Self-originated Brother Idols]

Then, again, the [Tibetan] king thought: "Yet [another] most marvellous receptacle exists which [can] work for the sentient beings of the posterity, a *nirmāṇakāya*-statue [of Buddha] concealed in the direction of lHo-Bal."[547] So [the king] made a request to the statue of [his] tutelary deity [for advice], whereby a ray of light radiated from the heart of this autogenous [statue] and headed towards the country of Bal-po. Following it with the eyes, it was seen that [the ray of light] manifested [itself] as the 'Four Self-Originated Brothers' (*rang byon mched bzhi*)[548] at a 'hari sandalwood' (*haricandana*) trunk [that was capable of] emitting rays of light in ten directions. This was located in the middle of a great forest along the border of India and Nepal. Again the emanational created *bhikṣu* was dispatched to invite [i.e. fetch] these receptacles.[549]

When the *bhikṣu* arrived in the village[s] of Mang-yul, he observed the country [in a] disasterous [state with] many dead people struck down by plague (*yams nad*). Proceeding from there, in the town named Yam-bu Ya-'gal [i.e. Kathmandu] he observed [further] unhappiness [in form] of many dead people falling prey to leprosy. Proceeding from there, at the border between India and Nepal he [again] observed [a state of] unhappiness [in form] of many dead people suddenly [being killed] by a demon (*gdon*, *graha*) of the upper sphere (*steng*). In the [local] forest there was a herdsman (*rdzi bo*) tending many buffalos (*ma he*). One [particularly] karmically bless-bestowed (*las dang skal bar ldan pa*) buffalo went daily (*nyin mo'i rigs kyis*) into the forest where it circumambulated the 'hari sandalwood' trunk, [the tree] which emitted rays of light in [all] ten directions, and emptied its udder (*nu ma gtor ba*). This made the buffalo-owner address the herdsman in the evening: "You have milked my buffalo", but the herdsman responded: "I have not milked your buffalo; [your] buffalo seeks by day into the forest over there."

The following morning the herdsman and the buffalo-owner went together to see [what actually happened in] that forest. There they were taken by surprise when [they observed how] the buffalo [first] circumambulated the 'hari sandalwood' tree that emitted rays of light

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547 **MṆKB** E (Cd) 191b6-192a2; **CHBYMTNYP** 209b3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 25a4-5; **DTHZHG** 23.19-22.

lHo Bal alludes here naturally to Bal-po in the south. But as deftly shown by Stein from a collation with Chinese sources, in the dynastic period *lho bal* regularly means "barbarians".

548 Cf. note 533 (legend 2) in Appendix for further sources. The versions found of this legend often differ on the number of statues involved. **MṆKB** E (Cd) 192a2-3: *'Phags pa sPyan ras gzigs kyi sku rang byung gsum*; **CHBYMTNYP**: *'Phags pa'i sku bzhi byon*, whereas **HBCHBY** speaks about *Thugs rje chen po mched lnga*, i.e. Thugs-rje chen-po and [his four acolytes], five brothers [in all]. A text in Wylie, 1970, Appendix B, fol. 6b, and p. 15, maintains that the four Jo-bo brothers were born from a sandal-wood well in Kathmandu. It remains to be settled which version represents the original one. Counting three, four or five statues depend in part also upon whether we should include the two idols in Patan (i.e. A-kham and U-kham), so according to Chos kyi nyi-ma, **Yul chen-po nye-ba'i Tsandhoha bal-po'i gnas kyi dkar-chag** (ed. Macdonald, *Kailash*, 1975), 17a1-3. The story of the Mahākārunika-brothers and in particular the idol 'Phags-pa Vati, a national palladium in Tibet, enjoy considerable popularity and reminiscences of it are found in numerous writings and texts.

549 **MṆKB** E (Cd) 192b3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 210a1-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 25a5.

in ten directions and then [was seen] discharging [its milk from] the udder.[550]

Consequently, the emanational created *bhiksu* knew that the sandalwood statue [representing] the king's tutelary deity should come from this [very tree], wherefore [he had it] cut down with an axe, but a voice sounded from the four statues [inside the trunk].

[From] the upper [part of the trunk] it sounded: "Cut slowly and install me in the country of Mang-yul!" Such a sound was heard. From the interior, when cut to pieces, [a statue] appeared called 'Phags-pa Va-ti.[551]

Then from the lower [part] below a voice exclaimed: "Cut slowly and install me in the town of Yam-bu Ya-'gal!" From its interior, when the tree was split up, [a statue] emerged named 'Phags-pa dBu-gang.[552]

[Again] from [the part further] below a voice [similarly] sounded: "Cut slowly and [then] install me at the border between Nepal and India!" From its interior when split up, [a statue of] 'Phags-pa lJa-ma-li appeared.[553]

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550 This element with the herdsman and the buffalo is lacking from **MNKB**, **CHBYMTNYP**, but retained in **HBCHBY**.

551 Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 210b5-211a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 25a7. See also **MNKB** E (Ca) 114b4, 115a6, where it is maintained that the autogenous Vati bzang-po was brought along by Princess Khri-btsun as dowry and that it later, while on its way to Tibet, was installed in sKyid-grong of Mang-yul, cf. **MNKB** 116b3: *'Phags pa Thugs rje chen po ni skyid grong du bzugs so.* **MNKB** E (Cd) 192b3-4: Jo-bo Va-ti had a red body-colour, one face and two hands resp. with the *mudrā*-gesture of *varada* (right) and a white lotus (left) and it was installed in Mang-yul. It was therefore also called *sKyid-grong Jo-bo.* Cf. also **Yul chen-po nye-ba'i Tsandoha bal-po'i gnas kyi dkar-chag**, 31a1 (ed. A. W. Macdonald, *Kailash*, 1975, p. 121). **Myang chos-'byung** (Chin. ed., 96.8-97.8); cf. also Macdonald, 1963, p. 59; Aufschnaiter, 1976, p. 179; Macdonald & Dvags-po Rin-po-che, 1983, pp. 271-72.

Its historicity is ascertained as the idol was removed from sKyid-grong in 1959 following the anti-Chinese revolt and brought to safety in Nepal and India, cf. Aris, 1975, p. 68; see also Khri-drung Blo-bzang thub-bstan, 1990, p. 104. In sKyid-grong a statue of *dge-slong* A-ka-ra-ma-ti is also found, the mythical emanation and protagonist that allegedly brought the statue to Tibet.

552 **MNKB** E (Cd) 192b2-3: Jo-bo U-khang, white with one face and two arms, endowed with the marks and feature of a Mahāpurusa, being light-emitting and to be installed in Yam-bu Ya-'gal; **CHBYMTNYP** 211a4-5: It was installed to the south of the Nepalese town of Ye-rang (= modern Patan, see Lévi, 1905, I, pp. 60-62; Wylie, 1970, p. 13); **HBCHBY** (JA) 25a7.

His name is rendered differently in the texts: Bu kam, U khang, dBu khang etc. These Tibetan renditions reflect variously the name Bunga, Buga, Bugma, Vugma-dyo, also known as Bungmati Avalokiteśvara, where Ārya Bu-gam = Avalokiteśvara of Bungamati, or Bagmati located to the south of Patan. Prior to the sixteenth century it was thus known as Bunga-Lokeśvara, so according to Dharmasvāmin (Chos-rje-dpal) alias Chag Lotsāva (1197-1265), who inspected the idol during his itinerary to Nepal, cf. Regmi, 1965, I, p. 560. Later this idol acquired a new name and identity: Rāto or Red Matsyendranāth[a] of Patan. It thus has nothing to do with Kathmandu as maintained here by **GLR**. Cf. here Wylie, 1970, p. 16; Dowman, 1981, p. 246-248 and especially Slusser, 1982, pp. 367-379, who at greater length discusses the puzzling transition of identity between Bungadyo/Avalokiteśvara/Matsyendranātha. Some texts speak about two idols of Ye-rang or Patan, i.e. A-kham/gang and U-kham, being the Matsyendranāth and Mīnanath of Patan, cf. Wylie and Dowman; Locke, 1973 and 1980.

553 **MNKB** E (Cd) 192a6-b1, b5: Jo-bo 'Ja'-ma-li, a white body-colour, of which one cannot look enough at, endowed with the marks and features of a Mahāpurusa, its sweet scent to be smelled for ten *yoyana*-s, endowed with three faces and six arms, with a size of about a child aged five. To be installed at the border between Indian and Nepal; **CHBYMTNYP** 211a2-4: It was installed to the

From [the part further] below [again] a voice sounded: "Cut slowly, I am going to be the tutelary deity of king Srong-btsan sgam-po in Snow-capped realm of Tibet!"[554]

Subsequently, 'Phags-pa Va-ti was installed in the country of Mang-yul.[555] 'Phags-pa dBu-gang in the town of Yam-bu Ya-'gal. 'Phags-pa lJa-ma-li was installed at the border between India and Nepal. From the blessing [accruing from] installing these three statues, the respective districts (*grong tshan*) were released from the three fears of untimely deaths.

Next, the emanational created *bhikṣu* installed the 'Phags-pa Lokeśvara at the summit of [Mt.] Potala, [where it is found till] now. Khasarpaṇi was [subsequenty] brought along and came to the country of Tibet, where it was handed over to the Dharmarāja Srong-btsan sgam-po, who rejoiced greatly [at the sight]. When he paid [the statue] a visit, he thought that now it would be no toil to work for the welfare of the sentient beings.

Thereupon, also the emanational created *bhikṣu* Akaramatiśīla was transformed into [pure] light again and was absorbed into the hair-curl between the king's eyebrow.[556]

[How] the Statues of the King's Tutelary Deities were Brought from India and Nepal.

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east of Yam-bu (here northern Kathmandu); **HBCHBY** (JA) 25a7. Its name 'Ja'/lJa/Ja-ma-li etc. is derived from Jamala, a village known already from the time of the Licchavis as Jamayambīgrāma. The deity was thus long known as Jamaleśvara or the Lord of Jamala. Later, this lesser form of Avalokiteśvara became known as the Sveta (Seto) or White Matsyendranātha. In the *dkar-chag* edited by Macdonald, *Kailash*, 1975, 17a1-3: Jo-bo 'Ja'-ma-li dkar-po. **GLR** mentions that it was installed along the border between India and Nepal, wherefore Wylie suggests the place Kojarnāth near Taklakot, which however is doubtful. In terms of historical antiquity it clearly postdates its 'big brother', Rāto Matsyendranātha, cf. previous note. For details, cf. also Wylie, *op. cit.* pp. 15-16, 20, but esp. Dowman, 1981, pp. 233-235; Locke, 1980; Slusser, 1982, pp. 379-80.

554 I.e. lHa-sa'i Lokeśvara or 'Phags-pa Lokeśvara: **CHBYMTNYP** 210b4-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 25a7. It was first installed in Magadha, and subsequently it was installed in the Potala of Lhasa, cf. below and e.g. **TSLKHKCH** 19b4-6; **GJBTSNK** 132.3 (= 66b3). Cf. also, Ferrari, 1958, p. 40, n. 51.

555 Cf. note 551 *supra*.

556 **MNKB** E (Cd) 192b6-193a2; **CHBYMTNYP** 211a6-211b3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 25a7-b1.

XII

The Invitation of the Nepalese Princess Khri-btsun

Next,[557] the emanational created king [Srong-btsan sgam-po] again thought: "A statue of Bhagavat is installed in India, another [statue] is installed in Nepal and [still another] one is installed in China, and in each of these countries where these three idols are installed the teachings (*chos*, *dharma*) of Mahāyāna are found diffused, so what can I do to fetch any of these three statues [with the aim] to further the spread of the teachings of the Mahāyāna here in this Snow-capped country [of Tibet also]?"[558] He therefore offered up a prayer to the autogenous sandalwood statue and [as a response] two rays of light emanated from its heart, one of which went to the east, and one which went westwards.[559]

Following the one which went to the west with the eyes, it was seen to take up abode in the princess named Khri-btsun, daughter of the king called De-ba lha (*Devadeva)[560] in

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557 This chapter, conjoint with the ensuing one, constitutes the core part of our present book, inasmuch as these chapters deal with what is considered two of the main events in the life of king Srong-btsan sgam-po: His invitation and marriage to a Nepalese and a Chinese princess.

The present chapter presents the mythologized story of the invitation of the Nepalese princess Khri-btsun. This part of the Avalokiteśvara-*cum*-Srong-btsan sgam-po Vita is found incorporated in most of the usual prime or parallel sources employed or assumed to have been consulted by Bla-ma dam-pa.The legendary narrative is transmitted in a mixture of prose and verse. Cf. Appendix note 557 for a fuller survey over the basic and parallel sources for this chapter.

558 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 111a1-2, (Cd) 193b5-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 696.2-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 125.10-17; **KCHKKHM-3** 408.6-409.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 211b4-212a1; **MBNTH**; **HBCHBY** (JA) 25b2-4; **GZBZNTH** 2.2-18.

CHBYMTNYP and **GLR** here display the closest relation.

559 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 111a2-3, E (Cd) 193b6-194a2; **KCHKKHM-1** 696.3-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 125.18-126.4; **KCHKKHM-3** 409.4; **CHBYMTNYP** 212a2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 25b2-4; **DTHZHG** 24.8-18; **GZBZNTH** 2.19-3.4.

560 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 111a3: 'Od-zer go-cha (= Aṃśuvarman, on him, cf. Lévi, 1905, p. 69f.), but later 114a3, 115a1 the king named Ratna Deva is then introduced [*sic*!] and E (Cd) 194a1-2: Ni-sa-la Bri-ho (? = Narendradeva or Nepala Bhima); **KCHKKHM-1** 696.5-6 has the Nepalese *rāja* 'Bri-ha-long (*sic*!) and the town is called Ya-bu ya-mgal (= Kathmandu); **KCHKKHM-2** 126.6-7 has the king named Ne-pa-la 'Bri-lo-ha (but later 138.19: rgyal po Ratna Dheva and, paradoxically enough, further ahead, 154.13-14, the text speaks about king Bal-po Dhe-ba pha-la (i.e. Devapāla), whose daughter is called Bal-bzang Khri-btsun) reigning in the town of Ya-'bu *dang* Ya-'gal; **KCHKKHM-3** 410.1-5 similarly has king 'Bri-lo-ha and the town is Yam-bu dang Yam-kal; **CHBYMTNYP** 212a3-4 has the daughter of king Bhi-ham Lo-b[h]i-pa deva [*sic*!] [? = Bhīmārjunadeva, rl. 631-41 A.D.], who in turn was son of king Guna Kāmahā deva Hośa khri-pa [? = Guṇakāmadeva, rl. prior to 600 A.D.], reigning in the town of Yam-bu Yam-'gal; **DTHZHG** 24.18-20: king Sa-ma 'Bri-sho in Ya-'bu ya-'gal; **GZBZNTH** 3.4-5 again has Aṃśuvarman.

The above Tibetan vacillation and obscure suggestions in their attempt to identify the Nepalese king present us with insurmountable problems. Unable to identify the oldest witness and unable to assess the extent of concoction or literary fabrication involved in the coinage of these names, we can only take recourse to conjectures. The king is costumarily identified with the famed Licchavi ruler Aṃśuvarman (rl. 596-621 A.D.), 'Radiant Armour', but this identification is not unproblematic, since the marriage was arguably considered to have taken place prior to 641 A.D., say between 628-638 A.D., possibly even earlier (the Dunhuang *Annals* and the *T'ang Annals* anyway are pointedly silent on this issue). Without a fair certainty as to the birth-date of king Srong-btsan sgam-po (only yardstick: ox year: 557, 569, 581, 593, 605 or 617 A.D., cf. note 449 *supra*), any chronological proximity in question of the paternity remains unsettled. We shall nevertheless tentatively argue (cf. note 1046 *infra*) that king Srong-btsan sgam-po lived 569-649 A.D.

While Aṃśuvarman could provenly have been the father of Khri-btsun, by the time of her

the country of Nepal to the west, [a female] endowed with a white body-complexion with a ruddy teint, exuding from her countenance a fragrance of [exquisite] *hari*-sandalwood and mastering all the treatises of science. It was [fore]seen that if she was invited [to Tibet] then she would bring along the statue with the size of Bhagavat at the [age of] eight-years as well as all the teachings of Mahāyāna.[561]

By following [the ray of light] which went eastwards, it was seen to take up residence in the princess named Kong-jo, daughter of the Chinese emperor Tha'i-dzung (Tai-zong),[562]

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marriage, and all the more so provided that the Tibetan king was born in 617 A.D., this *rāja* had since long been away from the throne. Accepting Aṃśuvarman as father would put the matrimony further back in time and indirectly speak for a high(er) age allotted to the Tibetan king. Aṃśuvarman's *floruit* probably commenced in 576 A.D. with full regency from 596 A.D. and the last inscription carrying his name terminates 621 A.D. Other cogent guesses would then be that she could be the daughter of Udayadeva, the *heir apparent* (*yuvarāja*) of Aṃśuvarman or even of Bhīmārjunadeva or Viṣṇugupta (rg. 631-641, 640-641 A.D.), the latter usurped the throne from Udayadeva. Opting for a later date for the matrimony, a fair guess would allow for the latter's son Narendradeva (rg. 641/643-679 A.D.; i.e. Na-ri-ba-ba of the Dunhuang *Annals*, who followed after Viṣṇugupta, i.e. Yu-sna kug-ti). Narendradeva had close contacts with Tibet while he lived in exile in Tibet for many years. Narendradeva's exile terminated in 641 A.D., when he returned to Nepal as king being by that time a vassal of the Tibetans. In that case, as suggested by Vitali, the princess must have stayed together with the father in his years of Tibetan exile, only then no formal invitation of her would appear to be required, as told in this chapter.

Cf. Appendix, note 560 for further discussions on the identity of the king, on her name and the location in Nepal.

561 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 111a3-4, (Cd) 194a3-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 696.4-697.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 126.4-127.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 410.3-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 212a2-212b2; **DTHZHG** 24.18-22.

For the eight-years statue of Bhagavat, cf. also chapter II and III *supra*.

562 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 111a4, (Cd) 194a4; **KCHKKHM-1** 697.2-3: The emperor is just called rGya-rje btsan-po and the Chinese capital is called sKye-shing khri-sgo, cf. note 123 *supra*. The name of the princess is Ong-chung; **KCHKKHM-2** 127.2-3: The Chinese emperor is denoted Kong-rtse 'Phrul-chung, the capital is Ke-shi khri-sgo (cf. previous note) and the princess is denoted Ong-cong; **KCHKKHM-3** 409.4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 212b2-3 similarly has emperor rKong-rtse 'Phrul gyi rgyal-po called rKong-rtse 'Phrul-chung btsan-po, the capital is similarly Ke'u-shing khri-sgo and the princess is called Ong-jo; **YLJBCHBY** 52.10; **DTHZHG** 24.22-23: Emperor rGya Kong-rtse 'phrul-chung in the town of bKra-shis sgo-khri; **GZBZNTH** 3.8-9.

Now, Kong-jo was probably not intended for king Srong-btsan sgam-po (cf. most recently, Beckwith, 1987, p. 19), but for his son, the nebulous Gung-ri/srong gung-btsan who ruled for only five years, *probably* 641-645/646 A.D. (these dates are nowhere confirmed; according to note 916 *infra*, he was born 621 A.D.; according to his calculated year of death in 646 A.D., aged eighteen, he was born 629 A.D.). After the untimely death of the son, the father, the old king, again took over not only the reins of power but possibly also the Chinese consort from the son, and ruled from 646 until his death in 649 A.D. (cf. note 939 *infra*). We have two different testimonies: In Dunhuang Ms 249 (Bacot, 1940, p. 82.25-27): Mang-srong mang-btsan (cf. note 935) was son of king Gung-srong gung-btsan and Kong-jo Mang-mo-rje Khri-skar. The Dunhuang *Annals*, on the other hand, speaks its own clear language, i.e. that Kong-jo was *btsan mo* of Khri Srong-btsan from 641 until his death 649 A.D. Weighty is also the 821/822 A.D. Treaty Inscription (East Face) that stipulates that the matrimony was with Khri Srong-brtsan. Such an official testimony is a very strong point, all the more so as it is reflected in the Tang Annals too, albeit this need not be conclusive while, in the case of Tibetan sources, nearly two hundred years had passed since the spectacular matrimony and while a massive glorification of the king as founder of the empire and the introducer of Buddhism had by then already set in, attracting thereby more posthumous worship

in the country of China to the east, [a female] endowed with a bluish-green complexion [commanding] a ruddy teint, exuding from her countenance a fragrance of the blue Utpala-lotus and mastering all the treatises of sciences. It was [equally] [fore]seen that if she was invited [to Tibet] then she would bring along the statue with the size of Bhagavat at the [age of] twelve-years as well as all the teachings of Mahāyāna.[563]

Now, since this king was distinctly aloof this world and had a profound mind, he [wisely] acted in accordance with what had occured in [his] dream. In the morning, when all the ministers came to pay their [daily] respects, they inquired [the king] in unison: "Is Your Majesty (*btsan po*) sick? The colour of [your] body-complexion looks excellent! Are you in a good mood?" He responded: "I am in an extremely happy mood. In my dream last night, I dreamt that the pretty girl, the daughter of the Nepalese king in the west and the pretty girl, the daughter of the Chinese emperor in the east, both two [princesses] would be married to me." The minister mGar said: "We ministers will by all means [try] to invite these two princesses appearing in [Your Majesty,] the king's dream." [The king] requested: "Do not relate this dream to anyone else!"[564]

Then the minister mGar [again] spoke: "We six principal ministers of the exterior, interior and intermediate [affairs] shall bring along food and drinks to sustain an assembly (*'tshogs rten gyi zas chang*) [of people], including a quarter of flesh (*sha gzug*) to each [of us]. Tomorrow morning let us assemble in the presence of the king's throne, [situated at] the root of a walnut-tree on the meadow-plain of Brag-lha!"

The following day, [when] the six principal ministers[565] convened, [they] procured the six pieces of flesh to sustain the assembly, two [of the ministers] carrying the feet [of the divinational animal], two carrying the paws, one carrying the torso and one [minister] carrying the chines. When the flesh pieces (*sha khog*) were rearranged [the animal] appeared unimpaired (*ma nyams pa*) [in its entirety][566] wherefore Thon-mi declared: "The prospects [for our mission] look auspicious (*rten 'brel legs*). At the present council (*'dun gros*), let us agree not to make any decision (*gros ma byas par*), whatever [our] thoughts are, they will all be fulfilled. [So] let not the council be trifling!" [Then] mGar spoke: "[Agreed!], let [us now] council on [something] important. Our ruler has [now] reached the age of sixteen,[567]

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than actually deserved. Finally, one may launch the hypothesis that the Chinese princess was married to both Srong-btsan sgam-po and Gung-srong gung-btsan, cf. Appendix, note 1137.

563 **MNKB** E (Ca) 111a4-6, E (Cd) 194a6-b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 697.2-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 127.1-13; **KCHKKHM-3** 409.6-410.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 212b2-213a3; **DTHZHG** 25.1-6; **GZBZNTH** 3.8-16. For the twelve-years statue, cf. also Chap. II and III *supra* and Chap. XIII *infra*.

564 **MNKB** E (Ca) 111a6-111b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 697.4-698.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 127.13-128.2; **KCHKKHM-3** 411.2-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 213a3-b3.

565 Instead of six ministers, a number of texts speak about seven principal figures convening from seven Tibetan towns (*grong khyer gyi gtso bo bdun*; *grong khyer bdun nas gtso bo bdun*), who again are identified with seven Tibetan ministers: (**KCHKKHM-1** 699.4-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 128.11-14; **KCHKKHM-3** 412.1-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 26a5): mGar sTong-btsan yul-bzung, Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, 'Bri Se-ru gung-bzang, Cog-ro dPal-bzang, lHa-lung dpal-bzang, Khyung-po dpal-bzang (*var.* sPrul-rta bZung-tsho) and sNyags Zur-chen (*var.* Yangs-spyod Sa-ring-mo, dPal-spyi-ston). Cf. also **GZBZNTH** 4.2-12.

566 **KCHKKHM-2** 128.16 reads *sha khog pa mnyam pa cig byung*, which probably is a misreading by the modern redactor of this text, instead of *mnyam pa*, read: *ma nyam[s] pa*. Cf. also **KCHKKHM-3** 412.4; **HBCHBY** 26a5-6; **GZBZNTH** 4.6-12.

567 On the age of sixteen and matrimony, cf. Sagaster, 1989-91, p. 293, n. 23.

the country of Nepal to the west, [a female] endowed with a white body-complexion with a ruddy teint, exuding from her countenance a fragrance of [exquisite] *hari*-sandalwood and mastering all the treatises of science. It was [fore]seen that if she was invited [to Tibet] then she would bring along the statue with the size of Bhagavat at the [age of] eight-years as well as all the teachings of Mahāyāna.[561]

By following [the ray of light] which went eastwards, it was seen to take up residence in the princess named Kong-jo, daughter of the Chinese emperor Tha'i-dzung (Tai-zong),[562]

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marriage, and all the more so provided that the Tibetan king was born in 617 A.D., this *rāja* had since long been away from the throne. Accepting Aṃśuvarman as father would put the matrimony further back in time and indirectly speak for a high(er) age allotted to the Tibetan king. Aṃśuvarman's *floruit* probably commenced in 576 A.D. with full regency from 596 A.D. and the last inscription carrying his name terminates 621 A.D. Other cogent guesses would then be that she could be the daughter of Udayadeva, the *heir apparent* (*yuvarāja*) of Aṃśuvarman or even of Bhīmārjunadeva or Viṣnugupta (rg. 631-641, 640-641 A.D.), the latter usurped the throne from Udayadeva. Opting for a later date for the matrimony, a fair guess would allow for the latter's son Narendradeva (rg. 641/643-679 A.D.; i.e. Na-ri-ba-ba of the Dunhuang *Annals*, who followed after Viṣnugupta, i.e. Yu-sna kug-ti). Narendradeva had close contacts with Tibet while he lived in exile in Tibet for many years. Narendradeva's exile terminated in 641 A.D., when he returned to Nepal as king being by that time a vassal of the Tibetans. In that case, as suggested by Vitali, the princess must have stayed together with the father in his years of Tibetan exile, only then no formal invitation of her would appear to be required, as told in this chapter.

Cf. Appendix, note 560 for further discussions on the identity of the king, on her name and the location in Nepal.

561 **MNKB** E (Ca) 111a3-4, (Cd) 194a3-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 696.4-697.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 126.4-127.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 410.3-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 212a2-212b2; **DTHZHG** 24.18-22.

For the eight-years statue of Bhagavat, cf. also chapter II and III *supra*.

562 **MNKB** E (Ca) 111a4, (Cd) 194a4; **KCHKKHM-1** 697.2-3: The emperor is just called rGya-rje btsan-po and the Chinese capital is called sKye-shing khri-sgo, cf. note 123 *supra*. The name of the princess is Ong-chung; **KCHKKHM-2** 127.2-3: The Chinese emperor is denoted Kong-rtse 'Phrul-chung, the capital is Ke-shi khri-sgo (cf. previous note) and the princess is denoted Ong-cong; **KCHKKHM-3** 409.4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 212b2-3 similarly has emperor rKong-rtse 'Phrul gyi rgyal-po called rKong-rtse 'Phrul-chung btsan-po, the capital is similarly Ke'u-shing khri-sgo and the princess is called Ong-jo; **YLJBCHBY** 52.10; **DTHZHG** 24.22-23: Emperor rGya Kong-rtse 'phrul-chung in the town of bKra-shis sgo-khri; **GZBZNTH** 3.8-9.

Now, Kong-jo was probably not intended for king Srong-btsan sgam-po (cf. most recently, Beckwith, 1987, p. 19), but for his son, the nebulous Gung-ri/srong gung-btsan who ruled for only five years, *probably* 641-645/646 A.D. (these dates are nowhere confirmed; according to note 916 *infra*, he was born 621 A.D.; according to his calculated year of death in 646 A.D., aged eighteen, he was born 629 A.D.). After the untimely death of the son, the father, the old king, again took over not only the reins of power but possibly also the Chinese consort from the son, and ruled from 646 until his death in 649 A.D. (cf. note 939 *infra*). We have two different testimonies: In Dunhuang Ms 249 (Bacot, 1940, p. 82.25-27): Mang-srong mang-btsan (cf. note 935) was son of king Gung-srong gung-btsan and Kong-jo Mang-mo-rje Khri-skar. The Dunhuang *Annals*, on the other hand, speaks its own clear language, i.e. that Kong-jo was *btsan mo* of Khri Srong-btsan from 641 until his death 649 A.D. Weighty is also the 821/822 A.D. Treaty Inscription (East Face) that stipulates that the matrimony was with Khri Srong-brtsan. Such an official testimony is a very strong point, all the more so as it is reflected in the Tang Annals too, albeit this need not be conclusive while, in the case of Tibetan sources, nearly two hundred years had passed since the spectacular matrimony and while a massive glorification of the king as founder of the empire and the introducer of Buddhism had by then already set in, attracting thereby more posthumous worship

in the country of China to the east, [a female] endowed with a bluish-green complexion [commanding] a ruddy teint, exuding from her countenance a fragrance of the blue Utpala-lotus and mastering all the treatises of sciences. It was [equally] [fore]seen that if she was invited [to Tibet] then she would bring along the statue with the size of Bhagavat at the [age of] twelve-years as well as all the teachings of Mahāyāna.[563]

Now, since this king was distinctly aloof this world and had a profound mind, he [wisely] acted in accordance with what had occured in [his] dream. In the morning, when all the ministers came to pay their [daily] respects, they inquired [the king] in unison: "Is Your Majesty (*btsan po*) sick? The colour of [your] body-complexion looks excellent! Are you in a good mood?" He responded: "I am in an extremely happy mood. In my dream last night, I dreamt that the pretty girl, the daughter of the Nepalese king in the west and the pretty girl, the daughter of the Chinese emperor in the east, both two [princesses] would be married to me." The minister mGar said: "We ministers will by all means [try] to invite these two princesses appearing in [Your Majesty,] the king's dream." [The king] requested: "Do not relate this dream to anyone else!"[564]

Then the minister mGar [again] spoke: "We six principal ministers of the exterior, interior and intermediate [affairs] shall bring along food and drinks to sustain an assembly (*'tshogs rten gyi zas chang*) [of people], including a quarter of flesh (*sha gzug*) to each [of us]. Tomorrow morning let us assemble in the presence of the king's throne, [situated at] the root of a walnut-tree on the meadow-plain of Brag-lha!"

The following day, [when] the six principal ministers[565] convened, [they] procured the six pieces of flesh to sustain the assembly, two [of the ministers] carrying the feet [of the divinational animal], two carrying the paws, one carrying the torso and one [minister] carrying the chines. When the flesh pieces (*sha khog*) were rearranged [the animal] appeared unimpaired (*ma nyams pa*) [in its entirety][566] wherefore Thon-mi declared: "The prospects [for our mission] look auspicious (*rten 'brel legs*). At the present council (*'dun gros*), let us agree not to make any decision (*gros ma byas par*), whatever [our] thoughts are, they will all be fulfilled. [So] let not the council be trifling!" [Then] mGar spoke: "[Agreed!], let [us now] council on [something] important. Our ruler has [now] reached the age of sixteen,[567]

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than actually deserved. Finally, one may launch the hypothesis that the Chinese princess was married to both Srong-btsan sgam-po and Gung-srong gung-btsan, cf. Appendix, note 1137.

563 **MNKB** E (Ca) 111a4-6, E (Cd) 194a6-b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 697.2-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 127.1-13; **KCHKKHM-3** 409.6-410.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 212b2-213a3; **DTHZHG** 25.1-6; **GZBZNTH** 3.8-16. For the twelve-years statue, cf. also Chap. II and III *supra* and Chap. XIII *infra*.

564 **MNKB** E (Ca) 111a6-111b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 697.4-698.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 127.13-128.2; **KCHKKHM-3** 411.2-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 213a3-b3.

565 Instead of six ministers, a number of texts speak about seven principal figures convening from seven Tibetan towns (*grong khyer gyi gtso bo bdun*; *grong khyer bdun nas gtso bo bdun*), who again are identified with seven Tibetan ministers: (**KCHKKHM-1** 699.4-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 128.11-14; **KCHKKHM-3** 412.1-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 26a5): mGar sTong-btsan yul-bzung, Thon-mi Sambhota, 'Bri Se-ru gung-bzang, Cog-ro dPal-bzang, lHa-lung dpal-bzang, Khyung-po dpal-bzang (*var.* sPrul-rta bZung-tsho) and sNyags Zur-chen (*var.* Yangs-spyod Sa-ring-mo, dPal-spyi-ston). Cf. also **GZBZNTH** 4.2-12.

566 **KCHKKHM-2** 128.16 reads *sha khog pa mnyam pa cig byung*, which probably is a misreading by the modern redactor of this text, instead of *mnyam pa*, read: *ma nyam[s] pa*. Cf. also **KCHKKHM-3** 412.4; **HBCHBY** 26a5-6; **GZBZNTH** 4.6-12.

567 On the age of sixteen and matrimony, cf. Sagaster, 1989-91, p. 293, n. 23.

and as nothing else [but the best] is appropriate for him (*gzhan du mi rung bas*) and for [his firm] appropriation of the royal power, the beautiful daughter of the Nepalese king sojourning in Nepal and the beautiful daughter of the Chinese emperor living [in his country], these two [princesses must be] invited here as queens." All [attending] ministers unanimously agreed: "[This is] good!"[568]

Subsequently, the minister mGar went into the presence of the king, entreating: "As the Nepalese princess first of all (*snga sor*) is to be invited, please grant permission [for me to leave]!" [Conceding,] the king gave [him] five gold coins (*dong rtse*),[569] adding: "Let these be presents of request (*zhu rten*)!" [The king furthermore] gave [minister mGar] a helmet[570] made out of costly lapis lazuli, studded ornamentally with emeralds (*padma rā ga'i phra rgyab pa*), adding [again]: "Give this [to the Nepalese king] as a recoupment (*rin du*) for [his] princess!"

The king [then] announced: "When [the Nepalese king] has successively come with a response to the three different demands (*bka' lung*) [of mine], at that time then hand [him] unerringly [correct] each of these three [letters]!", whereafter [the king] handed over [to mGar] three boxes with the official letters (*bka' shog gi sgrom bu*)[571] [for a royal matrimony], ornaments, cloth and food for the present [mission], etc. and many loads which were dispatched on horses, mules and camels etc.

"Everywhere along the narrow precipitous path (*lam 'phrang*) [to Nepal] [you must] proceed while chanting prayers to Jo-mo Bhṛkuṭī (Khro-gnyer-can-ma)", the king proclaimed.[572]

[I] [Audience with the Nepalese King]

Then, minister mGar paid his respects to the ruler, and carrying along the [neccesary] paraphernalia and dowries, followed by [many] beast of burdens, the minister, accompanied by hundred horsemen, departed for Nepal.

There they arrived at the gate where the Nepalese king De-ba lha resided, the Nāga-palace [in] the town Kho-bom [i.e. Kathmandu], [located in the heart of] Nepal, the Continent of Jewels. There, in the presence of the king, [the minister mGar] forwarded [his] petition [for an audience], and meeting [him], he handed over the five gold coins as presents of petition. Placing the costly helmet of lapis lazuli studded with emeralds in the presence of the king, [the minister] mGar spoke: "Great king! This helmet made from precious lapis

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568 **MNKB** E (Ca) 111b1-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 697.5-699.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 128.2-129.5; **KCHKKHM-3** 412.1-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 213b3-214b1; **MBNTH** 40b6-41a6; **HBCHBY** 26a6-b1; **GZBZNTH** 4.10-18.

569 Most other texts speak about one hundred gold coins and one full *bre*-measure of gold dust (*gser phye bre gang*).

570 Absent from most of **GLR**'s assumed sources: **MNKB, KCHKKHM-1+2+3, GZBZNTH** (a coat of mail), **CHBYMTNYP, MBNTH, HBCHBY** (golden lattice-net).

571 A golden, silver and copper (*var.* turquoise) box according to the other texts.

572 **MNKB** E (Ca) 111b6-112a2; **KCHKKHM-1** 699.1-700.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 129.8-130.13; **KCHKKHM-3** 413.2-414.6; **CHBYMTNYP** 214b1-215a2, 215b5-216a1; **MBNTH** 41a5-b3; **HBCHBY** 26b1-3; **GZBZNTH** 4.20-5.13.

lazuli is endued with immeasurable properties: Whenever plagues [threatening] men or cattle occur, take on this helmet and circulate the town, then human plague and murrain will disappear; at the time when hail and frost threaten to appear, take on this helmet and circulate your town, and you will be able [to withstand] frost and hail; at times when conflicts arise, then take on this helmet when you are fighting and you will emerge victorious from the battlefield; [you] will not find anything more superior in the [entire] Jambudvīpa than this helmet, so [my ruler] [hereby] offers [this helmet] to [you], the [real] value of which escapes [all] estimations, [offered] in return for [your] princess! I [therefore] ask permission to be granted this wise princess of yours as queen for my Tibetan king!"[573]

The king responded: "Is the heart of your Tibetan king ensnared by a demon (*snying gdon gyis bslus sam*)?[574] Clearly, he is mentally deranged! I am a descendant originating in unbroken line from Buddha Kāśyapa until the present. [I therefore] cannot [engage in] a connubial relationship (*gnyen zla*) with you[r king], [but since] you have come from a distant place, [I suggest that] when you have returned to your own country, ask your king whether or not he is capable of enacting a law in agreement with the ten [Buddhist] virtues (*daśakuśala*)! If he is, the princess shall be given [him], if not, then [the request] will be rejected!"[575]

Then mGar handed over to the king the first [of the letters] found in the three boxes with official letters (*bka' shog gi sgrom bu*), and when [he] opened it and looked, he found a letter in Nepalese script, written in gold on dark-blue paper (*mthing shog*)[576] [stating] as follows: "You, king of Nepal possess the law of the ten virtues, I king of Tibet, a barbarous borderland, do not possess such [a law]; since you, O king, [truly] rejoice at possessing [such] a law, I shall, provided [you] grant [me your] daughter, create five thousand emanational epiphanies [from my own] body which will enable [me] to enact a law based upon the ten virtues in [only] half a forenoon! Isn't it marvellous! If, however, [I] act accordingly, and [you] [still] do not grant [me your] daughter, I shall dispatch an army counting fifty thousand emanational created [soldiers who will invade your country], slay you down, abduct the princess and leave all [you] towns levelled to the ground!"[577]

[Reading this made] the [Nepalese] king very frightened. But though terrified he pretended to be fearless and said: "Your king is [indeed] a great swaggerer (*kha tsho shin tu che ba*). Ask [him] whether or not he is capable of erecting temples in your country. If so, then [I] shall give [him my] daughter, if not, [she will] be [him] refused!"[578]

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573 **MNKB** E (Ca) 112a1-b2, (Cd) 194b3-5 (briefer and different); **KCHKKHM-1** 700.5-701.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 130.13-131.7; **CHBYMTNYP** 215a2, 216b1-217a1; **MBNTH** 41b3, 42a6-b6; **KCHKKHM-2** and **CHBYMTNYP** stand closest to **GLR**.

574 I.e. has he gone mad! The formulation is lacking from all prime or parallel sources.

575 **MNKB** E (Ca) 112a4-5; 112b2-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 701.2-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 131.7-132.3; **KCHKKHM-3** 415.2-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 215a3-6, 217a3-b1; **MBNTH** 41b3-42a3, 42b6-43a4; **HBCHBY** 26b3-4; **GZBZNTH** 5.20-6.13.

Again **KCHKKHM-2** displays, aside from **GLR**, the most detailed version.

576 Aside from **GLR**, this is also shared by **KCHKKHM-2** and **HBCHBY**.

577 **MNKB** E (Ca) 112b4-113a2; **KCHKKHM-1** 701.5-702.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 132.3-133.4; **KCHKKHM-3** 415.5-416.3; **CHBYMTNYP** 215a6, 217b1-218a1; **MBNTH** 42a3; 43a4-b3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 26b6-8; **GZBZNTH** 6.14-7.3.

578 **MNKB** E (Ca) 113a2-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 702.3-703.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 133.4-134.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 416.3-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 218a1-5; **MBNTH** 43b3-44a1.

Again, mGar handed over to the king the second box with official letters and added: "O Lord! If I were to travel up and down on the long route between Nepal and Tibet for [the delivery of a response] to each [of your] messages, there would be no opportunity to invite the princess. To response to your question, [I] request [you] to read this letter of [royal] decree." So the king looked [at the letter which ran] as follows: "You, King of Nepal, has the potential of erecting temples, I, king of a barbarous borderland lacks the selfsame. [Since] you rejoice at erecting temples, if you grant [me your] daughter, I shall procure five thousand emanational bodily figures (*sku lus kyi bkod pa*) and [have them] make one hundred and eight temples, making [all] the entrances point in your directions! Isn't it marvellous! If, however, I acted accordingly, and [your] daughter was not granted me, I shall sent an army [amounting to] fifty thousand [soldiers who will invade your country], slay you down, abduct the princess and levelled your towns to the ground!"[579]

[Reading this again made] the [Nepalese] king very terrified. But though apprehended, he [again] pretended as if unintimidated and declared: "Your king is certainly a great swaggerer. [Now,] in your country of Tibet does or does not [your king] possess the material for enjoying the five sensual pleasures (*pañca kāmaguṇa*)? If [he] does have [it I shall] grant [him my] daughter. If not, [my daughter] shall not be given. Now depart and inquire!"[580]

Again, mGar handed over to the king the last box with the official diploma, adding: "As it is hardly practicable [for me] to return to [my] country [in order to deliver] each [of your] message[s], I [hereby present] to you, O king, a reply to your inquiry, and request [you] to read [it]. When the king opened and read [it], [it stated] as follows: "You, O king of Nepal, are in possession of [material] enjoyments. I, king of Tibet, a barbarous borderland, do not entertain such [pleasures]. But since you, O king, take pleasure in possessing [such] enjoyments of wealth, I [promise], provided you grant [me your] daughter, to create five thousand emanational bodily epiphanies who will procure an unmeasureable [amount] of enjoyments such as precious jewels, gold, silver, silk gowns, ornaments and food and drink etc. and in particular [I shall] open trading-places (*las sgo*) in [all] four directions, whereby all riches of the border [countries] will be brought to my door, [making] me a [materially] comfortable man. Isn't it [most] marvellous! If, however, these [things] happened like that, and [you] do not grant [me your] daughter, then I shall send an army [counting] fifty thousand [soldiers] here, who will slay you down, abduct your daughter and leave all [your] towns in destitute!"[581]

The king thought: "The [Tibetan] king [indeed has] answers to [any] question, can [all] these things really be true?" Gloomily, he swore to dispatch [his] daughter to Tibet. [His] daughter, sitting with a mournful countenance (*zhal ngo nag po*), added: "Father what is

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Some texts talk about enacting a law, others, as here, about erecting temples. In **KCHKKHM-1** and **CHBYMTNYP** followed by **MBNTH**, the conditions stipulated by the Nepalese king are reverted, i.e. first the erection of temples, then the enacting of laws.

579 Cf. previous note. **MNKB** E (Ca) 113a5-b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 703.1-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 134.1-135.3; **KCHKKHM-3** 416.5-417.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 218a5-b4; **MBNTH** 44a1-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 26b6-8; **GZBZNTH** 6.14-7.9.

580 **MNKB** E (Ca) 113b1-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 703.5-704.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 135.3-15; **KCHKKHM-3** 417.4-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 218b4-219a4; **MBNTH** 44a4-45a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 27a1-3; **GZBZNTH** 7.10-19.

581 **MNKB** E (Ca) 113b5-114a2; **KCHKKHM-1** 704.1-705.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 135.15-137.2; **KCHKKHM-3** 417.7-418.7; **CHBYMTNYP** 219a4-220a4; **MBNTH** 44a3-45a2.

wrong?" and the father answered: "[You] will have to go [to Tibet] as queen to the Tibetan king." But the princess intervened: "[I] will not go to that remote place, where [I] am separated from my paternal relations, [a place] bereft of Dharma and of material comfort, a wicked country."[582]

But [his] father declared: "You [must] not talk like that, you have to go. The Tibetan king is an emantional creation, endowed with clairvoyance (*mngon shes*, *abhijñā*), magical faculties (*rdzu 'phrul*, *ṛddhi*) and potence (*stobs ldan*, *balin*). Whatever I said, this minister [of his], without returning to [his own] country, is having a written response [ready], so [if] you do not go, [he] will [surely] know it and [immediately] an army of fifty thousand emanational created [soldiers] will come [here], kill me, abduct you and leave the entire country and town[ships] in destitute, so [you] will have to depart!"[583]

To this the princess thought: "After leaving [behind] this country of mine, I [now] have to go there to that remote spot, where I am deprived of the contact with my paternal relations, [a place] lacking the Dharma, [to] Tibet, a wicked barbarous borderland, but [on the other hand I cannot] break the command of [my] father."

The princess shed tears and addressed her father in the following words:[584]

"Alas, dear father and great king!
The Snow-capped [Country], a barbarous and savage borderland,
Where Saddharma has not been promulgated, Tibet, a dark continent,
Where the human beings are of a low caste, being outcasts and [descending] from the carnivorous race (*sha za*, *picaśa*)
Resembling the realm of the *preta*-ghosts [where] hunger and poverty prevail.

If [I, your] daughter have to go to a place like that:
A statue (*lha*), the origin of [all] wants and wishes, the father's sanctuary,
[Being endowed] with inconceivably [many] qualities of being seen, heard of, recollected and being touched,
[I.e.] Jo-bo Mi-bskyod rdo-rje[585] [I] request [you to grant] me!

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582 **MNKB** E (Ca) 114a2-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 705.4-706.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 137.2-14; **CHBYMTNYP** 220a4-b4; **MBNTH** 45a2-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 27a1-3; **GZBZNTH** 7.10-17.

583 **MNKB** E (Ca) 114a4-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 706.4-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 137.14-19; **KCHKKHM-3** 418.7-419.5; **CHBYMTNYP** 220b4-221a2; **MBNTH** 45a4-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 27a3-4; **GZBZNTH** 8.3-8.

584 The following versified song of lament and petition is found incorporated in most of the other prime or parallel texts, though **GLR**, again, displays a narrative version with some independent traits, counting twenty-five nine-syllabic lines. Aside from the last five lines which **GLR** shares in common with the other versions, **GLR**'s wording differs markedly, whereas, aside from minor trifle variants and different number of lines, the other versions are highly congruous. **MNKB** E (Ca) 114a6-b4 holds twenty-one nine-syllabic lines; **KCHKKHM-1** 707.1-708.2 has seventeen nine-syllabic lines; **KCHKKHM-2** 137.19-138.18 has twenty eleven-syllabic lines and, while this metrical narration is absent from **CHBYMTNYP**, Nyang-ral has retained it in **MBNTH** 45a6-46a1 which holds nineteen eleven-syllabic lines. Cf. also **KCHKKHM-3** 419.5-420.1; Post-**GLR**: **DTHZHG** 25.20-26.18; **GZBZNTH** 8.8-11.

585 Cf. Chap. II, note 84 *supra* and Appendix and the notes 879 and 883 *infra*.

The precious Maitreyanātha (Byams mgon), the successor of Muni,
The treasury [from where] [all] prosperity and happiness originate,
embellished by the signs and marks [of a Mahāpuruṣa],
Byams-pa Chos kyi 'khor-lo [I] request [you to grant] me!

The sandalwood [statue] of the compassionate Jo-mo sGrol-ma,[586]
[I] request [you to grant] me in order to remove [all] obstracles and untowards accidents.

The precious stones: sTag-sha deva and Ratna deva[587]
[I] request [you to grant] me in order to dispell the poverty [of] Tibet.

The enjoyment from which originate all wishes of precious stones and
The foundation for enjoying the splendour of ambrosia, food and drink
The lapis-lazuli[-studded] begging-bowl, [I] request [you to grant] me.

The Snow-capped Country [of Tibet], a place [temming with] hunger and thirst,
[I] request [you to grant] me many treasuries of precious stones, [to bring along].

[Against] the coldness and frost in [this] cool and frozen Snow-clad Country [of Tibet]
[I] request [you to grant] me a garment warming [me] for one full life.

Thus, in that kingdom of Tibet, a barbarous borderland
How I shall act and behave?
[My] dear father and king, pray tell me!"

[Thus] she requested [her father] with a voice of lament and with tears in [her] eyes, wherefore the father, with loving words coming from the midst of [his] heart, replied:[588]

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586 The Lady Tārā, made from *gośīrṣacandana*, cf. previous chapter.

587 Cf. also **MṆKB** E (Ca) 114b6: rtag-sha dheva and ratna dheva. Curiously enough, the mention of these precious items is absent from the **KCHKKHM** versions. According to **KTHDNG** (KHA) 157.23-158.2, 159.12-3 these two precious items are classed among the jewels originating from the god (*lha'i yul gyi rin po che*). Cf. also **TSLKHKCH** 13a3-4.

588 The following lengthy narrative response of consolation, guidance and consent expressed by her father, the Nepalese king and couched in a metrical diction, is found in nearly all the parallel prime sources at our disposal aside from **KCHKKHM-3** and **CHBYMTNYP**. The versions of **MṆKB**, **KCKKKHM-1+2** and **MBNTH** are almost fully congruous in their wording, evincing only minor variant readings and thematic elements as well as a slight variance in the number of lines. **GLR**, aside from the first seven lines which are identical with the remaining versions, is less detailed and displays - while it is in full accordance with the other versions in the main narrative sequence - nevertheless a remarkable independence in the wording and appears to be a later, slightly abbreviated and reworked rendition of this part of the Vita. Or, plausibly, **GLR**'s version may reflect an hitherto unknown or non-extant proto-version of the Vita.

GLR counts fifty-five nine-syllabic lines, whereas **MṆKB** E (Ca) 115a1-116b6 holds eighty

"You, [my] daughter [as dear to me] as my own heart,
The most distinguished country Tibet called,
[A land] with high mountains, pure soil and [crowned with] a necklace of precipitous glaciers;
Cool, beautiful, a divine abode and mansion,
The basis for the origin of benefit and happiness, most wonderous and marvellous,[589]
Garnished with forests and woods, whence the four [great] rivers flow,
[A place where] the five sorts of grain grow and sundry precious jewels originate,
[Where] the quadruped [animals] roam at large, and [where] herbal juice is employed as oil[590]
The king is a god and [his] retinue are Bodhisattva-s;[591]
Though the Dharma is lacking, the king possesses a code of law,
To a place like that You, [my] daughter, must go!
My tutelary deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) Mi-bskyod rdo-rje and
This [statue of] *bhaddārika* Byams-pa Chos kyi 'khor-lo,
At the time when the [average] age of the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa was twenty thousand years,
As the tutelary patron (*thugs dam*) of the Indian Dharmarāja Krkin (Kri-kri),
This heap consisting of various [kinds] of precious jewels,
Was consecrated by Buddha Kāśyapa and
Moulded by emanational created image-sculptors.
First [the statue of] Byams-pa Chos kyi 'khor-lo was erected.
Thereafter Mi-bskyod rdo-rje
Embellished by the marks and signs [of a Mahāpuruṣa], [a source of] limitless wonder,
Was erected as receptacle for the pious, a source of benefit and happiness,
[Possessing] inconceivable properties of being seen, heard, recollected and of being touched,
This [statue] is entirely without peer on this earth,
[Erected] in order [to secure a statue from where] the sentient beings of posterity [can] accumulate merits.

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mainly nine- but also seven- and eleven-syllabic lines; **KCHKKHM-1** 708.2-713.1 holds seventy-six mainly nine, but also eleven-syllabic lines and **KCHKKHM-2** 138.19-142.5 holds eighty-two nine-syllabic lines whereas **MBNTH** 46a1-48a1 holds seventy-two nine-syllabic lines. Cf. also tersely **KCHKKHM-3** 420.1-3; **DTHZHG** 26.20-27.7; **GZBZNTH** 8.18-20;

It is worthy of note that some of the versions (**MNKB** 115a2-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 709.2-5) falsely introduces the statue of Jo-bo Śākyamuni (actually the prospective dowry-idol of the Chinese princess, see next chapter) as the dowry-idol of princess Khri-btsun instead of the correct Mi-bskyod rdo-rje or Akṣobhyavajra.

589 This line is absent in the other versions.

590 This line reads in **GLR**: *rkang bzhi kun khyab rtsi thog mar la spyod*; in the other versions it reads (*cum var. lect.*): *rkang 'gros dgu spyod* (var.: *mang pas*) *rtsi thog mar la spyod*.

591 Cf. note 529 *supra*.

This, [the statue of] the king of Śākya, the Teacher of God and Man,
Had been prophesized to have the size of the eight years-[old Siddhārtha].[592]
At that time the world became permeated by light,
And all the gods had a shower of flowers fall;
This lofty receptacle endowed with qualities like that,
Although it is as dear to [me] as the apple of [my] eye
I shall give [it] along [as dowry], my beautiful daughter.
This [statue] of the reverend Byams-pa Chos kyi 'khor-lo
I shall give you along in order to lead all worldlings to virtue[ness];
This [statue of] the sandal-wood Jo-mo sGrol-ma, the self-originated,
The impediments such as the eight fears[593] etc.
Having been allayed, with the objective to diffuse virtuousness (*dge legs*, *kalyāṇa*),
[My] handsome daughter, I shall give you along [as dowry].
Precious jewels [such as] sTag-sha de-va and Ratna de-[va][594]
[I] bestow upon you with the aim to remove unhappiness and poverty
A trove of comfort, the origin of [all] wants and wishes [such] as precious objects,
This lapis-lazuli[-studded] begging-bowl,[595]
[In order to secure] an ambrosial rain of food and drink
[I] bestow upon you in order to remove all sufferings of hunger and thirst.
[Loaded] with jewels, gold, silver and ornaments of silk,
Beast of burdens including mules, camels and elephants,
And moreover [loads of] garments, food and neccesary utilities etc.
[I] bestow upon you, [my] daughter whatever you may wish for.
Ten beautiful and pleasant maidens of good family,
[All] I give along as a retinue of comfort for you.
Alas, you, [my] daughter whom [I am] unable to part with,
Keep in mind [this our] last conversation!
In the royal residence in the Snow-capped Country
When you are accompanied by [his] ministers and his Tibetan subjects,
Make sure that your deportment and behaviour[596] are accordingly!"

[Whereafter the father imparted her] countless instructions neccessary for the worldly

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592 Cf. Chap. II *supra*.

593 I.e. *aṣṭabhaya*: *seng ge'i 'jigs pa*, *glang chen gyi 'jigs pa*, *me'i 'jigs pa*, *sbrul gyi 'jigs pa*, *chu bo'i 'jigs pa*, *lcags sgrog gi 'jigs pa*, *rkun po'i 'jigs pa*, *sha za'i 'jigs pa*.

594 Absent from the other sources, aside from **CHBYMTNYP** 221b3 and **MBNTH** 48a4-5: *mi'i nor la dga' ba rin po che ratna de ba dang rtag sha de ba*.

595 Absent from the other versions, aside from **CHBYMTNYP** 221b3-4 (prose).

596 This detailed advise on a proper and exemplary conduct and deportment remains unnarrated in **GLR**, but they are detailed, being mostly verbatim congruous, in this narrative metrical part in the other sources: **MNKB** E (Ca) 115b2-116a2; **KCHKKHM-1** 710.2-711.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 140.7-141.10; **MBNTH** 46b4-47a6; **DTHZHG** 27.18-28.4.

code of conduct (*'jig rten mi chos la dgos pa'i bslab bya dpag tu med pa*).[597]

Thereupon, the king presented gifts to the [Tibetan] ministers, and gave a feast [in their honour] beyond imagination.

[III] [Returning to Tibet]

[The statues of] Jo-bo [Mi-bskyod rdo-rje] and Byams[-pa] mgon[-po], the two, would be difficult to transport on the road if a chariot was made, but when [they] wished to place them upon a beast of burden, none was capable of carrying [them]. Two white emanational created *mdzo-mo*-s then carried [them], whereby [the statues of] the Jo-bo and the Maitreya-nātha, the two, were placed upon each *mdzo-mo* and along with many loads of precious stones. Meanwhile the princess Khri-btsun too was riding on a white mule and surrounded by ten beautiful maidens and Tibetan ministers, [the caravan] set out for Tibet.[598]

The Nepalese ministers with retinue and servants provided [the travelling caravan] with a short escort (*skyel thung byas*) until the town[ships] of Mang-yul.[599] The loads hit the precipice (*'phrang*) where the cataract and the [steep] rock meet, and the [loads with the] precious jewels [were saved by having the ministers making a chain (*'phrang* [= [*'breng*] *skyed byas*)[600] and it was [subsequently] even said that the statues proceeded by foot (*zhabs thang du byon*). [Past the precipice,] the [surviving] burdens were loaded upon mules, camels and elephants [again] and the statues [too] proceeded riding on each beast of burden and [thus] they arrived in the country of Tibet.[601]

There, the Tibetan ministers and the Tibetan subjects gave [the princess] a grand feast of welcome accompanied by much music.

Then the [Tibetan] king arrived to [his] seat at the feast [of welcome] and regarding the [first] audience with the princess Khri-btsun, three opinions (*mthong lugs*) arose:

In the view of the Tathāgata-s of the ten directions, the opinion prevailed that the king and the queen, the two, were promoting the welfare of the sentient beings by way of

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597 Cf. previous note.

598 **MNKB** E (Ca) 116a6-b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 713.2-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 142.5-12; **KCHKKHM-3** 420.3-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 221a4-b2; **MBNTH** 48a3-5.

599 **MNKB** E (Ca) 116b1: *yul mang yul shing sna tshogs skye ba'i tshal ǀ shar phyogs bhe ta'i nags su dmag gis bskyel nas log go*; **KCHKKHM-1** 713.4-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 221b1-2: *Mang yul gyi shing sna tshogs skye ba'i yul*; **MBNTH** 48a6-b1: *Mang yul gyi bar shing sna tshogs skye ba'i nags 'dab ǀ shar phyogs shin tu bde ba'i gnas*; **HBCHBY** (JA) 27a6-7.

600 **MNKB** E (Ca) 116b3 oddly reads *rin po che rnams blon po rnams kyis sbun skyed byas*; **KCHKKHM-1** 713.6; **KCHKKHM-3** 420.5: *bod rnams kyis rin po che 'phreng skyed byas*; **CHBYMTNYP** 221b3-4 and **MBNTH** 48b1: *blon po rnams kyis 'brang* (? = *'breng*) *bskyed byas*. This altogether suggests that the loads with the precious jewels perhaps were saved by having the ministers following in one another's heels, thus making a chain (by carrying themselves the loads?) whereby the precious loads were rescued. Cf. also post-**GLR**: **HBCHBY** (JA) 27a7-b1; **TSLKHKCH** 10b1, 17b5-6; **GZBZNTH** 9.15-10.20 maintains the loads simply were carried on the backs of the ministers and retinue.

601 **MNKB** E (Ca) 116b2-3; **KCHKKHM-1** 713.6714.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 142.3-4; **KCHKKHM-3** 420.35-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 221b3-5; **MBNTH** 48b1-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 27a7-b1; **GZBZNTH** 10.2-19; **GJBTSNK** 125.5-6 (= 62a4-5).

[enacting] the twelve deeds (*mdzad pa bcu gnyis, dvādaśa kārya*);

in the view of the Bodhisattva-s of the ten stages, the opinion prevailed that Ārya Avalokita having transformed [himself] into king Srong-btsan sgam-po and Jo-mo Bhṛkuṭī (Khro-gnyer-can) having transformed [herself] into the Nepalese princess Khri-btsun, [the couple then] worked for the welfare of the sentient beings;

[finally] in the view of the ordinary people (*mi nag tha mal pa*), the opinion prevailed that [this meant that] the king and the queen, the two, in turns enjoyed beer in companionship (*skyems la gsol res byed pa*) and in turns were spinning threads.[602]

Subsequently, the king and the queen, the two, together with an assembly of ministers took up residence in the palace, [where] the king, once in the presence of the statue of the tutelary deity, without leaving [the place], [incessantly] worshipped [it] and offered up prayers. This [made] the princess Khri-btsun think: "This king is [certainly] adorned by [superb] extraction, bodily gestalt and prosperity (*rigs gzugs dpal gyis mdzes*), and he is a [man] endued with multiple endowments. Without ever going outside [his residence and country], he certainly causes fear among the armies of the border [countries such as mine], [a fact] that necessitates that means are taken to [ensure] [a state where] no fear [prevails]. Whenever prayers are offered to the precious lapis-lazuli[-studded] begging-bowl, measureless [amounts of] food and drinks are secured and when given to the Tibetan subjects and [then] committed to work, [people] should [be able] to erect an extensive castle-construction."[603]

She then also reported [the idea] to the king, [who] in [his] turn consulted all the ministers of external and internal [affairs] under [his] command. The lapis-lazuli[-studded] begging-bowl was filled with sundry [kinds of] nourishments, placed upon the jewel[-mounted] throne whereafter [it was addressed with] prayers. Thereby food and drink *ad libitum* abounded and being distributed to the Tibetan subjects, in the wood-female-sheep year [i.e. 635 A.D.], the foundation for the residential edifice was laid, in size thirty pisé-walls (*gyang skor*) were built, wherefore it was both high and wide [in extent], on each side [it] measured one [full] 'ear-shot' [distance] (*rgyang grags, krośa*) and [its] grand portal pointed in the southern direction. Nine hundred [and ninety-nine] red fortifications [were built at the basis] and as apex (*rtse mo*), [one] private residence of the king, [so] one thousand [castles were built in all].[604] All the residences were [supplied] with jewel-

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602 Although the details differ and the succession deviates, the description of these three opinions concerning the first encounter at the dMar-po-ri'i *pho-brang* between the king and his prospective queen is fairly identical: **MNKB** E (Ca) 116b6-117a5, (Cd) 195a3-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 714.3-715.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 142.19-144.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 421.1-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 222a1-b4; **MBNTH** 48b3ff; **DTHZHG** 28.6-11; **GZBZNTH** 11.3-5.

603 **MNKB** E (Ca) 117a6-b2 slightly different, (Cd) 195a6-b3; **KCHKKHM-1** 715.2-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 144.4-8; **KCHKKHM-3** 421.6-422.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 222b5-223a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 27b3-4; **DTHZHG** 28.15-29.14.

604 For the description of the castle, cf. more detailed **MNKB** E (Ca) 117b2-118a5, (Cd) 199b3-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 715.4-717.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 144.8-145.13, 145.17-146.15; **KCHKKHM-3** 422.2-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 223a2-224a1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 27b2-6; **TSLKHCH** 19a6-b1.

In this hyperbolic and mythographical description of the fortification-building by Khri-btsun and the king, it is not nine hundred castles that were built as stated by **GLR**, but the idea is, as the above texts allude to, that nine hundred and ninety-nine (imaginary?) castles were scattered around the basis of the hill (of dMar-po-ri) (i.e. all over Tibet), and as pinnacle the king's *sku mkhar* was erected on the very summit (*rtse*), hence its common name in later literature: Khri-rtse, the 'throne'

ornamented projecting roof-parapets (*kha bad* = *spen bad*), balconies (*mda' yab*, *ovidhyana*), railings (*pu shu*, *hamikā*) [hung over with] small bells (*dril bu g.yer ka*, *kiṅkiṇi*) sounding [pleasantly]. Its array was [most] beautiful, and in terms of elegance it resembled the 'most victorious mansion' (*rnam par rgyal ba'i khang bzang*, *vaijayantaprāsada*) of Devendra [i.e. Indra], [a palace] one could not look enough at, decorated with various precious jewels, [appearing] attractive and being embellished by sundry [surmounted] silk-embossed lattice-nets (*dra ba* [*can*], *jālin*) and half-nets (*dra ba phyed*, *ardhahāra*).

In terms of [causing] fear, [they] resemble the [terrifying] *rākṣasa*-city of Laṅka pu-ri [on Ceylon], on top of each of all the residential castles, weapons and ten red lances were hoisted topped with flags, and [each] connected by silk-ribbons (*dar yug*).

As regards their might (*btsan pa*) [one can say that] although armies of the neighbouring [countries] attacked, merely five guardians were enough to defend [them].

Furthermore, along the southern wall[s] a ten fathom deep ditch was dug, above which planks were laid in [regular] order, above which [again] bricks were arranged. This [created the illusion] that although only one horse galopped upon it, it created the sound as if ten horses came riding together.[605]

In the southern direction the personal nine-storied citadel (*sku mkhar*) was erected, called the Mansion of Brag-lha bKra-shis[606] and patterned upon a Mongolian castle (*sog po'i mkhar*). It was extensive [in size], [towering majestically] high and was beautifully structured. The king's personal castle, and the queen's personal castle, the two were connected by an iron-bridge, below which flags, [ceremonial] g.yag-tails (*rnga yab*, *camara*) and ringing bells (*kiṅkiṇi*) [were hung]. The king [and queen], father and mother passed hither and thither between [these castles].

Having [thus] successfully finished a peerless palace like that, being most wonderous and beautiful, the ruler and ministers arranged a grand feast [of celebration].[607]

The Invitation of the Nepalese Princess Khri-btsun.

[castle] on the 'summit' (of dMar-po-ri). Cf. f. ex. Appendix, note 1094.

605 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 118a4-5, (Cd) 195b5-196a2; **KCHKKHM-2** 146.6-7; **KCHKKHM-3** 423.2.

606 **YLJBCHBY** 52.7-9; **HBCHBY** (JA) 27b6-28a4; **GZBZNTH** 12.5; **TSLKHKCH** 19a6.

607 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 118a2-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 716.2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 145.13-17; **CHBYMTNYP** 223b4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 27b2-28a4; **DTHZHG** 29.1-14; **GZBZNTH** 11.6-12.20.

KCHKKHM-2 146.16-17 (foll. by dPa'-bo) maintains that the way how Khri-btsun erected the castles are found depicted as murals along the western walls in Ra sa'i *klu khang* inside Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang.

XIII

The Invitation of the Chinese Princess Kong-jo

Next,[608] minister mGar again approached the king, requesting: "I beg [you] to grant me permission [to depart] since the Chinese princess is going to be invited also."

Again, the king handed [him] seven golden coins, adding: "Let these do as [our] presents of petition (*zhu rten*)!"

[He further] handed him a precious [lapis-lazuli] coat of mail (*khrab*)[609] studded with emeralds, adding [again]: "Present [the Chinese emperor with] this as a price for the princess!"

Having [also] handed [mGar] a full *bre*-measure of gold-dust, [the king finally] added: "Use [this] for journeying there!"[610]

The king [then] announced: "When the [Chinese emperor] successively has come with a response to the three different demands [of mine], at that time hand him unerringly each of these three [letters]!", whereafter he entrusted [mGar] with three official letter-rolls (*bka' shog gi shog dril*).[611] Provision for the present [mission], cloths, ornaments etc. and many burdens loaded on camels and mules etc. were dispatched.

"Day and night and everywhere along the precipitate route [to China] you must proceed while chanting prayers to the reverential (*rje btsun ma, devī, bhaḍḍārikā*) Tārā (sGrol-ma)!"[612]

Then [minister] mGar carried along all [the items] given by the king, and driving the pack animals [forward], the minister, in the fire-male-monkey year (636 A.D.), on the eighth day of the fourth month which coincided with the appearance of the *Tisya* star, set out towards China being accompanied by one hundred horsemen.

[They eventually] arrived at [the city of] Zim-shing [in] China, [at] the entrance of the palace where the Chinese emperor Tha'i dzung (Tai-zong) resided, i.e. the bKra-shis khri-sgo.[613] That [city] held one hundred thousand households (*mi khyim*). Each side [of the city-

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608 In conjunction with the previous chapter, which in the structure shows a remarkable compositional similarity, the present chapter offers the celebrated story and quasi-legendary narrative of the invitation of the Chinese princess Kong-jo and her marriage to the Tibetan king Srong-btsan sgam-po. Its importance and prominence is attested by the fact that it occupies not only a substantial part of the bulky vita of Srong-btsan sgam-po and thus of **GLR** itself, but that it for many centuries has enjoyed great popularity as a celebrated drama-play.

Historically speaking, the princess was not intended for king Srong-btsan sgam-po, but for his son, the nebulous Gung-srong gung-btsan who ruled for only five years, probably 641-646 A.D., whereafter the father again took over not only the reins of power but possibly also the consort of the son, and ruled from 646 until his death in 649 A.D.

Cf. Appendix, note 608 for a fuller survey of the basic and parallel sources for this lengthy chapter.

609 **MNKB** E (CA) 118b1; **KCHKKHM-2** 147.9; **CHBYMTNYP** 224b1.Most other texts have a helmet (*rmog*). Cf. note 613 *infra*.

610 **MNKB** E (Ca) 118a6-b2; **KCHKKHM-1** 717.4-718.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 147.1-148.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 224a2-225a5; **HBCHBY** 28a7-b2; **GZBZNTH** 13.3-8.

611 **KCHKKHM-2** 147.10-13; **CHBYMTNYP** 224b3-225a2.

The other texts speak about three boxes (*sgrom bu*) containing an official letter (*bka' shog*), resp. a golden, silver and copper-made one.

612 **KCHKKHM-1** 717.6-7; **KCHKKHM-2** 147.13-148.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 225a4-5; **GZBZNTH** 13.10-11.

613 Some consensus prevails as to the name of this emperor and the place: **MNKB** E (Ca) 111a4, E (Cd) 194a4, 196b1: The place is called Ke-ru'i Khrigs-sgo; **KCHKKHM-1** 697.2-3: The emperor

wall] extended a day's journey (*nyin lam*) and [the city] was installed with four great town-gates, [wherefore the city produced] a most terrifying and frightening [impression] merely by beholding it.

To that [place] the minister of the Dharmarāja of India arrived, accompanied by one hundred horsemen in order to woo for the hand of the Chinese Kong-jo.

The minister of the Gesar king of War, along with one hundred horsemen arrived, also in order to woo for Kong-jo.

The minister of the [Persian] sTag-gzigs king of Wealth, accompanied by one hundred horsemen arrived too, in order to woo for Kong-jo.

[Finally] the minister of the [Central-Asian Turco-Mongolian Uighur] king of Bhaṭa-Hor arrived also, in order to woo for Kong-jo. [So in all] five hundred horsemen [representing] wooers (*gnye bo*) of different nationality (*mi rigs*) arrived simultaneously in the presence of the Chinese emperor. The [party of] the Indians pitched at the eastern gate; the [party from] Gesar took up residence at the southern gate; the [party from] sTag-gzigs at the western gate; the [party from] the [Bhaṭa-]Hor at the northern gate and the Tibetan [party] perched [their tents between] the northern and the eastern [gate].[614]

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is just called rgya-rje btsan-po and the Chinese capital is called sKye-shing khri-sgo; on the latter, see note 123 *supra*. The name of the princess is Ong-chung; **KCHKKHM-2** 127.2-3, 148.10, 189.15, 196.9-10, 18, 197.14: The Chinese emperor is denoted Kong-rtse 'Phrul-chung, the capital is Ke-shi khri-sgo (resp. Khri-sgo-can) and the princess is denoted Ong-cong; **CHBYMTNYP** 212b2-3 similarly has emperor rKon-rtse 'Phrul gyi rgyal-po, also called rKong-rtse 'Phrul-chung btsan-po (later 229a3 he is called rJe Seng-ge btsan-pa), the capital is similarly [s]K[y]e'u-shing khri-sgo (and Khri-sgo rtsegs-pa) and the princess is called Ong-jo; **YLJBCHBY** 52.10: Kong-rtse 'Phrul-chung; **HBCHBY** (JA) 28b1: The place is Thim-shing bKra-shis khri-sgo; **BZH** (Chin. ed. 2.11-16) has Kem-shing khri-sgo and the king is denoted Kong-'phrul; **DTHZHG** 29.17: Ke-ru'i khri-sgo; **GZBZNTH** 13.16-17: Thang The-dzung and the place is Grang-an bKra-shis khri-sgo, the latter thus identifies it with Ch'ang-an, a correct but modern addition.

According to Chinese annals, minister mGar arrived at the Tang court on Dec. 11, 640 A.D. carrying with him 5000 ounces of gold and and several hundred precious baubles.

614 **MNKB** E (Ca) 118b5-119a2; **KCHKKHM-1** 718.2-719.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 148.11-17; **KCHKKHM-3** 424.4; **CHBYMTNYP** 225a6-b2, the two latter texts speak about four groups of wooers. **HBCHBY** (JA) 28b3-4; **GZBZNTH** 13.20-14.7.

The simultaneous presence or arrival of wooing parties from other tribes or countries pleding for a bride is unattested from historical sources, although Chinese records do confirm that Srong-btsan sgam-po, after he had defeated 'A-sha in 635 A.D., dispatched an official to the Chinese court in order to request for a princess and thereby a marriage alliance with China. Rumours had at that point reached the Tibetan king that the Turks and the Tu-yu-hun already had received imperial princesses for their ruling houses. During this initial attempt the Tibetan proposal was rejected. Offended and with face lost, Srong-btsan sgam-po decided to carry through a series of retaliating raids into Chinese border territories until the Chinese acceded to his proposal. After some defeats, the Chinese finally agreed to the proposal and this led to the successful mission by minister mGar, cf. Beckwith, 1987, pp. 22-24. Heissig, 1990, p. 202, n. 155, suggests that the mention of the different wooing-parties should be seen as a poetic or literary sublimation of the above sketched historical circumstances.

[I] [Audience with the Emperor]

The other ministers next presented their presents of petition (*zhu rten*) and were [immediately] granted an audience (*mjal phrad byas*). When the Tibetans [led by the] minister then requested [for] an audience, they were forced to wait, and seven days having passed, the emperor along with his retinue turned up outside the palace, where mGar handed over the gold coins as presents of petition (*zhu rten*) and the precious lapis-lazuli coat of mail studded with emeralds was placed in the presence of the emperor, whereafter [mGar] spoke: "Great emperor! This lapis-lazuli coat of mail is beset with numerous accomplishments [such as] whenever human desasters and cattle plagues threaten, [all you need is to] attire this coat of mail and to circulate your town, then all diseases will be allayed; whenever hail[storms] and frost threaten, take on this coat of mail and walk around [your] fields, [you] will be able to withstand hail and frost; whenever fightings break out, put on this coat of mail and [you] will emerge victorious from the battlefield. [No one] in Jambudvīpa is [capable] of evaluating the value of this coat of mail. This coat of mail [my king] [will] offer [to you] as price for [your] princess! [I] [humbly] request [you] to grant [me] your wise princess as queen for my king!"[615]

But the [Chinese] emperor [only] looked at mGar with piercing eyes (*mig phur tshugs su gzigs*),[616] whereafter the emperor and [his] retinue bursted into a roaring and [most] unbecoming scornful laughter.[617] The emperor then proclaimed; "This impossible story (*mi srid pa'i gtam*) is most wonderous! I am a descendant in unbroken line until the present of the emperor of the entire China. The Tibetan king of yours cannot [possibly] cope with (*dod mi pher*) my prowess and might. However, since you [Tibetans] have [covered such] a long distance to come [here], [I will suggest that] when you this time return, go and ask whether your king is capable of enacting a secular law (*rgyal khrims*) based upon the ten [Buddhist] virtues. If capable, the daughter [of mine] will be granted, but if not, then [his request] will be rejected!"[618]

But the minister mGar [promptly] responded: "If [I] were to pass to and fro between China and Tibet for the [delivery of a response to] each of [your] messages, there would [evidently] be no occasion to invite the princess, so in response to your speech, my Tibetan king has [entrusted me] the delivery [of] this [letter], whereafter he gave the first letter-roll to the [Chinese] emperor. The emperor opened [it] and read [the letter] which was written in Chinese characters in gold on blue paper: "You, O Chinese Emperor, possess a law, I king of Tibet, do not have [such] a Dharma[-based] law. Since you, O Emperor, truly take pride in possessing a secular law based upon the ten [Buddhist] virtues, I shall, provided [you] grant [me] [your] daughter, miraculously create five thousand bodily epiphanies [from my own body] which shall enable [me] to enact a law based upon the ten virtues within one [single] day. Isn't it [most] marvellous? Now, if I act accordingly, and [you] nevertheless do not grant [your] daughter, I shall dispatch an army [counting] fifty thousand emanational created [soldiers who will invade your country] kill you, abduct [your] princess and leave

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615 **KCHKKHM-2** 148.15-149.18; **CHBYMTNYP** 225b2-226a6; **GZBZNTH** 14.18-15.10.

616 This description is lacking in all other versions.

617 **KCHKKHM-2** 149.19; **CHBYMTNYP** 226a6-b1; **GZBZNTH** 15.12.

618 **KCHKKHM-2** 149.19-150.13; **CHBYMTNYP** 226b1-6; **GZBZNTH** 15.14-19.

the entire country [of yours] levelled to the ground!"[619]

By [reading this] the emperor became greatly ridden by fear, but although terrified he decided to pretend fearless and declared: "Your Tibetan king is [indeed] a great swaggerer. Does he or does he not hold the power to erect temples in the Tibetan country of yours? If so, [I] shall grant [him my] daughter; if not, I shall reject [his request], now depart and ask!"[620]

But again mGar handed over to the emperor the second official letter-roll, and added: "Since it is not practicable (*mi 'ong bas*) [for me] to travel to Tibet [to convey an answer] to each message, I have this [letter-roll ready] as response to your inquiry, O Emperor, wherefore I beg you to read [it]." The emperor opened it, and when reading, it [ran] accordingly: "In your country of China, [the Buddhist] Dharma has spread and you possess the power to erect temples; I, king of Tibet, do not have the ability to construct temples, but since you, O Emperor, take delight in erecting temples, [I herewith promise] that provided [you] grant me [your] princess, I shall procure five thousand bodily epiphanies, [and they will eventually] erect one hundred and eight temples, [all] having their main-gate pointing in your direction. Isn't it [most] marvellous? If [I] act accordingly, and you nevertheless do not grant [me your] daughter, I shall dispatch an army [consisting] of fifty thousand emanational created [soldiers who will invade your country], exterminate you, abduct the princess and leave [your] entire empire in destitute!"[621]

[Reading] this made the emperor very terrified, but although shocked by fear, he pretended unintimidated and responded: "Your king is [certainly] a great swaggerer! [Now,] in your country, do [you] possess [the riches which will enable you] to take comfort (*longs spyod*) in the five sensual pleasures (*pañcakāmaguṇa*)? If so, [my] daughter will be given, if not, [I shall] reject [his proposal], depart now and ask!"[622]

Again, mGar handed over the last letter-roll to the emperor and added: "It is hardly practicable [for me] to travel [to and fro] between China and Tibet [to convey] each message, [I] therefore have this [letter which contains] an answer to your speech, O Emperor. I beg you to read [it]!" The emperor then opened [it] and when reading [it, it ran] accordingly: "You, Emperor of China, are in possession of wealth which can be enjoyed; I, king of Tibet, do not have such [material] comfort. Since you, O Emperor, take pleasure in being in possession of [such] comfort of wealth, I [herewith solemnly promise], provided that [you] grant [me your] daughter, that I shall procure five thousand bodily epiphanies, which will secure [the basis for] the enjoyment of gold, silver, grain, silk-brocade, garment and ornaments and the enjoyment of food [to such an extent that] it is even capable of competing with the material comfort of the gods. Furthermore, from the four [cardinal] directions [all] the turnpikes will be opened and all the wealth and riches (*nor rdzas*) of your border-country will unavoidably be gathered in front of my door, making me materially a comfortable man. Isn't it [most] marvellous! If, hovewer, I act accordingly and [you still] do not grant [me your] princess, I shall dispatch an army [counting] fifty thousand [soldiers who will invade your empire] slay you down, abduct the princess [of yours] and lay the entire realm [of

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619 **KCHKKHM-2** 150.14-151.17; **CHBYMTNYP** 227a1-b2; **GZBZNTH** 16.4-8.

620 **KCHKKHM-2** 151.17-153.5; **CHBYMTNYP** 227b2-b5; **GZBZNTH** 16.9-12.

621 **KCHKKHM-2** 153.5-155.16 (by far the most detailed); **CHBYMTNYP** 227b5-228b1; **GZBZNTH** 16.14-22.

622 **KCHKKHM-2** 155.16-156.11; **GZBZNTH** 17.13; the last request and condition is lacking from **CHBYMTNYP**.

yours] in ruins!"[623]

[This time] the emperor became even more terrified than earlier, making him think: "This daughter of mine, although she has many wooers, it appears that [I] eventually (*phugs su*) have to give [her] to this Tibetan king", and in a gloomy mood he returned to his palace.

Thereupon, the father-emperor, the mother-empress, the prince-heirs and the princess deliberated [the matter].

The father suggested: "The [Buddhist] Dharma has come from India. The princess must be given to the Indian Dharmarāja, as [we] are greatly obliged to him."

The mother, being very avaricious, proposed: "Give [my daughter] to the Persian King of Wealth!"

The prince was fond of good physical strength, so [he] suggested: "Give [her] to the [king of the Uighur Bhaṭa-]Hor!"

The princess, herself fond of a handsome bodily figure (*skye gzugs legs*), intervened: "It is very important [to find] a constant partner (*gtan grogs*) with whom [one] can be associated for a whole life", so she took an interest in the Gesar King of War.

Now, towards Tibet no one at all showed any sympathy.[624]

[II] [Suitor-trials on Wits]

The emperor then proclaimed:[625] "[I] shall remain impartial towards [all] you suitors (*snye bo*) and [I shall therefore declare] that [the princess] will be given to the most sharp-witted [among ye all]. [You must all] compete in shrewdness."[626]

[The emperor] gave [to each of] the five group of ministers (*blon po tshan*) a silk-ribbon (*dar yug*) and an [imperial] 'life-spirit'-turquoise (*bla g.yu*), [being] a so-called 'gut-

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623 **KCHKKHM-2** 156.11-159.8; **GZBZNTH** 17.3-16.

624 **MNKB** E (Ca) 118b5-119a4; **KCHKKHM-1** 718.3-719.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 159.8-161.6; **KCHKKHM-3** 423.7-424.3; **CHBYMTNYP** 228b1-229a1; **MBNTH** 51a1-2; **GZBZNTH** 17.17-18.12.

625 **MNKB** E (Ca) 119a4-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 161.7-11; **CHBYMTNYP** 229a1-3; **MBNTH** 51a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 28b4; **GZBZNTH** 18.10-12.

626 The following narrative segment, like the remaining Vita probably composed or recast by some anonymous Tibetans in the XIth century and not without its own literary qualities, describes the story of the competition between numerous rivals for the Chinese princess, a narrative which not only in Tibet, but later also in Mongolia acquired a remarkable popularity and influence as literary model, cf. Heissig, 1990, pp. 197ff; Heissig, 1991, pp. 42-3.

Chinese sources do confirm that when minister mGar, in the third month of 641 A.D., had a final audience with the Chinese emperor prior to leaving the Chinese capital with the Chinese bride, the emperor offered the minister a princess as well because the minister had given such clever replies to the emperor's inquiries, cf. Beckwith, 1987, p. 24.

In Mongolia the notorious resourcefulness and quickwittedness of minister mGar were to serve as a literary model in the wake of the translation of **GLR** into Mongolian as **Gegen Toli** or **Bodhimör**. Carrying or taking over the name Mergen temüne/tebene ('The Clever Needle'), this minister became a most cherished figure, where his alleged quickwittedness and his successful courtship in China commissioned by his ruler found its ways into a number of Mongolian stories. Cf. Heissig, 1990, p. 199ff.

For a detailed description of this motif-cycle, cf. Appendix, note 626.

twisted' one (*bzhag sgor mo*), about the size of a small [convex] buckler (*phub chung*), being highly lustrous (*bkrag che ba*) and having one opening (*mig*) in the end and one in the middle, the 'inner hole' (*nang gi mig*) resembling the [tubular] cavity of a bamboo-cane (*phug gi spa rim*). The emperor [then] proclaimed: "He who can pull this silk-ribbon through the hole of this turquoise, [he] shall be given the princess!"[627]

Since the other ministers were very powerful, they were given the turquoise first, but [after] having tried by various means and having let it pass from hand to hand (*lag 'grim gyis brgyus pas*) for many days, no one proved [capable] of pulling [the ribbon through the hole]. It [was then decided to] hand [it] over to minister mGar, declaring: "Whatever we do, we cannot pull [it] through, well let's see whether you can pull [the ribbon] through?", whereafter the turquoise and the silk-ribbon were delivered. The shrewd mGar had in beforehand fed up a Chinese ant (*rgya'i grog ma*) with milk and food until it assumed the size of a thumb (*mtheb mo*) and he then fastened a silk thread (*dar skud*) around the middle (*sked pa*) of this [ant], attaching a silk thread (*dar gyi the gu*) to the lower end (*sna*) of this [silk-ribbon], and having connected the upper end (*spyi bo*) of the silk-ribbon, [the two threads] were sewn together and the ant was thrusted into [one of] the openings of the turquoise. [mGar] then took the silk and the turquoise into his hands and by blowing (*phu btab pas*) [into the hole, the ant whirled through the passage] being drawn by the air[-pressure] (*rlung gis ded*) until it emerged from the end of the [other] opening. Thereafter mGar untied the silk thread around the middle of the ant and by pulling in [small] jerks (*nur gyis 'then pas*) the silk-ribbon [finally] was pulled through the hole of the turquoise.[628]

mGar [then] declared: "I have managed [to do it] like that, so I [must] ask for the princess", but [the emperor merely] proclaimed: "[More] contests on wits (*rig pa 'gran*) is still [necessary]", [thereby] showing [his] contempt (*brnyes pa byas*) towards Tibet [by] not granting [her].[629]

Again, the following day five hundred sheep were distributed [to each party] and it was proclaimed: "The princess will be given [the party] which the following day [first] has finished slaughtering (*bsad zin pa*) these five hundred sheep, finished skinning (*bshas* (= *bshus*) *zin pa*)) the animals and digested the mutton (*sha zos zin pa*) and [finally] had completed tanning the skin (*lpags pa nyes zin pa*)."[630]

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627 **MNKB** E (Ca) 119a5-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 720.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 161.11-16; **KCHKKHM-3** 425.3; **CHBYMTNYP** 229a3-6; post-**GLR**: **HBCHBY** (JA) 28b5-6; **GZBZNTH** 18.13-19.12; **DTHZHG** 32.15-22.

Here, as elsewhere in the description of these trials or wooing tests, the three pre-**GLR** sources show a remarkable congruity. **GLR**, albeit in conformity with the three above-mentioned texts, does display some unique traits in its description. Cf. Heissig, 1990, p. 206.

628 **MNKB** E (Ca) 119a5-b4; **KCHKKHM-1** 720.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 161.16-162.20; **KCHKKHM-3** 425.3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 229a5-b4; **MBNTH** 52b1-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 28b5-6, 29a1-2; **GZBZNTH** 18.17-19.12.

Heissig, 1990, p. 206.

629 **MNKB** E (Ca) 119b4-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 720.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 161.20-163.2; **KCHKKHM-3** 425.3-4. The latter text mentions, as the only one, that it was the threat of a military invasion of China by the other losing parties, that prompted the Chinese emperor to continue the trials; **CHBYMTNYP** 229b4-5; **GZBZNTH** 19.11-12.

630 **MNKB** E (Ca) 119b5; **KCHKKHM-1** 719.2-720.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 164.7-10; **KCHKKHM-3** 424.4-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 230a1-2; **MBNTH** 51a3-5; **HBCHBY** 28b6; **GZBZNTH** 19.13-15, **DTHZHG** 32.23-33.7.

[mGar made] each man among the Tibetan ministers slaughter one sheep and [made] each [man] skin it and amass the [slaughtered] flesh in one side and the hide on [another] side. Then the mutton was carved into small slices (*lcung mo*), rolled in salt (*tsha la bsgres*), and throwing [the bits] down the throat (*sgrin* [= *mgrin*] *la bskyur*), [mGar] forced them to eat it completely. The raw skin pieces [subsequently] were rubbed (*phur ba*) [in the tanning process] while making each skin pass [from hand to hand] down through the row (*gral*) [of the Tibetans]. When each skin appeared at the end (*zhabs, gzhug*) of the row it was ready (*ran par*) to be greased with oil (*snum byugs pa*) and again [starting] from the last (*'og ma*) [person in the line] each [skin] was rubbed [while passing through the line of Tibetans] and so at the upper part (*mgor*) [it] was tanned (*thul*) [as leather]. When [mGar] watched the other [parties], [they] were not nearly finished.[631]

[Again mGar] demanded: "I have succeed like that, whereas the others have failed, so [I must] ask for the princess", but the [emperor again] proclaimed: "Further competitions on wits are [necessary]!", wherefore [she was] not given.

Again hundred pots (*ben*) [full of] beer were distributed [to each party], and it was announced: "The princess shall be given to whoever capable of finish drinking [all the beer-pots] before noon the following day (*sang gi nyi ma phyed tshun*) without spilling (*ma bo ba*) and without getting intoxicated (*ma bzi ba*)."[632]

Again mGar [had] small tiny cups (*snod chung chung*) placed before the Tibetan ministers and served [to each of them] only a little spot [of beer] (*nyung re drangs*) [at a time] admonishing: "First [drink] a draught at a time (*hub re*)!" [and thus they succeeded] in finishing drinking, without spilling or [getting] drunk. Looking at the other [parties], [they] had filled great bowls with beer and fearing [they] should not [be able] finish drinking [it all], [they] gulped it down (*khrog rgyab pas*) [in great haste], which made [them] intoxicated and made them vomit and spill [all over].[633]

Again [mGar] declared: "I have succeeded accordingly, whereas the others have failed, so [I must] demand the princess."

But [again the request] was not met, contempt was shown towards Tibet as it was said: "Still further competitions on wits are [required]!"

Again one hundred mares (*rta ma*) and one hundred colts (*bu*) were distributed [to the competing parties], adding: "The princess shall be given to the one [capable of] identifying (*ngo shes pa*) mare and [its] colt together (*ma bu phyogs gcig tu*)."

Again, the other [parties] did not know [a means to solve the riddle], but mGar isolated

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Heissig, 1990, p. 205-06. It is interesting to note that in all other versions, this test number 2 and the following number 3 are dealt with as one test. In treating it as two tests, **GLR** (and following it, **GZBZNTH**) probably reflects an original proto-version of the narrative.

631 **MNKB** E (Ca) 119b5-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 719.2-720.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 164.11-165.11; **KCHKKHM-3** 424.6-425.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 230a2-5; **MBNTH** 51a5-6; **HBCHBY** 28b7-29a1; **GZBZNTH** 19.15-20.3.

Heissig, 1990, p. 205-06.

632 In the other texts the trial on digesting the flesh and tanning the skin of sheep and the trial on drinking pots of beer witout getting intoxicated are counted as one trial. Cf. previous notes.

633 **MNKB** E (Ca) 119b5-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 719.2-720.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 164.10-165.11; **KCHKKHM-3** 424.6-425.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 230a1-5; **GZBZNTH** 20.4-9.

Cf. Heissig, 1990, pp. 206-07; Bielmeier/Herrmann, 1982, pp. 129-131.

(*phyogs gcig tu bzung*) the colts (*rte'u*) [in a corral],[634] providing grass [for them] for one full day, but gave [them] no water. The following day the [thirsty] colts were turned loose among the mares, and [each colt by nature] sought out the whereabouts of its own mother[-mare] for milk. [The animals being] recognizing, [mGar again] declared: "I have recognized [the animals], and the other [parties] have failed, so [I must] demand the princess!", but [it was merely] proclaimed: "[More] competitions on wits are [required]!"[635]

Again the following day one hundred mother-hens (*bya ma*) and one hundred chicken (*bu*) were handed over [to each party] and [it was] proclaimed: "The princess will be given to the one [capable of] identifying the brood-hen [from its rightful] chicken."

Again, the other [parties] were bewildered, but mGar distributed (*gtor nas bzhag*) chicken-feed (*sbang ma*) on a wide plain and then confronted the birds with one another (*kha gtad*). The [birds began] eating two and two [together] and [mGar] declared: "Those eating from below the neck (*ske*) [of the mother-hen] and which has a pugnacious behaviour (*spyod pa 'tshub pa*) are the chickens, those not [acting thus] are the mother-hen" and so having recognized [the animals], [mGar again] declared: "I have recognized [them] but the others have failed, so [I must] demand the princess!", but [it was again] proclaimed: "[More] competitions on wits are still [necessary]!", wherefore [the princess was still] not given.[636]

Again, one hundred pieces (*ldum po*) of pine-wood (*gsam*)[637] were distributed [to the various parties] and [it was] proclaimed: "The princess will be granted the one who can tell the upper end (*mgo*) from the lower end (*gzhug*) [of these sticks]."

Again, the other [parties were] at their wits' end (*mi shes*). mGar, [in contrast], carried the wood[en pieces] to the river-side and hurled [them] into the water, [knowing that] since the root (*rtsa ba*) [end of the pieces of pine-tree] was heavier (*lji bas*) [they] would turn downstream (*thur du*), whereas the upper end (*rtse mo*) being lighter (*yang pas*) would remain upwards (*gyen du*) [floating]. [Once again mGar] announced: "I have solved [the riddle], the others have failed, so [I must] ask for the princess", but [it was again] proclaimed: "Still further competitions on wits shall be [necessary]!", so [also this time the princess] was not given.[638]

One evening the great [imperial] drum was struck in the palace and the other ministers went to the [imperial] palace. The hostess (*gnas mo*) of the Tibetan ministers inquired: "The other ministers have [all] gone to the palace, are you [Tibetans] not going too? It is better for you to attend", but mGar responded: "We have not even been invited (*shog kyang mi zer*) and we do not know the meaning with [the summoning by] this drum (*rnga de ci yin cha med*)!" The hostess argued: "Now that the other ministers have [already] gone, you should

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634 **GLR** B has mares and colts (*rta ma bu*).

635 **MNKB** E (Ca) 119b4-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 721.2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 165.12-166.2; **KCHKKHM-3** 426.2; **HBCHBY** 28b6, 29a2-3; **GZBZNTH** 20.13-20.
Cf. also Heissig, 1990, p. 207.

636 **MNKB** E (Ca) 119b4; **KCHKKHM-1** 720.4-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 166a4-b5; **KCHKKHM-3** 425.5-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 229a4-b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 28b6, 29a2; **GZBZNTH** 21.1-8, **DTHZHG** 33.2-3.
Cf. Heissig, 1990, p. 207.

637 Pine or fir wood (*gsam* = *gsom*, i.e. *gsom shing* = *thang shing*; Abies sp.); **KCHKKHM-2** merely has a thick round piece of plank (*shing sbom phra med pa'i hril leb*).

638 **MNKB** E (Ca) 119b4-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 720.6-721.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 166.11-167.3; **KCHKKHM-3** 425.7-426.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 229b5-6; **MBNTH** 51b3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 28b6, 29a3; **GZBZNTH** 21.9-14; **DTHZHG** 33.3. Cf. Heissig, 1990, p. 205.

after all go, although you have not been invited."

Then the minister [mGar suddenly] realized that the [summoning of the] drum was a diversion (*skyon can*), and leading [his] ministers, he [considered it safer to start] counting (*'dren gin*) each door *en route* to the palace by marking [each] door with paint (*rams dang tshos kyi khu bas mtshan ma 'dren gin*).[639]

At the palace the [parties of the] other ministers had [already] gathered. The emperor had that evening arranged a feast for all the [attending] ministers and [later] when the dusk of the evening [had set in], the emperor proclaimed: "Will all ye ministers [kindly] depart and find back to your own [guest-]houses! [My] daughter shall be given to the one who can find [it]!"

mGar borrowed a lamp from the palace, and by counting each door [on the route back] and proceeding while looking for the marks painted earlier, they found [the way to] their own houses.

At dawn, the following morning, when [the emperor] went to see [how] the other ministers [had managed], [he found] that some [members of the other parties] had broken into the houses of others, some, unable to find their own door, were seen sleeping in the street (*rgya srang*).[640]

Again, mGar inquired: "[We Tibetans] have found our houses, the others have failed to find [theirs, so I] demand the princess!", but the emperor [only] replied: "On the third day from now, three hundred most beautiful maidens, refined with ornaments will be lined up in a row on the plain [opposite] to the eastern gate; among these the princess will be placed and [she] will be given to the one who is [capable of] identifying [her]."[641]

Subsequently, mGar [decided to] associate [himself] amorously and intimately (*lus dang 'brel shing mthun par byas*) with the [Chinese] hostess (*gnas mo*) [of the Tibetans] by deceiving (*mgo bskor*) [her] with [good] food, [intoxicating] drinks and flattering words (*dga' ba'i gtam smras*). He then said: "One year has now passed since we [Tibetan] ministers arrived [here] in China; on wits we showed ourselves most cunning, but when we were to obtain the princess, out of contempt [she was us] refused. [We have] not [even] seen this [princess] Kong-jo, a Wise [Master] of [Divination] (*'phrul*),[642] [but she indeed appears] to

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639 The other texts mention that mGar marked the lintel of each door with a painted *vajra*, and the threshold with a *svastika*.

640 **MNKB** E (Ca) 119b6-120a4; **KCHKKHM-1** 721.3-722.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 163.2-164.7; **KCHKKHM-3** 426.3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 230b2-231a6; **MBNTH** 51b3-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 29a3-4; **GZBZNTH** 21.15-22.19; **DTHZHG** 33.8-14. Cf. Heissig, 1990, p. 204.

641 **MNKB** E (Ca) 120a4-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 722.1-2; **KCHKKHM-2** 167.3-6, 168.9, 169.13-14, 170.3 (mentions a line of four hundred girls); **KCHKKHM-3** 426.4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 231a6-b1, 232b6 (talks alternatively about one hundred, three and five hundred aligned girls [*sic*!]); **MBNTH** 51b5-6: one hundred girls; **HBCHBY** (JA) 29a4-5; **GZBZNTH** 22.15-18; **DTHZHG** 33.14-16.

For this theme, cf. Heissig, 1990, pp. 202 (n. 157), 207-08, 214; Heissig, 1991, pp. 42-43; Mostaert, 1947, pp. 198-201.

642 As Macdonald, 1971 and in particular Stein, 1973, pp. 418, 421-22; 1981, *passim* have demonstrated, the term *'phrul*, in its earliest connotation, is often an analogy of the Chinese term *zheng*, 'sage' appearing in the title of the emperor as well as in the title of the Tibetan kings: *'phrul gyi lha*. More precisely, as Richardson, 1985, p. 39, deftly concludes, when used with Tibetan pre-historic kings it arguably implies magical faculties, whereas with historical kings it rather stipulates, it appears, extraordinary natural intellectual power. Cf. f.ex. **BZH** (Stein ed. 2.9-10; Chin. ed. 2.15-17) where the Chinese emperor is called Kong-'phrul (cf. also note 613 *supra*), adducing, *inter*

be highly renowned, resembling [in fame] the blue turquoise-dragon (*g.yu 'brug sngon mo*). Now, you and this princess are on the [very] best terms with one another, so you must show [me] thoroughly what she looks like, this is very important right now, since Kong-jo in three days from now will be lined up amidst a row of three hundred maidens assigned to the plain [opposite] to the eastern [imperial] gate. It is proclaimed that she will be given to the one who is [capable of] finding [i.e. identifying] her. Since the other [parties of] ministers are powerful, they will [as the first be allowed] to choose and whoever [among] them who recognized [her] would most probably take [her] along, whereas we [Tibetans] would hardly be [allowed] to obtain [her]. Although we did identify her and the other [parties] failed to do so, a despiseful [attitude] would be shown [towards us] and [we] would most probably not be granted [her]. Should [we], moreover, by means of karmic causation (*las kyi dbang gis, karmavaśāt*), [be able] to get [the chance of choosing her], [we] still do not know what [she] looks like; you therefore must give [us] a good description [of her]. I [for my part promise you to] remain here in China and become your husband, [by all means] the princess should [not][643] be given [to any of] the other ministers", whereafter [mGar] as a bribery rewarded (*brngan pa la byin*) [her] with a full *bre*-measure of gold-dust.[644]

The hostess responded: "You Tibetan ministers are right, the emperor is very partial (*nye ring ches*), but the emperor is not alone, not one single person [in China] is fond of the Tibetans, they say that Tibet is the kingdom of the hungry ghosts (*preta*) and they [all] hope that [any] of the other ministers will [be able] to win this princess. [If] they [just] one time [succeeded in being] [more] sagacious [in these suitor-trials, they] will be given the princess. This princess Kong-jo, [Master] of Transformation (*'phrul*) is my mistress (*dpon mo*), so I am very knowledgeable (*rgyus..che*) [concerning a description of her], but since she is very clever in the Chinese [art of divinatory] calculation,[645] [she] will detect [my act of treason] and I will be put to death, [I] therefore cannot [give you] a description."[646]

But mGar intervened: "I have a method by which [your collaboration remains] undetected by [divinatory] calculation." He [first] fastened the door inside [his] house, [then]

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alia, that he is known as the *rgya nag gtsug lag gi rgyal po*, the emperor of the Chinese divinational science, since he possesses (i.e. masters) the divinational chart in three hundred and sixty sections. The term thus denotes a mixture of magical and super*natural* noetic powers and *'phrul* (and even *sprul*) in a (pre?-)Buddhist context no doubt reflected or implied the sense (or knowledge) of mutation (*hua, yi*) as is known from the mantic system of Yi-jing. So also in the present situation. Kong-jo is in fact endued with extraordinary intellectual powers in the field of divination. A possible equivalent would be the adj. 'wise', which originally characterized one skilled in divination, akin to a sage, a magus or, as here, a wisewoman. This term has here been preserved in the Vita-cycle of Srong-btsan sgam-po and the original meaning is probably lost to the Tibetans, at least to present-day Tibetans, where *'phrul* exclusively alludes to magic of sorts. Cf. also note 663 *infra*. For the blue turquoise dragon, one of the cardinal animals of Chinese astrology, cf. the note 767.

643 **GLR** reads *bskur bas chog*, but contextually it only makes sense to read *bskur bas mi chog*.

644 **MNKB** E (Ca) 120a5-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 722.2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 167.6-16; **KCHKKHM-3** 426.5-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 231b1-5; **MBNTH** 51b6-52a1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 29a4-5; **GZBZNTH** 23.14-17; **DTHZHG** 33.16-17.

GLR here evinces the most detailed version. For this theme, cf. Heissig, p. 202 (nn. 158-59).

645 **KCHKKHM-2** reads: *spor thang khra mo'i ju zhag gi rtsis pa*.

646 **MNKB** E (Ca) 120a6; **KCHKKHM-1** 722.2-724.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 167.16-18; **KCHKKHM-3** 426.6; **CHBYMTNYP** 231b5-6; **MBNTH** 52a1; **GZBZNTH** 24.10-25.4.

he placed three large hearth-stones (*sgyed po chen po*) [on the floor]. Thereupon a large kettle (*zangs*) brimming with water was deposited, in the water feathers (*bya spu*) originating from various kinds of birds were strewed and [then] covered (*kha bcad*) by a red shield (*phub dmar po*) [as a lid]. Upon this [arrangement] the hostess was seated, her head being covered by a clay-pot (*rdza ma*). The opening of the pot was [then] covered by a net-work and a hole was drilled into the pot. Through this and through the mesh (*dra mig*) [of the net-work] a copper-pipe (*zangs dung*) was inserted [and protuded]. Then [mGar] commented: "Deliver [your] explanation through this [copper-tube], then although [your] description should be detected by way of [divinatory] calculation, [no one] will believe it [anyway], so [kindly] give [me] a good description!"[647]

And the hostess spoke: "Great Minister, bear carefully in mind![648]

> The princess Kong-jo, [Master of] Transformation (*'phrul*)
> Does not differ from the other [three hundred] maidens in terms of size (*che rgyu med*),
> Nor does [she] differ in beauty (*legs rgyu med*) from the other as to bodily form (*skye gzugs*);
> Nor does [she] differ from the other in terms of elegance (*bzang rgyu med*) of ornamental dress,
> Her special characteristics (*khyad chos*):

She is endowed with a blue-greenish (*sngo*) body-colour [governed] by a [blushing] ruddy complexion (*dmar ba'i mdangs*). Her countenance exhales a scent of the [attractive] blue *utpala*-lotus and her body exudes sweet scents which attract a turquoise-coloured bee (*g.yu'i sbrang ma*) [seen] circulating [around her]. On her right cheek (*[m]khur tshos*) is a [square] die-figure (*cho lo ris*; mole) found; on her left a lotus-figure, in the middle of her forhead (*dpral*) [a small figure of] Āryā Tārā [is found] [drawn] upon a vermilion[-coloured] spot (*sindūra-tilaka*) about [the size of] a barley-corn (*nas tsam*).[649] Her teeth would have [small] white spots (*so zho*) and her neck (*og ma = lkog ma*) [would] have [beautiful] white spots (*og zho*). Princess Kong-jo would neither appear at the [extreme] end of the alignment of the three hundred maidens, nor in the middle of the row, but would appear [just] before the sixth maiden counting from left in the alignment.[650] The body and the dress of the

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647 **MNKB** E (Ca) 120a6-b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 722.4-732.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 167.18-168.9; **KCHKKHM-3** 426.6-427.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 231b5-232a1; **MBNTH** 52a2; **HBCHBY** 29a6ff.; **GZBZNTH** 24.10-25.4.

These versions alter slightly. Cf. Heissig, 1990, pp. 208-14.

648 This metrical piece is lacking from all other versions, except **HBCHBY** (JA) 30b4-6; **GZBZNTH** 24.10-14.

649 **KCHKKHM-1** and **CHBYMTNYP** talk about a *g.yung drung ris pa dang bkr[a sh]is kyi phyag rgya*; **KCHKKHM-2** mentions that the spot had the size of a seed of white mustard (*yungs dkar*).

650 **MNKB** E (JA) 120b1-2, **KCHKKHM-1** 723.2-3 maintain that she appeared as the one hundred and fiftieth maiden in the row. In **KCHKKHM-2** as the three hundred and fiftieth (of in all four hundred); **KCHKKHM-3** has that she occured as the fifty-oneth and in **CHBYMTNYP** it is said that she appeared as the three hundredth maiden in the row; **MBNTH**: She appeared after the fiftieth (of in all one hundred girls). As it seen, the versions differ markedly; cf. also the Heissig, 1990, p. 214.

princess [would] be protected by [*r*]*gya*.[651] As [her] body and cloth [thus] are untouchable, [you] will have to carry along a new arrow (*mda' gsar pa*) equipped with square, diapered silk[-ribbons] (*dar le brgan kha gang*) and when approaching the princess [it can be observed that] she wears a silk-garment trimmed with five laces (*dar gos sham bu lnga brtsegs*) [around the collar] above which [one would find] conspicuously impure [spots] (*dri ma lcam me ba*).[652] Therefore [you] must pull [her] forth [from among the other maidens] by hooking [her] by the collar (*gong ba nas*) with the notch of the arrow (*mda'i ltong*)."[653]

mGar subsequently demolished the [artful] devices (*chas*), and a sense of joy and ease filled [his] body and mind. He uttered: "We Tibetan ministers have up till now been in the lead (*mgo thon*) [in these tests], yet still we will have to be in the front [in order to win the princess]. We have neither come to China in order to deal in trade nor in order to protect spiritual friends (*kalyāṇamitra*-s). If we [want] to secure the princess, we will have to be successful (*mgo thon pa*), wherefore [we] must deliberate [the matter] carefully (*brtag pa legs po byas dgos*). It is definitely certain that whoever identifies her amidst the three hundred [aligned] maidens, when [they gather] three days from now, that one will win her, and that is why we must avoid to make any fatal mistake (*spyang glen ma nor ba cig byed dgos*)."[654]

Then, on the third day, three hundred handsomely embellished maidens were aligned on the plain [opposite] to the eastern gate [of the palace].

The entire population of China had assembled to [watch this spectacular] scenario (*ltad mo*). Then the emperor proclaimed: "The ministers shall choose in accordance with the earlier order of precedence!"

So [first] the ministers of the Indian Dharmarāja-s appeared. They picked out two handsome and neatly dressed maidens from amidst the row, arguing: "If it is not the first, it must be the other one", whereafter they went off humming (*'u*[*r*] *sgra*) and whistling (*so sgra 'debs*).

Thereafter the ministers of the Persian King of Wealth appeared, picked out two beautiful maidens, behaved like the former and went off.

Following them, the ministers of the Ge-sar King of War appeared, picked out two beautiful maidens and went off after having behaved like the previous ones.

Hereafter the ministers of the King of Bhaṭa-Hor appeared, who [also] picked out two handsome maidens and left [again] in like manner.[655]

When [this] was observed by minister mGar, [he] realized that [all] those [who had

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651 Not entirely clear: *rgya*, a seal? This passage is unfortunately lacking in all other versions. Or is it a reminiscence of some of the marks characterizing the girl and mentioned in some of the other versions, a *phyag rgya*? Or some mantric signs protecting her?

652 In order to divert the attention from the princess.

653 **MNKB** E (Ca) 120b1-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 723.2-724.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 168.9-169.7; **KCHKKHM-3** 427.2-428.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 232a2-b6; **MBNTH** 52a2-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 30b4-7; **GZBZNTH** 25.13-27.20; **DTHZHG** 33.18-20.

Among the basic sources, **KCHKKHM-2**, **CHBYMTNYP** and **GLR** are, as already said, providing the most detailed versions.

654 This passage only contained in **KCHKKHM-2** 169.7-170.2, aside from **GZBZNTH** 25.4-12 (following **GLR**).

655 **MNKB** E (Ca) 120b4; **KCHKKHM-1** 742.3-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 170.3-9; **CHBYMTNYP** 232b6-233b1; **GZBZNTH** 25.19-4.

been chosen] were wrong. He rejoiced greatly and [could not help] escaping a malicious smile (*'dzum mul gyis shor*).

Then mGar, holding the arrow in his hand, and leading his Tibetan [colleague] ministers, headed (*gtad phyin*) towards the left row, and to the maiden [standing] to [the extreme] left, mGar said:[656]

"This [maiden] appears [to be] the daughter of the butcher (*shan pa*);
Since red [i.e. blood-stained] hands is it not the way how [the butcher's hands] are (*lag pa 'di yi dmar lugs sam*)?

The [maiden] preceding (*gong na 'dug pa*) her
Appears [to be] the daughter of the potter (*rdza mkhan*);
While is it not customary [for potters] to have many scars on the hands (*lag pa ser kha mang lugs sam*)?

The [maiden] proceding her
Appears [to be] the daughter of a carpenter (*shing mkhan*);
While is it not customary that the[ir] dress is grayish [i.e. wood-dusted] (*gos log 'di yi skya lugs sam*)?

The [maiden] preceding her
Appears [to be] the daughter of an armourer (*khrab mkhan*);
While is it not customary that the[ir] upper coat has oily [maculations] (*steng gos 'di yi snum lugs sam*)?

The [maiden] preceding her
Appears [to be] the daughter of the coppler (*phyis mkhan*);
While is it not habitually [for them] to wear these many straps (*'breng bu 'di yi mang lugs sam*)?

The [maiden] preceding her
Appears [to be] the daughter of a black-smith (*mgar ba*);
While is it not customary that the[ir] skirt is black (*gos kyi thu ba'i nag lugs sam*)?

The [maiden] preceding her
Appears [to be] the daughter of a silk-weaver (*dar 'thag*);
While is it not [so] that [they] wear the finest silk-garments (*dar zab lus la gon lugs sam*)?

The [maiden] preceding her

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656 This section describing in a mixture of prose and verse the identification of the princess and conducted by minister mGar by way of an almost Sherlock Holmian art or procedure of deduction, is lacking altogether from the other versions of the narrative, aside from **GZBZNTH** 26.9-27.17 and a reminiscence in **HBCHBY** (JA) 30b6; cf. differently **KCHKKHM-1** 724.4-725.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 170.9-13; cf. also Heissig, 1990, p. 202, n. 157.

Appears [to be] the princess Kong-jo,
While [she] has a blue-greenish body-colour with a [blushing] ruddy complexion;
Her countenance exhaling a scent of the blue lotus,
Fragrant scents [attracting] a turquoise[-coloured] bee to circulate [her];
The cheeks being marked by a die-figure and a lotus
And [her] forhead being marked by [a figure of] *bhaḍḍārikā* Tārā;
Her teeth sitting close and firm (*so tshags dam*) and with white spots:
[This] maiden of Great Transformation (*'phrul chen*) is much more handsome than any other maiden!"

mGar [kept] enumerating suchlike qualities [possessed by her], whereafter he [finally] pulled [her] forth [from the row] by hooking [her] by the collar with the notch of the arrow (*gong ba nas mda'i stong gis bzung nas 'then pas*). Weeping the princess followed the minister.

Confronted with the weeping [tears] of the princess, minister mGar chanted the following song of consolation (*spro ba skyed pa*) being joined (*ram bu bteg*) by the two [ministers] Thon-mi Sambhoṭa and 'Bri Se-ru gong-ston:[657]

"Alas, [it is] most marvellous!
Princess Kong-jo, You
Kindly listen to our words!
Let happiness cheer [your] heart.

In the Kingdom of Tibet
In the palace of the king
Made out of the five precious jewels
[The country] is governed by a divine Ruler of Man (*mi rje lha*).[658]

This is [king] Srong-btsan sgam-po
[Whose] family and extraction are of glorious splendour;
Whenever beholding him [your] mind is captivated,
[He] is [truly] the Great Compassionate.

The royal power is being safeguarded in accordance with the Dharma;
[His] subjects obey by the [secular] law;
The king, ministers, retinue and his subjects
Chant [this] song of happiness [of Tibet]:

The sun of Dharma has risen;

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657 The following metrical section is lacking altogether from all other versions aside from **HBCHBY** (JA) 31a1-2 (abbreviated); **DTHZHG** 34.1-35.3; **TSLKHKCH** 9a5-b2; **GZBZNTH** 28.3-29.10 (all presumably following **GLR**). Cf. also Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 180-181. For the two ministers, cf. the notes 515 and 517.

658 Cf. note 528 *supra* and further **MṆKB** E (Ca) 121b3-4, **KCHKKHM-1** 731.5 and **KCHKKHM-2** 173.12.

The lamp of Glory has been lifted [high];
On its mountains various trees are found [growing];
On its wide plains
A multitude of the five different sorts of grain
Are found growing in great density;
Gold, silver, copper and iron etc.
Various sorts of precious metal-[ores] are found;
Cattle, horses and sheep, these three, abound.
Suchlike happy [circumstances] prevail;
Alas, [isn't it] most marvellous [indeed]!
Princess Kong-jo, pay attention!"

The princess thought: "If this holds true, then [Tibet] appears to be like my own country" and wiping away [her] tears she followed the minister.

The minister ascended [his] horse, rode around the scene (*khrom*) and then declared: "We Tibetans surpass [you] Indians and Hor[-people] [in wits]. We [Tibetans] shall [now] bring the princess [to Tibet], so all [of you] sit down and place your finger[s] to your mouth (*thams cad khar mdzub mo chug la sdod*)!"[659]

[III] [Departing for Tibet]

The Chinese population lamented [bitterly the outcome of the trials]: "Our wise princess [shall] be taken along by the wicked Tibetans!"

The emperor then also addressed the other [parties of] ministers: "Since you too are fit for a connubial alliance (*gnyen zla*) with us Chinese, take along the maidens chosen by you and depart to your own country!"

Minister mGar ordered the princess: "Now prepare yourself to depart for Tibet!" and left.

The princess went to the palace, where her father, the emperor said: "You will have to depart [for Tibet] in order to become the queen of the Tibetan king", [but] the princess retorted [sharply]: "I [do] not [want] to go to that remote spot separated from my paternal relatives (*pha ming*), an evil country lacking [the presence of] Dharma." Again the father responded: "Do not say words like that, you will have to go, the Tibetan king is a person endowed with clairvoyance (*mngon shes*, *abhijñā*), magical faculties (*ṛddhi*) and prowess (*mthu stobs*); whatever I demanded, his answer was [constantly] appearing in [form of] a letter, without his [minister needed] to return to Tibet [to bring an answer]. He will come to know that you do not want to go and [the consequence would be] that an army of [his counting] about fifty thousand [soldiers] would turn up here, kill me, abduct you and devastate [our] entire countryland and towns. What can be done? Just look at the [incredible] conduct of the minister [of theirs]. Therefore, you better have to go."[660]

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659 I.e. don't speak as it becomes the vanquished.

660 **MNKB** E (Ca) 120b6-121a1; **KCHKKHM-2** 171.2-9; **KCHKKHM-3** 429.1.

The princess, paying her respect to her father, [forwarded the following] request:[661]

"Dear father, emperor, have you granted [your] permission?
Dear mother, have you conceded?
Dear brothers and sisters (*jo jo ming po*) have you lost [the ability] to speak (*tshig shor ram*)?
Alas, unbelievable! Most astonishing!
If I am send to the country of Tibet,
In a Country of Snow-clad mountains [like] that,
A cold and freezing [spot with] rough soils and ravines;
[Inhabited by] many *deva*-s, *nāga*-s, wicked demons and *rākṣaṣa*-s;
[Where] the mountains resemble the tusk (*mche ba*) of the beast of pray;
The rocks resemble the horn of a wild *'brong* [Yak],
[Where] unhappiness and depression [prevail];
A place [haunted] by famines where no sort of grain [can] grow;
[Its population adhering to] an extraction of *rākṣaṣa*-s, the carnivorous outcasts,
A primitive people of rude behaviour,
A barbarous borderland never trodden by [a single] Buddha,
A continent of darkness and nescience, lacking Dharma,
Bereft of relic-receptacles and sanctuaries,
Lacking therefore a sanctuary wherefrom one can accumulate merits -
So if I am [bound] to go to such a country,
The sanctuary, the tutelary deity of my father
The [image of] Shākya-muni, [I entreat you] to grant me;
[In order to outroot] hunger in that Snow-clad Country
I [entreat you] to grant me a treasury of precious stones;
[In order to withstand] the freezing coldness in the Snow-clad Country
[I beg you to] grant me garments to warm me for a whole life;
[To help me withstand] Tibet, [a place of] outcasts, where there is no [difference between] clean and unclean;
[I beg you to] grant me companions [giving] comfort [among] my female retinue;
Thus, in that barbarous borderland
When I socialize with the people of Tibet,
How am I to behave?

Having [thus] entreated [her relatives] with tearful eyes, the father gave his consent [for the matrimony] out of an affectionate heart.[662]

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661 The following metrical *cri-de-coeur* chanted by the princess and addressed to her father is found congruously transmitted in almost all the other versions: **MNKB** E (Ca) 121a1-b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 729.2-731.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 171.17-173.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 234a1-b4; where **GLR** here holds thirty seven-syllabic lines, **MNKB** holds thirty-three lines, **KCHKKHM-1** thirty-eight lines, **KCHKKHM-2** thirty-seven lines and **CHBYMTNYP** holds thirty-one lines.

662 The following consoling response, in metrical form, tendered by her father, the emperor, is in an almost identical verbal form transmitted in all versions, although a number of the versions differ markedly in the number of lines held: **MNKB** E (Ca) 121b1-123b6; **KCHKKHM-1** 731.2-739.1;

"You, my daughter, [as precious] as my [own] eye-ball,
The Snow-clad Country called Tibet,
This [country] surpasses distinctly [other] countries,
A place where the glacier mountains by nature are an accomplished sanctuary;
Its four [large] lakes resemble a displayed turquoise[-coloured] *maṇḍala*;
A continent of full-blossoming astounding golden flowers;
A divine mansion, a godly abode, cool and beautiful,
[A place] where the four [great] rivers descend, being garnished by forests;
The five sorts of grain are growing and ores of various precious metals are found;
The quadruped [animals] roam everywhere and herbal juice is employed as oil;
Thus, in that supreme spot of [great] wonder
In the palace embellished by precious ornaments
The royalty is governed by a divine Ruler of Man,
An actual [embodyment] of Ārya Mahākāruṇika
Being a king endowed with compassion (*karuṇā*) and skillful in means (*upāyakauśalya*);
Observing the law [based] upon the ten virtues and rejecting the unwholesome acts;
Enjoying the splendour of all wishes, wealth and power;
The son of the gods, a king with endless qualities;
[His] retinue [of] Bodhisattva-s are epitomes (*kun 'dzom*) of courage and wisdom;
To such a place, [my dear] daughter you must go!
As a receptacle (*rten*) where you can accumulate merits, [my] pretty One
This statue of the Teacher, my sanctuary,
The patron (*yon bdag*) of which was the Lord of the Gods Śakra
And which has been made from the ten different precious metals as material;
And the creator of which was Viśvakarman;
And consecrated by Buddha himself,
Accordingly, this statue of Jina being peerless
Having offered prayers [to it, in form of] seeing, hearing, thinking or [by] touching [it]
[One] will speedily attain Buddhahood, it has been said by Jina;

KCHKKHM-2 173.8-178.16; **CHBYMTNYP** 234b4-238a5; summarily retained in **HBCHBY** (JA) 31a2-7.

Especially in the description of the dowry of the princess, i. e. the sanctuary statue of Jo-bo Shākya-muni and the details on the means of conduct to be demonstrated by the princess towards the Tibetans, account for the discrepancy betweeen the various versions. So **GLR**, lacking in particular the metrical part of the details on the conduct (cf. note 664) holds seventy-one nine-syllabic lines, whereas **MNKB** holds one hundred and thirty-eight nine- and eleven-syllabic lines, **KCHKKHM-1** counts one hundred and twenty-nine lines, **KCHKKHM-2** one hundred and fourty-one lines and **CHBYMTNYP** one hundred and twenty-six lines.

Thus, this Jo-bo [statue], the origin of benefit and prosperity,
Although [its loss] is like losing one's own heart,
I shall grant you [my] beautiful daughter, to take along [as dowry].
Precious treasuries [containing] many repositories of precious metals,
Along with many precious stones [so] dear to me
I shall give to you, [my] beloved daughter, to take along [as dowry].
Great archives mounted by gold and turquoise and
The three hundred and sixty sections on Chinese divinatory science (*gtsug lag*),[663]
Multifarious ornaments in gold and turquoise, too
I shall grant you, [my] beloved to take along [as dowry].
Various kinds of Chinese gastronomic dishes
Many instructions on mixing drinks and beverages
A golden sattle with turquoise[-mounted] sattle-cloth (*ka leb can*)
I shall grant you, [my] beloved daughter, to take along.
Silk-cushions with [figures of] the eight animal-ornamentations such as lion and birds [etc.]
And upon which figures are drawn of trees, die-figures and jewels,
I shall give you along in order to surprise the [Tibetan] king.
A Chinese [geomantic] divination-chart in three hundred sections (*rgya'i gab rtse gtsug lag sum brgya bo*),
A mirror of karmic causation reflecting good or bad actions too,
I shall grant you, [my] beloved daughter, to take along.
Instructive [manuals] on [Chinese] architecture (*bkod pa'i rig byed*), beautiful
Distinguished by pleasant ornamentations;
Along with instructive [manuals] on [Chinese] art-techniques in sixty sections
I shall grant you [my] beloved daughter, to take along.
[Pharmaceutical] medicaments [known to] cure the four hundred and forty [different kinds] of diseases
Manuals [on] medical diagnosis (*brtag thabs*) in hundred [sections], [in] medical sciences (*dpyad*) in four [sections], [in medical] treatment (*spyad*)
And [on] pharmacy (*sbyor sde*) in four [sections] etc.
I shall grant you, [my] beloved daughter, to take along.
Silk-garments and dresses to keep you warm for one [whole] life etc.

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663 We owe the pioneering study by A. Macdonald, 1971, for an attempt at unravelling the background and meaning behind the term *gtsug* and *gtsug lag*, a pivotal cult word in a magico-religious system of the early Tibetan kings, which to some extent appears to have been modelled on the Chinese emperor-cult. In fact, for lack of conclusive lexical definitions and ample textual parallels, these and related terms still defy our attempt to translate them properly. But in question of the term *gtsug lag*, it is noteworthy to parallel and contrast it with the cognate terms *yan lag* and *nying lag*, both terms for various parts of the secondary bodily members and limbs (and always found in sets of two, at least). Not so with *gtsug lag*, being the superior limb, it represents the head, which is, as is known, the centre of wisdom and knowledge, and hence science etc. Cf. also note 642 *supra*. For a detailed discussion of the term, cf. Stein, 1985.

As well as twenty thousand [pieces] of ornamental dresses of various colours
I shall grant you, [my] beloved daughter to take along.
[Endowed] with beautiful and attractive extraction and bodies
Maidens to accompany, console and please [you]
Twenty-five maidens as [your personal] retinue also,
I shall grant you, [my] beloved daughter, to take along.
Alas! You [my] daughter from whom I cannot bear to part,
This speech [of mine] stems from an affectionate heart, so retain it in your mind!
In order to convert [properly] the people of the Snow-clad Country
Your behaviour should be accordingly:[664]
Be wide in outlook, but accurate in deeds!
Be prudent in all affairs of inner and outer [matters]!
Acquire expertise in speaking in a benign manner, and make a good foundation!
Show deference to the ruler and be affectionate towards [your] retinue!
Be chasty, honest and heedful!"

The emperor imparted [her] like that countless instructions necessary for the worldly code of conduct etc.[665]

The father embraced her, and thought that [she] had to depart for Tibet, although he hardly could bear to part with her. He [then] imparted to the princess inconceivably [many] dowries (*rdzong*).

Then the princess, accompanied by her servant-maidens, went into the presence of minister mGar. She addressed [him]: "Great minister! To your country not only the [statue of the] Jo-bo Shākya, but a measureless [amount] of riches will have to be brought along. [Now], in your country do you have porcelain-clay (*sa kham pa*)? Fodder for silk-worms (*rdo srin = dar srin*)?[666] Or do you have rose-trees? Or thick coarse grass (*rts[v]a dres ma = gres ma*) and turnips (*nyung ma*)?"[667] mGar answered: "Turnip is not found, but the other things [we] have", wherefore [it was decided to] take along seeds of radish and turnip (*la nyung = la phug dang nyung ma*). Then a waggon-cart was constructed, upon which the statue of Jo-bo Shākya was installed. Two very strong champions (*gyad*) in China, viz. lHa-dga' and Klu-dga', the two, were then charged with the task of dragging the cart.[668]

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664 The part, in **GLR** rendered rather brief, delineating the fitting behaviour of the nubile princess is found much more detailed in the other versions, so **MNKB** E (Ca) 123a4-b7; **KCHKKHM-1** 736.5-739.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 177.5-178.16, 181.9-19. Cf. Appendix, note 664 for an *in extenso* rendering of these advices culled from **MNKB**.

665 Cf. previous note.

666 **CHBYMTNYP** has 'capable of stone manufacturing' (*rdo bzo nyan*). Other versions add: Green leaves (*sngo lo ma*), resp. iron-ores and silver ores (*lcags rdo dang dngul rdo*).

667 The turnip is lacking from the other versions, except **KCHKKHM-3** 429.2 and **MBNTH** 52b3-53a1; cf. also **HBCHBY** 29b4-5.

668 **MNKB** E (Ca) 124a1-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 739.3-5, 740.4-741.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 171.9-16, 180.7-14; **CHBYMTNYP** 238b1-239a1; **MBNTH** 53a1-3.
Cf. also Heissig, 1990, p. 215.

Furthermore, many horses, mules and camels etc. were send off with loads of precious metals, silk, garments, ornaments and items of immediate need (*'phral gyi yo byad*).

To the Tibetan ministers too countless presents of provisions (*ston mo gnang sbyin*) were given.

Then princess Kong-jo decorated [herself] with many precious ornaments and being accompanied by a retinue of twenty-five beautiful maidens each riding their own horse and being escorted for a short distance (*skyel thung byas*) by her father and mother and an assembly of ministers, [she finally] set out for Tibet after she, being so dear to heart (*thugs la 'phreng bzhin du*) [both for her] father and mother, [had] received countless important instructions beneficial for a worldly code of conduct.[669]

[IV] [Minister mGar Detained in China]

In the row among those who had come to escort [the departing party] for a short distance, there was the minister called 'Bri Se-ru gong-ston. He had grown jealous of minister mGar and therefore proposed: "If a shrewd minister is retained here [in China] as a recoup for the princess, amicable relationship would prevail between China and Tibet", [saying so he] looked at minister mGar with envious eyes (*mig cer te bltas pa*). The emperor proclaimed: "Since you Tibetans have secured this bright princess of mine, mGar will have to remain behind [here] as a human substitute (*mi tshab tu*) for me."

Now, minister mGar, however, understood that [minister 'Bri] Se-ru gong-ston was jealous, and [feigning consent] [he] stated: "I shall see to that harmony prevails between China and Tibet, the two [countries]", whereafter he settled down [here in China].[670]

Then mGar took the ministers Thon-mi and Nyang aside (*zur du*) and confided [to them]: "I shall not remain in China more than five months. Meanwhile, I shall create general turmoil and havoc (*ngan 'khyol tshad skyel*). You, [on the other hand,] shall send a beggar-in-disguise (*rdzus ma'i sprang po*)[671] to me!"

All [the other] ministers, surrounding [the statue of] Jo-bo and the princess, went off to Tibet.

mGar thus remained alone behind in China, and the emperor gave a woman to mGar [for matrimony] and had [him] settle down after having assigned him a fine residence (*gzhi ma rab cig phog nas bzhag*).

Subsequently, mGar not only grew very grieved and gloomy and without seeking [the company] of the woman[672] he even refused to eat [anything] and so his body turned pale blue

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669 **MNKB** E (Ca) 124b5-125a1; **KCHKKHM-1** 739.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 180.4-181.9, 183.9-184.9; **CHBYMTNYP** 239a1-b5.

670 **MNKB** E (Ca) 125a1-3; **KCHKKHM-1** 739.6-740.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 186.9-10; **KCHKKHM-3** 430.2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 239b6-240a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 29b6-7.
For the motif: mGar as hostage, cf. also Heissig, 1990, pp. 203, 215.

671 The element with the go-between in the form of a beggar-in-disguise and the story with the coded or reverted language (cf. below) are lacking altogether from the other versions except **HBCHBY** (JA) 30a1-4.

672 The other versions add that minister mGar abstained from indulging physically with the beautiful Chinese woman for fear that he should multiply his lineage.

and meager (*sngo la rid par byas*).

Beneath his bed he deposited a piece of moldy hide (*ko ba rul pa*) which created [the impression as if his] body was exhaling an unpleasant smell. On his right cheek he spotted [himself with] vermilion (*mtshal*), and on the left indigo (*rams*) and arranged that matter, blood and phlegm filled [the place] around his bed.

His Chinese wife inquired: "Great Minister! [I] am smelling not only a very unpleasant odeor from your body, but it[s colour] has even turned pale-blue in colour, what is wrong?" mGar responded: "I have been striken by a dysenteric disease (*tshad pa'i nad*), can you feel or not?"

She subsequently reported this to the emperor, who also became sad. He went into the presence of the minister and inquired: "Great Minister! What is wrong?" and the minister responded: "I have been struck by a dysenteric disease", whereafter he threw up some phlegm which turned into a colour [resembling] matter and blood. The emperor could also perceive the unsavoury smell from the body. "Tomorrow I shall come and bring along a competent physician!",[673] the emperor said and departed.

Afterwards, the minister told [his] Chinese wife: "You, woman, are defiled [by menses] (*grib che*), [so] tomorrow when the physician arrives [here], [he] will not [be able to] feel my pulse (*rtsa mi rtogs*) [unless we are completely alone], so you must go and sleep at [our] neighbour['s place]!", whereafter [she was] sent away.

In her absence, the minister constructed a tall [sleeping-]couch (*khri*) made from earth and bricks. He then fastened a string to the horisontal beam (*gdung ma*) [on the roof over the couch] and connected the string to his genitals (*pho mtshan*)[674] and when he placed his head to the ground (*spyi bo sa la btsug*), it made all the [blood in his] veins boil [from pain].

The following day, the emperor arrived accompanied by the physician. When the competent physician had checked his pulse, the physician said: "[The blood in] all the veins in the body are seething, so it is difficult to make a [proper] examination. [The symptoms] are neither derived from the 'wind' [humour] (*rlung*, *vāyu*),[675] nor from the 'bilious' [humour] (*mkhris pa*, *pitta*),[676] nor [again] from the 'mucous' [humour] (*bad kan*, *praseka*).[677] Nor does it seem to come from a [typhoid] complation (*'dus pa*, *samnipāta*), nor from the eighteen great *graha*-ridden diseases of the ordinary people. Nor does it [appear] to come from [one of] the eighty thousand [different] diseases [caused by the] *vighna*-species, nor a disease [caused by] the *bhūta*-devils. Now, it appears to be a consumptional disease (*gcong*, *yakṣma*) which has striken [him] right in the middle of the heart due to a heart-rending depression (*sems ma bde ba snying gi dkyil du phog pa*).[678] Hardly any medical treatment or ritual procedure seem effective."

The emperor ordered [anyway]: "The physician must come tomorrow and the day after tomorrow (*sang gnangs*) and inspect him!"

Again, the following day when the physician emerged, the minister had stuffed a cat into [the dress of his] bosom, tied a string to its paw and [thus] had [the physician deluded]

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673 **CHBYMTNYP** introduces three physicians.

674 This element is lacking in the other versions.

675 I.e. a nervous disease.

676 I.e. a bilious disease.

677 I.e. a pneumanic disease.

678 I.e. being caused by homesickness.

into checking the pulse from the end of the string (*thig sna*) and that [made the physician] diagnose: "It cannot be anything but the pulse of the lowest beast of prey [i.e. the cat]", and went away.

The following day he [hid] a hen-cock (*bya pho*) by stuffing it into his breast [behind his bed-sheet]. Again, binding a string to the feet [of the cock], he [deluded the physician] into taking [his] pulse from the end of this string, [and the physician] concluded: "It cannot be anything but the pulse of the lowest species among the birds [i.e. the hen]."[679]

[V] [The Escape of Minister mGar]

The emperor, being now in a very gloomy mood, asked [the minister]: "Great Minister! You are so resourceful, so do you know [yourself] any means [of cure]? [I] shall do the utmost to provide for the means!"

The minister thought: "Now [I] have found an opportunity [to escape]", so he told [the emperor]: "Great Emperor! This disease of mine is caused by you having me retained [here in China], [a fact] which does not please the Tibetan [native] tutelary deities (*lha srungs*); if I [nevertheless] was led to a high mountain from which I could spot the Tibetan mountains and [then] solicit the[se] gods, it would prove [most] beneficial [for my disease]. As items [for the propitiation], I shall [however] need a leather-bag (*rkyal pa*) full of dust [stemming from] burned fine brocade-silk, a [dried] paunch (*grod pa*) full of blood [stemming from] the milt (*mcher ba*) of a slaughtered sheep; a three fathoms (*'dom gsum*) [long] fissure-free (*gas chag med pa*) lance-shaft (*mdung shing*) [made from] charcoal[680] and finally a yellow-brown (*mog ro*) horse[681] with a red head.[682] These [items] will be difficult to find, so [I] will [probably] not [be able] completely to gather [all the items] together. Now, [I know] it will be even more difficult for the emperor to hear [this],[683] but I shall probably die today. Aside from [my] passing away, in the wake eighteen bad omens shall occur, the [good] relation

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679 **MNKB** E (Ca) 125b3-127a1; **KCHKKHM-1** 742.1-743.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 186.16-189.7; **KCHKKHM-3** 430.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 240a1-241b2; **MBNTH** 53b3-54a5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 31a7-32a4.

The above story with the detention of minister mGar and his delusion of the Chinese physician by pretending ill-stroken, the havoc he caused in China and finally his escape towards Tibet is also found in the other versions, which all display a marked concordance. Cf. also Heissig, 1990, pp. 215-16.

680 **MNKB**, **MBNTH**, **HBCHBY** and finally **GZBZNTH**, p. 40 have one full fathom (*'dom gang*), the rest has three fathoms. The reading in all versions *sol ba* readily makes no sense, as charcoal naturally cannot make out a shaft. But this is naturally also the sense. By requiring a three fathoms long crack-free shaft made from [pressed?] charcoal, the minister has stipulated a condition which he, like in the case of the other items, knew could not be fulfilled, while they at the same time are a logical impossibility.

681 **KCHKKHM-2** has *rta mog gro mgo dmar*.

682 **MNKB** E (Ca) 128a3-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 742.5-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 189.11-14; **KCHKKHM-3** 429.5-430.2, 432.3-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 241b3-6; **MBNTH** 52b4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 29b5-6; Vth Dalai-Lama's **DTHZHG** 35.8-36.1.

683 **GZBZNTH** p. 40 has *rgyal pos kyang gnang bar dka'*, i.e. it was also difficult for the emporor to supply it.

between China and Tibet will be discontinued, and as the Tibetan king is clairvoyant, he will know that I am dead and [then promptly] dispatch an army, which will bring about the deterioration of the entire Chinese territory. I have arrived here from a distant place, [and I am now] forsaken by my colleague ministers and my body is ridden by illness. Although I have my king and my closest relatives on [my] mind, this will not be of any help, and my own riches, cloth, food and material comfort will hardly be of any avail [for my health]. This [my] present life appears to be like [a nightmare] in a dream", [mGar said] whereafter [he] went to sleep with his head completely wrapped up (*mgo hril gyis gtum*) [under the bed-sheet].

The emperor again became very terrified and whispered: "Relax and sleep well! [I] shall do anything to provide the means [for your health]!", whereafter he left.

Subsequently, the emperor set all his forests to fire, but neither was enough charcoal [for a lance] procurable, nor, when burning silk-brocade, was [he able] to procure [even] half a leather-bag [full] of dust, nor was the milt-blood when slaughtering all sheeps [even] able to fill half a bowl. [However,] he was able to find the yellow-brown horse with the red head.

The emperor [now] proclaimed: "[We] could not find the other requisites, [only] the yellow-brown horse with the red head." The minister responded: "Without the other requisites [the whole cure-project] will be doomed. [Now,] let me ride on the red-headed yellow-brown horse, it shall make up for the horse [carrying] my [prospective dead] corpse! I shall leave in order to propitiate the gods at a place within sight of the mountains of Tibet and load food for [my] corpse and cloth for [my] corpse on a horse which [must be] the best in the entire Chinese country!"

While making preparations to set out to propitiate the gods, the emperor [arrived and] asked: "Great Minister! The spring season has come. As the time is right for agriculture, what means would be best [for tilling]? Since you are so resourceful, please advise [us]!"

The minister responded: "In Tibet, prior to sowing them, we parch all the seeds on a frying-pan (*slang nga*) until they are almost yellow. This will secure [us] an abundant harvest, with long stalks and where the crop is ripe already after three months."

The emperor proclaimed: "Act in conformity with the Tibetan method!" and the great [imperial] drum of legislation was struck. Everyone parched the barley and the puffed barley (*yos*) was subsequently sown in the fields.

The minister's own destituted (*gud pa*) body [soon] recovered [so much] that preparations were made for [him] to set out in order to propitiate the gods. At that time the beggar-in-disguise dispatched by the [other] Tibetan ministers [travelling in advance] appeared [as arranged].

The minister spoke [to him] in a reverted [i.e. code] language (*log pa'i skad*):[684]

> "Make no contact with (*ngo shes*) the bearded male-goat coming from
> afar (*thag ring gi ra pho rgya bo*).
> Remain silent and [then] make noise!
> The black ones will hit (*thug nas yod*) the iron-castle;

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684 This incidence with a false beggar and his reverted or coded message is lacking altogether from all the assumed primary or parallel sources of **GLR**, but as said a reminiscence of the story is tersely retained in **HBCHBY** (JA) 30a1-4 and here directly taken over by the Fifth Dalai Lama, **DTHZHG** 35.16-22, both perhaps relying on **GLR**. Some of the vernacular phrases in the present narrative originating, no doubt, in the XIII-XIVth century are not entirely evident, hence our present translation shall remain a tentative one. Cf. also Heissig, 1990, p. 203.

The valley is dense in the upper part (*phu*) and dense in the lower part (*mda'*),
Everyone reaching there (*thu ru cog* = *thug ru cog*?) must settle down in the rocky caverns (*brag khong*[*s*]),
Roll together the white flag and hoist the black flag;
The moon will reach the place of the sun."

Thereafter the beggar returned.

When subsequently the beggar explained [them the coded messages, the Tibetan ministers first] did not understand [them], [only] the Chinese Kong-jo caught [the meaning] and declared: "That minister has [certainly] created great havoc (*ngan chen po*) in China. The saying: "One must not know of the bearded male-goat coming from a long distance" means: "Do not reveal [anything] about the one [who is garbed as] a bearded Chinese (*rgya bo smra ba can lab ma shod*)!"[685] The phrase: "Now remain silent!" means: "Talk to the Tibetan ministers!" The saying: "The black [seed] will certainly hit the iron-castle [i.e. frying-pan]" means: "After having roasted the seed, let them be sown." The message: "The valley is dense in the upper part and in the lower part, everyone reaching there should settle down in the rocky caverns!" means: "Insert many arrows in the quiver!" The expression: "Wrap together the white flag and hoist the black flag!" means: "Remain settled at day and travel [only] during the night!" The expression: "The moon will reach the place of the sun" means: "I shall quickly [catch up and] reach the place of yours!"

As requisite (*chas*) for going to propitiate the gods at a place within sight of the mountain-tops of Tibet, the minister mGar rode the red-headed yellow-brown horse. He loaded the provisions and cloth [needed] on another horse, [in particular] carrying much brined dry meat. Fearing that the minister [should] escape to Tibet, the emperor send along four athletes (*gyad mi*) to look after [him].[686]

Now, in the absence of mGar, the emperor said: "I am [quite] sure that someone described my princess [in the final wits-test], so carry out divinatory calculations!"[687] When the [Chinese astrologers] had made [their] calculations, the following was announced: "[We] observed a great lake situated upon three mountains. In the lake various kinds of birds are found. Above that [we identify] a brightly shinning (*cem me ba*) red plain, at the front of which [we can] identify a woman with head and body of equal [size]. [Her] entire body and head are filled with eyes and her lips [according to our calculations] are shown [to be] made from copper."

Not [able to] believe [this description], the emperor [decided] to put all the astrological-divinatory writings to fire, and the astrological-divinatory chart (*skor*) of eighty trigrams (*spor thang*)[688] were no [more] to be found [in China] after it had been send to Tibet.[689]

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685 With a word-play on *rgya bo*, meaning a Chinese male-person and a bearded person.

686 **MNKB** E (Ca) 127b2; **KCHKKHM-1** 743.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 193.8-12; **KCHKKHM-3** 433.7-434.3; **CHBYMTNYP** 242b2, 243b2-3.

Some of these texts maintain that these champions became the forefathers of the Tibetan noble-family and clan named rGya.

687 I.e. in order to reval who committed an act of treason.

688 Also *par kha* or *par thang*.

689 **MNKB** E (Ca) 127b2-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 725.2-726.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 129.9-180.6; **KCHKKHM-3** 428.2-7, 433.4-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 233b1-5; **MBNTH** 52b1-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 30a4-5.

[Mean]while the minister had arrived at the place where one could spot the mountains of Tibet.[690] Clandestinely, he had bought a lot of beer and [subsequently] hidden it. The dry meat [he] gave to the four [guarding] athletes, adding: "It will be beneficial for my illness, so eat [it]!" and made offerings to the gods.

The four great [guarding] athletes then [naturally] grew thirsty and not being able to withstand [the thirst any longer, they] were given a lot of beer. They became drunk (*ra ro*) and were [thus] rendered powerless. The minister then lamed the hoves (*sug pa brags*) of the horses of the four [Chinese] athletes and broke [their] weapons to pieces. He then mounted his own red-necked yellow-brown horse and leading [away] the other horses, he addressed [the helpless champions in a sardonic tone] as follows:[691]

> "The dust [stemming from] burned brocade-silk
> Let it serve as dress (*na bza'*) for the partial emperor!
>
> The blighted smut (*thal ba nag po*) [stemming from] seed-free corn (*snye ma 'bru med*)
> Let it serve as flour-provision (*rgyags phye*) for the avaricious empress!
>
> The spear-shaft (*mdung shing*) made up by charcoal procured from burned-down wood,
> Let it serve as spear-shaft for the athletic emperor-prince!
>
> The slaughtered sheep with blood from the milt
> Use it when offering prayers of confession in the presence of the gods!
>
> Concerning [my] sleeping in the bed without [my] body [really] being ridden by illness
> After the [poor] physician had been called to the bedhead (*sngas mgor*), what could he do?
>
> Instead of staying [behind in China] I shall return to my own country!"

and whipping [his] horse, he went away.

Now, in China when the crop turned out with black seed, the Chinese said: "In the corn, there is no seed (*'bru med*). This wicked minister has forced us to burn all our [fine] brocade-silk, to slaughter all our sheep, and to put fire to all our forests. All [our] seeds we have parched before sowing them, and now they [are] seedless. Our bright princess has been taken away by Tibet. The [statue of] Jo-bo Shākya has been taken away (*gdan drangs*) by Tibet. What havoc [he] has caused. Alas! Horrible! What shall we do? It is not likely that he will come here [anymore], whereas it is [quite] possible that he has fled to Tibet." Such

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690 **KCHKKHM-2** 192.6-7 even maintains that either the locality from where one could spot the mountains of Tibet (or rather the mountain in Tibet) was lHa-ri gyang-mtho. **CHBYMTNYP** 242b1 maintains that mGar went to mDo-smad Tsong-kha to propitiate the gods.

691 This metrical piece is lacking from all other versions altogether. Repeated in **HBCHBY (JA)** 31b4-5; **DTHZHG** 36.9-19.

reports reached the emperor's ears.[692]

The emperor thought: "Can this really be true?" and he [immediately] dispatched one hundred very strong horsemen to seize [him].

Now, when the four [guarding] athletes got sober too, they thought: "[We] have no horse to ride and weapons we are also lacking. It would be a shame to return [empty-handed]" and fearing the punishment of the emperor they [decided to] follow in the trail of the minister.

When [the minister] arrived at the [place near the river called] rGya-chu khug-pa,[693] [his] Chinese pursuers too were nearly reaching the same place. There the minister made the four [Chinese] athletes his [personal] servants and compelled them to fill the bank of the rGya-chu khug-pa [river] with horsedung and horsetracks, and, made them reshape the horns of the antelope (*gna' ba'i rva*) under the fire and [therefrom] bows were manufactured, arrows were shot off and [the minister] subsequently made [them] throw around a suitable amount of arrow-feathers (*mda' sgro 'tshams par phud bzhag*) [along the bank].[694]

When the pursuers spotted these [items of war strewn along the bank], they uttered: "A large number of strong [Tibetan] horsemen has apparently arrived in order to welcome them. We can not be any match [to them], so we better return!", whereafter they turned back.[695]

In the meantime the [advancing] Tibetan ministers [along] with the Chinese princess etc. arrived at [the place called] lDan-ma brag[696] where [they] erected a seven-cubit high

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692 **KCHKKHM-2** 193.15-194.5; **CHBYMTNYP** 242b3-243a2, 243b5-244a2.

693 **KCHKKHM-2** 194.11.12 reads: *rgya chu lkugs pa'i gtsang po*; **CHBYMTNYP** 242a2-243b3 is more detailed here, mentioning that the four athletes passed through the country rGya[l]-mo Tsha-ba'i rong.

694 **KCHKKHM-2** 194.7-14; **CHBYMTNYP** 244a2-b3.

695 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 128b4-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 194.13-195.9; **CHBYMTNYP** 244a2-b3.

696 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 128b5: *lDan ma brag rtsar brag la rgyas pa'i dbu dum brkos mar bzhengs*;
KCḤKKHM-1 741.3-4: *de nas Dza yul thang snar zhabs phab nas brag la rgyas pa'i dbu dum rkos mar bzhengs | der kyang blon po ma byung nas | de nas gDan ma brag rtsar byon nas | byams pa khru bcu [g]cig pa cig bzhengs der byon pa ma byung*;
KCHKKHM-2 185.18-186.1: *Khams su lDan ma'i brag sngon rtsi dkar can la rgyas pa'i dbu dum dang | bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam 'bur du btod pa brkos nas bris*;
HBCHBY (JA) 32a2-3: *...Khams su phebs nas mgar sgug pa'i phyir brag logs la rgyas pa'i dbu dum dang bzang spyod brkos | rdo sku khru brgyad bcu pa brkos...*

This reflects an interesting story. The place lDan-ma brag is otherwise or rather presently known as lDan-khog, lying in present-day Rlang-ri-lung Valley of Khams. According to Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 377-380, it is located in the *rdzong* of Brag-g.yab, in the district of Byams-mdun and specifically in the county of Ri-mda'. Another alleged name for this rock should be Brag lha-mo (a name originating in the XIII-XIVth century), although some misgivings must be expressed as to the equation between the dynastic lDan-ma-brag and Brag lHa-mo as noted by Tsering, cf. below.

On the rock at Brag-g.yab, an ancient inscription is today found dating from the period of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan (ed. by Chab-spel, cf. A. Heller, ref. below). According to Pema Tsering, who visited the site in 1980 and who, as said, identifies the site as Brag lHa-mo, engraved sculptures of Amitāyus, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi can still be seen, cf. P. Tsering, 1982, p. 363.

From pictures taken from the alleged site it appears that the main idol today depicts Vairocana (whereas the above texts have Maitreya) and the religious inscription is also different. This therefore compels us to suggest that the idol and inscription of lDan-ma-brag refer to another site different from the one mentioned. Or the original inscription and statue at some point were eraced, to be

sculpture (*brkos ma*) of Maitreya (Byams-pa) on the rock [as well as an inscription of a *śloka*-s culled from] the **Ārya Bhadracarī[pranidhānarāja] (bZang-spyod)**, the two. They waited there for one [whole] month, but the minister [mGar] did not turn up there too. [They then] arrived at [the place named] Phung-po-ri,[697] where some [of them] constructed a [passable] path [along] the precipitous gorge (*'phrang lam*) [and some passed away the time] by capturing game from which [they] procured milk; still, the minister did not turn up there. [They next] travelled to Padma-shang in Khams,[698] where [they] tilled the fields, established a water-mill while waiting [there] for two months. Again the minister did not show up at that place. Thereafter [they] arrived at [the place called] sGo-dong sgo-mo,[699] where they had to remain for two months, since [all] the gateways (*sgo mo*) [out of China] had been blocked through the [magical] force of the tutelary deities (*lha srung*) of China, inasmuch as the fortune and prosperity (*phy[v]a g.yang*) of China [due to the tricks of mGar] were in ruins. There, [finally] the minister [mGar] turned up.[700]

Subsequently, [they] realized that the reason why [the place] sGo-dong sgo-mo was blocked was the retaliation caused by the hostility on the side of the Chinese tutelary deities. [They therefore] sent up a great smoke [from] different sorts of wood and offered up a initiatory offering (*phud*) of food and drink and spoke accordingly:[701]

"Pray, pray, O Gods, pray!
To the gods of Chinese emperor [we] pray!

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replaced by the present one. The modern name for the site appears in both cases to be Byams-mdun ('the Presence of Byams-pa'), a name which directly corroborates the identification of Maitreya, i.e. the site could boast of a statue of Maitreya, possibly going all the way back to Kong-jo. Cf. the discussion and ref. in the forthcoming paper by A. Heller. It is another matter altogether whether this Maitreya statue is still to be found at that place along with the alleged inscription culled from the 'King of Prayers'. This ultimately has to be settled. Or whether a statue (and inscription) in fact were raised by this first Chinese princess Wencheng Gongzhu or by the second Chinese princess Jincheng Gongzhu, who first arrived in Lhasa in 710 A.D. This confusion is often seen.

In sum, to prove the possible early historicity of the place and of the idol of Byams-pa thus remains very difficult. The forthcoming article by A. Heller is dedicated a study and translation of the inscription and an iconographical essay on the identity of the present rock-sculpture. The present religious text inscribed, as noted by Heller, cannot be identified with **Ārya Bhadracarī-pranidhānarāja**, the Buddhist anthology of the *pranidhāna-śloka* by Surendrabodhi which enjoyed extensive popularity in Tibet in the VIII-IXth cent., cf. e.g. Richardson, 1985, p. 144. It is hardly likely, however, that the Tibetans, but possibly the Chinese, during the reign and time of king Srong-btsan sgam-po (569-649 A.D.) knew this text, however, in the VIIIth and IXth century, i.e. well inside the dynastic period, it was extremely popular in Tibet. Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 362a2, 450a4, mentions the existence of the **bZang-po spyod-pa sMon-lam mdo** during the period of Ral-pa-can. Cf. also dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 123b6.

697 **KCHKKHM-1** 741.7: Phum-po-ri; the latter text, 741.5-6 and **KCHKKHM-2** 186.2-8, **CHBYMTNYP** 244b3-245b3 add place-names such as Bya-dur glang-sna and Glang-bu ngu-thang (also given as Blang-gru dus-thang or Bla-rtu thang) and sPang-thang bde-mo.

698 Not listed in the other versions; cf. the previous note.

699 **HBCHBY** (JA) 32a4-5; **DTHZHG** 36.20. Not listed in the other versions; cf. the previous notes.

700 **MNKB** E (Ca) 128b4-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 741.2-742.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 185.12-186.9; **HBCHBY** (JA) 32a4-5.

701 **HBCHBY** (JA) 32a5 has the offering of incense. The following metrical piece is lacking from the other versions.

To gods of the capital Zim-shi,[702] [we] pray!
To the gods of the powerful Chinese emperor [we] pray!
To the palace of the bKra-shis khri-sgo,[703] [we] pray!
We pray that the forest (*nags ma*) [obstructing our way] please raise up (*gyen la long*)!
To the gods of the Tibetan ministers [we] pray
To the gods of the Snow-clad Country [of Tibet] [we] pray!
Please come and welcome the Chinese Kong-jo!"

In the evening while [they] made murmuring prayers sound like that, the entire forest [of blocking trees] rose up and [thus] ensured the possibility of advancing [further].

They thereafter [crossed] nine sandy passes blocked by ice (*'khyags kha bskor*). In the dark [they] held high a lamp and the trees of the Acacia Catechu (*seng ldeng, khadira*) species rose to the right and the trees of the Hippopae rhamnoides (*gla ba*) species rose to the left and so [they] arrived in Tibet with no [further] detainment.[704]

[VI] [Arrival in Tibet]

[They] then dispatched a courier (*bong = bang chen pa*) [in advance] to the king, to [convey the message]: "We Tibetan ministers are now about to arrive after having brought along the [statue of he] Jo-bo Shākya and the princess Kong-jo etc., we therefore request for a grand feast of welcome be prepared."[705]

The king ordered: "As this princess is an emanational epiphany of Āryā Tārā [she] is highly versed in [divinatory] magic (*'phrul che*), wherefore [we shall] not know from which direction she will come. Consequently, prepare a proper welcome [right away]!"

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702 Cf. notes 123 and 611 *supra*.

703 Cf. note 123 and 611 *supra*.

704 As mentioned earlier the above entire narrative of the disasterous misguidance of the Chinese people by minister mGar and his escape to Tibet is retained - with slight discrepancies - in nearly all other versions: **MNKB** E (Ca) 127a1-128a5; **KCHKKHM-1** 743.1-745.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 189.7-197.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 241b2-244b3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 30a1-32a5.

It is worthy of note that two of the versions, **KCHKKHM-2** 185.14-17 and **CHBYMTNYP** 245b1-2, maintain that one of the reasons for Kong-jo and her party's delay and numerous halts *en route* to Tibet, *inter alia* was caused by Kong-jo giving birth to the child of minister mGar. Without being able to substantiate this information, we most likely here deal with reminiscences of an oral narrative embellishment that in all likelihood developed in the wake of the actual invitation and escort by mGar in the VIIth century. In the XI-XIIth century, clearly, this 'explanation' or version for the relative delay *en route* to Tibet had crept into the above Vitas. This intriguing theme or motif later met with particular popularity and was often incorporated not only in the theatrical *A-lce lha-mo* play called *rGya-bza' Bal-bza'* (a libretto (*'khrab gzhung*) which largely follows the present Vita-narrative) on the marriage of Srong-btsan sgam-po with his wifes, but also in the traditions of this legend disseminated among Tibet's neighbouring peoples, cf. A.W. Macdonald, 1984, p. 133. Cf. also Heissig, 1990, pp. 216-8, 221.

705 **MNKB** E (Ca) 128b6-129a2; **KCHKKHM-1** 745.3-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 198.8-15; **KCHKKHM-3** 434.5-435.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 245b4-6; **MBNTH** 54b2-4.

Now, [the princess] made [herself into] an emanational manifestation [approaching from] all four directions [simultaneously].

The people of the eastern direction spoke: "The princess arrived from the eastern direction. Why? Because even the name 'ford' (*rab*) is [part of the name of the place] called rGya-mo-rab."[706]

The people of the southern direction spoke: "The princess arrived from the southern direction, because a saying at the same time occured [which maintained] that the ice-formation on [the upper slope] of Grib-phu resembled a white conch shell wounded to the right (*dung dkar g.yas 'khyil, dakṣināvartaśaṅkha*)."[707]

The people of the western direction spoke: "The princess arrived [here] from the western direction, because the rock of sBal-ba-tshal resembles the trunk of a pig, therefore the saying at that time occured that a temple should be erected [there]."[708]

The people of the northern direction spoke: "The princess arrived [here] from the northern direction, because the princess and the Jo-bo [statue] were welcomed, so that the name of the town [whence they came] too [subsequently became] known as lHa-bsu."[709]

In reality (*don dam par*) [the princess] arrived *via* the sGo-la pass [of 'Phan-yul] in the northern direction and [then] arrived at the plain of Ra-mo-che.[710]

There, at Ra-mo-che the waggon [carrying the statues] got stuck in the sand and the two Chinese champions lHa-dga' and Klu-dga', unable to pull it [out], [had to] leave it behind. So, four [great] pillars were erected in [all] four directions around the Jo-bo [statue] and a curtain of white silk were drawn over [the statue to protect it] and offerings were presented.[711]

The following day, princess Kong-jo arrived at [the spectacular] reception on the meadow plain (*ne'u thang*) of Brag-lha[712] [in lHa-sa], wearing garments of various sorts of

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706 **MNKB** E (Ca) 129a3; 129a6-b1: rGya-rab-kha; **KCHKKHM-2** 199.18-200.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 434.6, 435.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 246a1-2, 246b1: rGya-mo rab-kha; **MBNTH** 54b5-6; the name was allegedly so given to the locality as the princess at that time crossed the gTsang-po river; **HBCHBY** (JA) 32a7.

707 **MNKB** E (Ca) 129b1; **KCHKKHM-2** 199.14-18; **KCHKKHM-3** 434.7, 435.2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 246a2, 246b1-2; **MBNTH** 54b4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 32a7-b1; cf. also note 757 *infra*.

708 **MNKB** E (Ca) 129b2; **KCHKKHM-2** 200.2-9; **KCHKKHM-3** 434.7-435.1, 435.3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 246a2-3, 246b2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 32b1-2.

These versions maintain *inter alia* that Chinese sculptors erected here the idol of the so-called Brag-lha mgon-po, also called Phag-sna-gdong. sBal-ba-tshal remains unidentified. It hardly refers to Gla-ba-tshal, cf. note 729. However, cf. note 1168 *infra*.

709 **MNKB** E (Ca) 129b2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 200.1-2; **KCHKKHM-3** 435.1, 435.4; **CHBYMTNYP** 246a5-6, 246b3; **MBNTH** 54b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 32b2-3.

710 This element is lacking from all other versions and appears to be Bla-ma dam-pa's own note.

711 **MNKB** E (Ca) 129b3-4, 132a6-b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 745.6-7, 753.4-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 200.9-16, 203.8-15, 212.2-4, 270.2-9; **KCHKKHM-3** 435.4-7, 437.7-438.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 246b3-247a2, 247b4-6, 249b3, 251a4-252a3; **GBCHBY** 277.3-7, 278.16-17; **HBCHBY** (JA) 32b3-33a1.

As these sources maintain the waggon got stuck in the marshy and watery sand of Bye-ma'i gling in the middle of the then forest-covered lHa-sa. It later shifted site. On the possible legendary character of this story, cf. Appendix, note 1094. See also note 831 *infra*.

712 This locality is not mentioned in the other versions. **KCHKKHM-2** and **CHBYMTNYP** merely have on the plain in front of the eastern gate of the king's palace. For Brag-lha [klu-sbug], cf. the notes 604 and 900. Aside from this cave-temple, Brag-lha is known for the statue denoted Brag-lha

silk, adorned with sundry ornaments made from gold and turquoises and accompanied by twenty-five beautiful maiden-girls also dressed up in silk-brocade and embellished by various precious ornaments, [the whole procession being] accompanied by musical entertainment [such as] guitar. There the ministers and [all] the Tibetan subjects [of the king] had gathered to see this scenario, and singing, dancing and playing beyond imagination were performed.[713]

From the summit of the mansion of Brag-lha bkra-shis,[714] the Nepalese princess observed [the entertainment and spectacular reception] and she thus saw the sundry ornaments [worn] by the Chinese princess, [both] mistress and maidens (*dpon g.yog*) being present on the meadow plain of Brag-lha and an inconceivable [sensation] of jealousy and envy augmented [within her] and she spoke as follows:[715]

"Alas! Chinese Kong-jo, You,
Accompanied by a retinue of maiden-servants you are [finally here];
Having faced austere troubles, [you were] summoned by a courtier (*snye bo*)
And [finally] arrived in Tibet although [the land] is distant.
Although [you] are the daughter of the Chinese emperor
Between you and me a great difference is found to exist:
I was the first to cross the threshold [of Tibet].
And, moreover, I am the daughter of the Nepalese king.
Since I was the first to see the body of the [Tibetan] ruler
I am eligible to be the senior consort (*chen ma*) in terms of greatness (*che rgyu*) and royal nobleness (*btsun rgyu*).
If the senior consort were not great[er] or noble[r compared to the junior consort]
Then worldly conventions (*'jig rten chos lugs*) [would] not be true, but a lie [altogether].
The senior consort is [by nature] the [principal] queen to the king.
The junior consort (*chun ma*) is the [subordinate] maiden of the [senior] queen.
However, since [we] have come [here] for the sake of the ruler
It is all right [with me] to compete [for the position of] senior and junior

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mgon-po, cf. e.g. **KCHKKHM-2** 214.11-12, 228.12, 231.2, 270.14-15; **GBCHBY** 281.14-15; **DCHBY** 117.8-9; **CHBY** 257b5-6, 272b2.

713 **KCHKKHM-1** 747.1-7; **KCHKKHM-2** 203.15-205.5; **KCHKKHM-3** 438.2-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 248a1-2; **MBNTH** 33a1-2.

714 In **KCHKKHM-2** 203.18: From the topmost point of the lCags-pho-ri'i pho-brang; **HBCHBY** 27b7, 33a2 the Brag-lha bkra-shis mansion modelled upon a Mongolian fortification. Brag-lha is located on lCags-kha-ri later called lCags-pho-ri (cf. note 455) and is foremost known for the idol of Brag-lha mgon-po, cf. the notes 557, 708, 900.

715 The following metrical narrative sequence, in the form of a proposal for competition, is in all the versions found almost verbatim congruous, the only difference being a slight difference in the number of verse-lines. **MNKB** E (Ca) 131a6-b5 holds thirty-one seven-syllabic lines; **KCHKKHM-1** 747.7-749.7 holds fourty-three lines; **KCHKKHM-2** 205.5-206.13 holds fourty-five lines (**KCHKKHM-3** 439.2-4 merely retained a reminiscence, so also **HBCHBY** 33a5-7) and **CHBYMTNYP** 248a2-249a4 holds fourty-six lines.

queen!
[Let us] compete in praising and honouring the [Tri]ratna
And [let us] compete in erecting *vihāra*-s,
The foundations containing [the emblems] of [Tri]ratna and Dharma.
To the upper [strata of rank let us] compete in rendering service to the ruler,
To the lower [strata of rank let us] compete in safeguarding the humble and poor (*ngan long*),
And as to faith in practicing Saddharma.
[Let us] compete immediately (*thad kar*) in the accumulation of inheritance (*skal nor*),
And in the [capability of] tilling the fields.
[Let us] compete in question of the size of our paternal country,
And in question who possesses [the greatest] personal dowry and heritage.
In case [you] should be unable to compete about these [things]
You should entertain no hope about [winning primacy with] the ruler!
Nor display any self-pride as to being a [senior] queen.
As to the temple in terms of greatness (*che rgyu*) by the senior-queen
It is [not just done] by building [one] with the size of one *bre* [only];
[Likewise] as to the temple of minorness [erected by] the junior-queen
It is [not just done] by building [one] with the size of one *phul* only!"

The Chinese princess thought: "Certainly [this Nepalese princess] is very wrong (*lar skyon che*). After having turned one's back to [one's] own paternal relations, [their] wealth and enjoyments, and after having come from a distant country and barely having arrived at this place, where [I] have not [yet] found accomodation or found a place upon which [I] can rely, where [I] have not [yet] seen the countenance of the king, nor have acquired my regal name and where [I] have not [yet] acquainted [myself] with the ministers of the exterior and interior, [how] can it then really be that [I] shall be spoken to in words of jealousy and challenge like that? Both of us come together here in order to [become] the king's queen [journeying] from a distant place. If we[, however,] shared pleasure and pain [being bound] to one another by heart (*gcig snying gcig la gtad skyid sdug bsres nas*) and if [our] sentiments became united (*blo sems gcig tu dril te*) [in devoted loyalty], we would be able to render service to [our] ruler, to safeguard and care for [our Tibetan] subjects (*'brangs kyi skyong bran*), [find] means for the senior and junior queen to live together, and if [we] execute all the external and internal affairs [of state] in accordance with [our] rank and dignity (*thob rim bzhin byed*), then we would become like sisters for life. Now, if we [nevertheless decided to] abstain from this course [of conciliation] as soon as we have arrived [here in this country] and [instead] gave way to accusations and jealous challenges like this, then why could we not [just] consider our paternal relations, our hereditary dowries, [our] personal rank (*rang sgo* [= *go*]), [our] worldly duties, [in fact] everything and whatsoever (*gang dang spyi* [= *ci*] *rnams*) [between us] as outright equal?"[716]

716 The above wording is lacking altogether from the other versions.

She responded:[717]

"Alas! Great Wonder! [I] must laugh!
I have neither found myself an accomodation,
Nor have [I] [barely] crossed the threshold [of Tibet] by [my own bare] two feet,
Nor have [I actually] seen the countenance of the ruler,
[Yet] you were beforehand in proclaiming words of contention [as to who is to become] the [principal] queen consort.
A top-feather from a bird flying in space
And a bamboo generated on earth from heat and moisture, the two,
Although they are equal in terms of individual share necessary for [fulfilling] their [distinct] purpose (*rang cha dgos pa'i go gnas*)
Yet [both items] combine as causes (*rtsa ru 'dzom*) by the arrow-maker perforce of *karman*,
To be higher or lower [therefore] is [merely] a difference in name.
The flower grown in the three upper slopes (*phu gsum*)
And the hollyhock (*ha lo*) growing in the garden of the three lower vallies (*mda' gsum*), the two,
Although they may be equal when deemed from the viewpoint of beauty,
Yet perforce of [sheer] coincidence (*rten 'brel*) they [nevertheless] meet [as votive gifts] in the presence [of the statues] of gods;
And being first or last is [merely] a difference of name.
Although Khri-btsun coming from the central part of Nepal
And Kong-jo arriving from China as daughter [of the emperor], the two,
Although they may be on an equal footing in terms of all their paternal hereditary dowries
They [anyway] both meet here in the presence of the king perforce of an aspiration-vow (*pranidhāna*),
So the question of being senior or junior queen is [merely] a difference of name;
In question of wickedness (?*gnyen ngan*) and as to being senior or junior etc.
If [however] we lived together in harmony [we] could be even more [dearer to one another] than sisters [are] in this lifetime;
If we showed jealousy then who will turn out to be the most prudent as to rank?

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717 The following nine-syllabic metrical sequence is only retained in **GLR**, a narrative which holds thirty-six lines. This variant apparently reflects a distinct tradition, stemming evidently from a yet untraced or original version of the Srong-btsan sgam-po biography.

The rendition retained in the other versions display, in conformity with the previous seven-syllabic metrical sequence forwarded by Khri-btsun, in contrast a marked correspondence, where, as most often is the case, only the number of lines differ. **MNKB** E (Ca) 131b5-132a2 holds nineteen seven-syllabic lines; **KCHKKHM-1** 749.7-751.2 holds thirty-one lines; **KCHKKHM-2** 206.13-207.17 holds thirty-eight lines and **CHBYMTNYP** 249a4-250a3 holds twenty-six lines. See the Appendix, note 717 for a full rendition of the version deviating from the one embedded in **GLR**.

In both [our] distant countries China and Nepal
Our two dear royal fathers reign separately
Although [we should] be satisfied with [our] paternal homeland (*yul gyi pha ming*), [I] am [when necessary nevertheless] ready to compete [with you];
The foundation and source of all prosperity of benefit,
[Endowed with] inconceivable properties of being beheld, heard of, recollected and being touched,
The two Jo-bo [statues], although [we should] be satisfied with [them as they are], if [you demand I] shall be ready to compete [with you];
Carrying [loads] of gold, silver and various [kinds of] brocade silk [etc.]
On horses, camels and mules etc.
Although [we should] be satisfied with [our] personal hereditary dowries [brought along], [I shall if required] readily compete [with you];
Worldly affairs and architectual refinements,
And various [ways] of preparing dishes of food, ornamental design,
[Such] merits [derived from] tilling and grinding alien harvest etc.
Although [we should] be satisfied [indeed] with the achievements (*lag rjes*) [contrived by us] wise ladies (*mdzangs ma*), [if required I shall] readily compete [with you]."

But the minister mGar [vividly] remembered the partiality of the Chinese emperor, the adverse notions of Tibet entertained by the princess Kong-jo and the severe hardship [he himself] faced in China, so he had seen to that Kong-jo, mistress and servants [of maidens] were without any [local Tibetan] attendant (*'khor mkhan*) for one full month.[718]

Now, the servants of the Chinese [princess] said: "The saying that Tibet is the realm of the *preta*-ghosts [certainly] holds true. [Apparently] the enjoyment of food and drink [we] shall not be given."

Hearing this and being moreover unable to endure [it] any longer in [her] mind, the Chinese princess summoned minister mGar in whom she confided: "Great Minister (*blon po chen po*)! In accordance with what you have promised, [I have] come [to Tibet], but it is not [customary] to beat a dog after [you have] called upon [it]! Instead of showing [this] insolence and imprudence [towards us, kindly] provide us, mistress and attendants [alike], with provisions and cloth! We have arrived from a distant place, so we are quite exhausted." mGar responded: "For me there were neither any means of acquiring food and drink, nor any means of acquiring an audience with the Chinese emperor [while I was in China], and [moreover] whatever I may [attempt] to do, the Nepalese princess is very powerful, [so] you [better] address [your complain] to her!", whereafter he went away.

[Hearing] this, the Chinese princess not only became very disheartened, but recalling [her] paternal homeland and [its] material comfort, she too could not help feeling remorseful. She therefore chanted [the following] song being accompanied (*ram 'degs bcol*) by guitar:[719]

"Daughter [you] can not stay, but must go [to Tibet];

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718 Lacking from the other versions.

719 Both the prose narrative and the following metrical narrative are lacking altogether from the other versions.

Bring along the Jo-bo Shākya [statue] as dowry,
And bring also along the divination[-technique] of *gtsug lag* as dowry,
Along with precious stones and fine brocade as dowry,
[I] came [here with recipes] to transform milk into curd,
Came [with recipe] making curd into butter,
And came making buttermilk (*da ra*) into cheese (*thud*)[720]
[Further I] arrived [here with techniques] pulverizing finely the rose-tree,
Came [with a technique] manufacturing grass (*gres* (= *dres*) *ma*) into ropes,
And [with a technique] transforming porcelain-clay (*kham pa*) into earthern wares (*rdza*),
And came [with a knowledge] to establish water-mills (*rang 'thag chu skor*);
I came [here] carrying along seeds of turnip;
In China [our] lot and prosperity have deteriorated;
[But] in Tibet happiness will prosper;
[I] the daughter is noble in the place of a mother[-queen]
[But when I] have grown old in rank [and position] [the responsibility] will be a huge mental blow [to me];
I have come [here] to make Tibet [my] home,
But once summoned inside [the house] the bitch is beaten;
Tibet is indeed shameless and indolent!
The root of the handle [i.e. Tibet] on a little knife is sharp [i.e. vile]
A little song is sound [most] harmoniously near the mill (*rang 'thag go na*) [i.e. at home]
A daughter is wise in the presence of the mother [i.e. at home]
The ruler [of Tibet] is being governed by the ministers,
[My prospective] man (*skyes* [*pho*]) is ruled by a woman [i.e. the Nepalese princess];
The web (*thag*[*s*]) is being run by the weft (*spun*);
The bad field [i.e. Tibet] is overgrown with weeds (*ram pa*) [i.e. bad ministers];
For me, the daughter [of the Chinese emperor] there is no means of remaining here;
Minister mGar is [truly] acting [very] insolent!"

[She] then had the Jo-bo [statue] placed upon a waggon, loaded the packs upon the horses, mules and camels etc. and proclaimed: "I have personally come to realize the deeds of the wicked Tibet", and while making preparations to return [back] to China, minister mGar emerged and intervened: "It is not right of you to leave your home and return to your native homeland. Not only is it a shame [if you do so], but the road bound for China is also not passable! At the time you arrived in Tibet, you too had to remain [alone] on the road without me and the road was not passable (*lam ma shog par 'dug*). Now, I shall not only discuss [the matter] with the Nepalese princess, but also report it to the king!"

When asking [the king] for an audience [on behalf of the princess], the king turned up

720 A nourishment made from cheese, milk, butter and sugar.

at the place of the feast, where he had [his] first meeting with Kong-jo.

As to [this initial meeting] three different opinions occured: In the view of the Tathāgata-s of the ten directions, the opinion prevailed that the king and the queen, the two, were promoting the welfare of the sentient beings by way of [enacting] the twelve deeds. In the view of the Bodhisattva-s of the ten stages, the opinion prevailed that Ārya-Avalokita, having transformed [himself] into the body of king Srong-btsan sgam-po and *bhaddārikā* Tārā, having transformed [herself] into the body of the Chinese princess Kong-jo, [the couple then] worked for the welfare of the sentient beings. [Finally], in the view of the ordinary people, the opinion prevailed, that [this meant that] the king and the queen, the two, in turns enjoyed beer in companionship, and in turns were spinning threads.[721]

Thereupon, again the king did not have any meeting with Kong-jo for a whole month, which made her bear a strong grudge [against Tibet], and in order to encourage Kong-jo, [the minister] said: "Kong-jo are you perhaps weary? Are you experiencing any hardship! It is indeed a great wonder that you have reached Tibet unimpeded. Tell me how the Jo-bo [statue] was brought [to Tibet] and how [you succeeded in passing] the three [major impediments on the road, i.e.] the passes, the gorges and the rivers!" Princess Kong-jo narrated: "[The statue] of Jo-bo Shākya was installed on a chariot, and the two champions lHa-dga' and Klu-dga' pulled the wheels. [We] crossed the river rGya-chu khug-pa by boat and although the road and the districts [to pass] were long, we [nevertheless] reached [our goal] by various means: [We] progressed by crossing nine sandy passes which were blocked by ice, and by holding high a lamp in the dark. [Further], we arrived by way that the trees of the Catechu tree (*seng ldeng*) rose up to the right and the trees of the Hippophae rhamnoides (*gla ba*) species rose up to the left [making the route passable along the road].[722]

"In China lot and prosperity have deteriorated;
[But] in Tibet happiness and prosperity prosper;
Tibet indeed is insolent!"

Saying [this] she wept [bitterly].

When the other ministers occured, they were greatly sarcastic and bragged loudly. Minister mGar said: "Generally, [we] have been treated contemptously by the entire Chinese population. Aside from one Chinese hostess, not one single sympathetic Chinese was found. In particular, the Chinese emperor has demonstrated great partiality. Princess Kong-jo, how much ill-feeling have not even you shown [towards Tibet]?" The Chinese princess felt ashame over this and was unable to utter a single word [in response].[723]

The Invitation of the Chinese Princess Kong-jo.

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721 **MNKB** E (Ca) 132a2, E (Cd) 196b5-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 752.1-2; **KCHKKHM-2** 209.13-210.16; **KCHKKHM-3** 439.7; **CHBYMTNYP** 250b1-4; **MBNTH** 54a5-b2. Cf. somewhat differently, **HBCHBY** (JA) 33b1-5.

722 The entire prose portion and the following metrical sequence, closing the chapter, are lacking altogether from the other versions.

723 Lacking from the other versions.

XIV

The Successful Erection of the Temples of mTha'-'dul, Yang-[mtha'-]'dul, 'Phrul-snang and Ra-mo-che

[I] [Kong-jo's Geomantic Divination]

Next,[724] princess Khri-btsun, being aware that the Chinese princess was well-versed in [geomantic] divination (*rtsis*), and employing minister mGar as intercessor (*ngo chen bcol*), handed over one full *bre*-measure of gold-dust to her maid-servant as fee (*yon*) and dispatched her [to Kong-jo in order to have her] calculate which location (*sa cha*) would be the better to erect a temple.[725]

[II] [Tibet Resembling a Prostrate Demoness]

The Chinese princess then [again] laid out the [astrological-divinatory] chart (*gab rtse*) containing the scroll of trigrams in eighty sections (*spor thang skor*) and [made her] reckonings: "[I] reckon this Snow-clad Kingdom to have the shape of a *rākṣasī*-demoness resting on her back (*srin mo gan rkyal du nyal ba*).[726] [I] [further] recognize the lake 'Plain

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724 The present chapter continues the lengthy narrative of the Vita of Srong-btsan sgam-po, focussing here upon the intrigues between the two rivalling queens concerning seniority and concerning the circumstances behind the erection of the two prominent and famed lHa-sa-temples, Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and Ra-mo-che, both dedicated to these two royal figures. The chapter further presents us with a lengthy topographical and toponymical exposé of various sites associated with the Chinese princess' divination and a geomantic description of the well-known erection of twelve temples pinning down the prostrate demoness. For a full survey of the sources for this chapter, cf. Appendix, note 724.

725 **MNKB** E (Ca) 132a6-b2; **KCHKKHM-1** 753.4-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 211.18-212.7; **CHBYMTNYP** 251a3-b2; **MBNTH** 57a6; **DTHZHG** 38.19-21.

726 The *locus classicus* for this famed metonym for Tibet being compared with a supine or prostrate rock-demoness and the mythological narrative associated with it, is to be found in a number of currently non-extant *bka'-chems*' of the king, cf. Appendix. But see foremost: **MNKB** E (Ca) 129b5, 132b2-3; (Cd) 197a3, 197b3; **KCHKKHM-1** 754.2-3, 762.1-2; **KCHKKHM-2** 200.17-201.17, 212.8-215.3, 233.17-18; **KCHKKHM-3** 435.7-436.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 247a2-248a1, 251b3-253a3; **MBNTH** 55a5-6; **NGTMTPH** 8a2 (Uebach, 1987, pp. 88-9); **GBCHBY** 277.7-9; **DCHBY** 115.15; among a plethora of post-**GLR** sources containing this tradition: **HBCHBY** (JA) 32b4-5, 33b6, 35a6; **DTHZHG** 38.21-39.1; Tsong-kha-pa **rNam-thar** 13b-14b (Kaschewsky, pp. 178-179), etc.

In the divinatory and mantic calculations contrived by Kong-jo, the (Chinese) 'Wisewoman of Divination' (*lha cig 'phrul gyi ong cong*), various Tibetan locations and geographical sites are identified to be the dwelling-place, the resort or the domain (*pho brang*, *nyal sa*, *'dus sa*, *rgyu srang*, etc.) inhabited by sundry malignant (*nag po*, *sdig po*) creatures, spirits and *dei loci*. Forces considered hostile or potentially malicious towards the prospective new Buddhist Order which by then had taken form under the religious *chos rgyal* Srong-btsan sgam-po. These geo- or topographical formations, often being mountains and outwardly assuming some configurative resemblance to these native and anti-Buddhist *genii loci*, were called 'terrestrial antagonists [or] foes' (*sa dgra*). In order to neutralize, pacify or to tame (*gnon*, *'dul*) their potential malignity, religious sanctuaries and emblems were erected - as a sort of apotropaic antidote - to affront (*kha ston*) them.

For an full rendering of the crucial passage in the most detailed version, cf. Appendix, note 726.

of Milk' ('O[-ma'i] thang) [in lHa-sa] to be the [very] heart-blood (*snying khrag*) of the demoness and recognize these three mountains [around lHa-sa] to be [her] 'heart-bones' (*snying gi rus pa*),[727] [so] this place here is [located right] upon the demoness' heart. You therefore will have to raise this temple of [yours] upon the lake [of 'O-thang after] it has been [dried up and] filled in (*bsubs pa*). Here a door to the lower existences [of Saṃsāra] is also found. Beneath Ra-mo-che is the palace of the *nāga*-s, but the installation of the Jo-bo [statue] will suppress it. In the Nāga-cavern-s the sleeping-place (*nyal sa*) of the black *klu-bdud* is found, so built a temple [there] and abduct [this *nāga*-site]![728]

At the foot of the single-stemmed trunk of a poisonous tree at Gla-ba-tshal[729] [in lHa-sa] in the south-western [direction], the meeting-place[s] (*'dus sa*)[730] of the *the'u-rang* and *mi-ma-yin* [spirits] are found. Disperse [them]![731]

From the upper valley of Grib to the upper valley of Nyang-bran[732] the path frequented

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727 **MNKB** E (Cd) 197a3, 198a6; **KCHKKHH-2** 203.2-4 and 213.2-7 (for the text, cf. Appendix, note 726); **CHBYMTNYP** 247b1-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 32b5-6, 35a7-b1.

These texts list four mountains towering in the four directions. In a (recent) Bon-text the lHa-sa area is known as the Continent of the Nāga-s (*klu'i gling*), cf. Karmay, 1972, p. 80. This imagery and mythos of a lake and the establishment of a religious site upon it is cherished in many cultures, for instance the Kathmandu Valley and the country of Li (Khotan) were also established upon a dried-up lake, cf. Emmerick, 1967, p. 3ff. The latter may well have inspired Tibetan myth-makers in creating the present myth. For a discussion of this tradition, cf. also Hummel, 1962-64. The Lake of Milk is registered already in the Dunhuang *Annals*: 'O-dang.

728 **MNKB** E (Ca) 132b3-7, 136a4, (Cd) 197a4, 197b3-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 756.4-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 201.7-12, 203.8-11, 214.9-12, 215.3-9; **KCHKKHM-3** 436.1-4, 441.76-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 247a4-b1; **MBNTH** 56a4-5, 65a2; **GBCHBY** 277.8-10, 278.15-16; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35a7-b2; **DTHZHG** 39.1-4.

The following malicious configurations are in the texts defined as the five (actually more) impediments (*skyon lnga*; or: (geomantic) perils) the initial extermination of which will secure the presence of prosperous qualities (cf. note 754ff.) for the erection of the key *gtsug lag khang* (e.g. **MNKB** 136a1: *de'i* [i.e. *gtsug lag khang*] *yon tan gyi mgo 'don par bya ba'i phyir ‖ skyon lnga sngon la zlog par byed dgos*; **KCHKKHM-2** 212.19-213.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 248b2-3). The means employed to eliminate these impediments: The installation of Buddhist idols or emblems etc. were seen as an attempt of terrestrial renovations (*sa'i bcos kha byed pa*, cf. e.g. **MNKB** 133a3) or as an apotropaic remedy that aimed at thwarting the negative influence projected and wielded by these phreatic or hypogeal creatures. Cf. Appendix, note 726 for details.

729 **GLR**: Zla-ba-tshal, the 'Moon Grove' to the south of lHa-sa, cf. also **KCHKKHM-2** 214.13: dKar-chung Zla-ba'i tshal, but undoubtedly it should be rectified to Gla-ba'i tshal, the Grove of the *gla ba* [= *gla ba shing*, = *star bu*] species of trees and larger shrubs, i.e. the Hippophae rhamnoides or the thorny sea buckthorn, cf. note 792 (*not* 'Garden of Musk Deer', as Aris, 1979, p. 14, and one commonly would assume it), cf. lho phyogs Gla ba'i nags tshal and lho nub Gla-ba'i tshal gyi brag in **MNKB** E (Ca) 136a4, (Cd) 198a5; **KCHKKHM-1** 766.4-5 and **KCHKKHM-2** 220.5-6, 227.15; whereas **KCHKKHM-3** 450.1-4: La ba'i tshal; **CHBYMTNYP** 252a3, 258a3, 259a1, 259a3; **MBNTH** 63b1: dKar-chung La-ba'i tshal; **GBCHBY** 281.18-19; **HBCHBY** (JA) 34b4, 138a2 (during the time of Glang-dar-ma); **DTHZHG** 42.1. For a fuller discussion, cf. Appendix, note 729.

730 Or the place where they held counsel (*'dun ma byed pa'i sa*).

731 **MNKB** E (Ca) 132b7, 136a4, (Cd) 198a5; **KCHKKHM-1** 755.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 214.13-15, 227.15-228.3, 228.16-19; **CHBYMTNYP** 252a3-5; **MBNTH** 58a1-2.

732 **MNKB** E (Ca) 136a3: *dGa' ldan gyi tshal 'gram na btsan gyi rgyu srang yod*; **KCHKKHM-2** 223.2-3: *ri 'di'i* [i.e. Byang Nyang-bran *dang* Dor-te'u *bar na ri*, cf. notes 743-44 *infra*] *nub na*

(*rgyu srang*) by the *btsan*-spirits runs, therefore raise a great *caitya* at Bar-chu-kha [to affront and neutralize it]![733]

In the eastern direction [from lHa-sa] the 'terrestrial antagonist' (*sa dgra*)[734] is [furthermor] found, which [topographically] resembles a water-demon (*chu srin*) with a little stone soaring [in the air] (*de'u* (= *lde'u*) *la 'dring* (= *lding*) *ba*), this is the mountain Ba-Lam Grum-pa ri.[735] [To neutralize it,] [af]front it (*kha ston*) [with] a [white] conch wounded to the right (*dung g.yas su 'khyil, dakṣināvartaśaṅkha*)![736]

In the south-eastern [direction][737] the 'terrestrial antagonist' (*sa dgra*) which [topographically] resembles a demoness baring [her] genitals (*'doms bzed pa*) is found. It is [to be identified with] the [mountain] Byang-stod Seng-phug.[738] [In order to neutralize it,]

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dGa' ldan gyi mtsho 'gram na btsan gyi rgyu srang yod; **KCHKKHM-3** 449.5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 37a7.

For Nyang-b[r]an, cf. Ferrari, p. 116.

733 **MNKB** E (Ca) 133a3-4: Bar-chu'i kha, 136a3-4: *mchod rten* Se-ru; **KCHKKHM-1** 773.5-7: A *mchod rten* Ka-ru of retreat must be erected, because if the *rgyu srang* was not destroyed, the *btsan*-spirits may deprive the life of any (Buddhist) meditator [in the future]; **KCHKKHM-2** 214.13-18, 215.9-11; **KCHKKHM-3** 449.5-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 252b3-4, 258a1-3 (erect a *mchod rten* Ke-ru [*sic*], cf. note 740); **MBNTH** 58a2, 64b6-65a2; **GBCHBY** 281.15-17; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b1, 37a6-7; **DTHZHG** 39.18.

734 Herewith is evidently meant a hypostatized topographical gestalt supposed to be endowed with negative or malignant properties hostile to the people living there. These antagonists or nature-bound foes may be represented by the various spirits of the soil (*sa dgra* = *sa bdag*; often also denoted elemental antagonist (*'byung ba'i dgra*; cf. **KCHKKHM-1** 756.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 252a6, etc.) roaming about and inhabiting the Tibetan territory, or, as said, conceived to *resemble* the configurations of these creatures or similar malevolent beings. Cf. notes 724-6 *supra*.

735 **MNKB**: Na kyi Grog-po-ri [sic]; **KCHKKHM-2**: Ngan-lam Gron-pa-ri; **HBCHBY**: Ba-lam Grum-pa-ri. Both Ngan-lam and Ba-lam, with Ba-lam arguably being the best reading, were well-known locations in dBu-ru during the royal period, where even a *yul dpon* resided, cf. **GBCHBY** 257.16-17. Chab-spel, *op. cit.*, 1989, p. 197, also reading Ba-lam, locates it in present-day sTag-rtse-rdzong, which is a poor guess. Thus one should read: Grum-pa-ri of Ba-lam. Grum-pa-ri seems to have nothing to do with the toponym Grom-pa, cf. Uebach, 1987, p. 53, n. 158. Also in the XIVth cent. one finds the site Grum-pa-ri as in contrast to lCags-kha-ri (cf. note 765), see Petech, 1990, p. 116. Ba-lam Grom/Grum-pa brag-phug is according to a ref. in a Padma-Vita, the residence of the *nāga-rāja* Mal-gro gZi-can, situated close to Mal-gro-mda', the Valley of Mal-gro, cf. e.g. Appendix, note 790 for details. Ba-lam is moreover the name of a valley, and as Uebach, 1987, pp. 112-13, n. 611, indicates, the location of the Ba-lam Valley and the Mal-gro Valley must be close to one another.

736 **MNKB** E (Cd) 198b1; **KCHKKHM-2** 214.15-16, 215.9, 222.12-14; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b1-2.

737 **MNKB** E (Ca) 136a1-2: Shar na Sros-pa'i ri; **KCHKKHM-1** 756.1: Bye-ma lung-stod; **KCHKKHM-2+3** and **CHBYMTNYP**: [Drang-po] Bye-ma lung-stong/stod; **MBNTH**: Bye-ma lung-stod.

738 Lacking from the other versions, except **HBCHBY**: Byang-stod Se-phug. Located, according to Chab-spel, *op. cit.*, 1989, p. 197, in present-day sTag-rtse-rdzong. Can it be related to the place Seng-ge brag-phug? cf. Blondeau, 1971, p. 70. Or to sTag-tshang seng-phug? the first cave visited by Padma Sambhava in Tibet, cf. e.g. **PMKTH** (Chap. 49, 307.3-4) and **KTHDNG** (KHA) (Chap. XVIII, sect. 24, 203.17-204.6), but this cave is, as is commonly known, located in sPa-gro of present-day Bhutan, which *in casu* makes it most unlikely.

[af]front it [with a statue of] Maheśvara.[739]

In the southern direction [from Lhasa] the 'terrestrial antagonist' (*sa dgra*) is found, which resembles a black scorpion pouncing on [its pray] (*sdig pa nag po gzan la rub pa*). It is [to be identified as] the eastern summit of Yug-ma-ri. [To suppress it,] [af]front it [by erecting a statue of] the *garuḍa*-bird Ke-ru![740]

In the western [direction] the 'terrestrial antagonist' is found which resembles a black *bdud*-demon being on guard (*bya ra byed pa*). This is [to be identified with] the rocky summit (*brag ri*) of Shun.[741] [For its neutralization,] [af]front it [with] a stone-made *caitya*![742]

In the northern [direction] the 'terrestrial antagonist' is found, resembling an elephant in battle. This is the middlemost mountain (*dbus ri*) between Nyang-bran and Dogs-te, the two.[743] [In order to neutralize it] [af]front it [with] a stone-made lion![744] It will [likewise] suppress all the terrestrial antagonists [reigning] in the vicinity.

Thus all the terrestrial antagonists were suppressed, and [alternatively] all [the topographical terrestrial configurations boding prosperity and being endowed with] qualities [such as the eight auspicious signs, etc. were found] being fully complete,[745] viz. to the east [from lHa-sa] the mountain [configurally] resembling a [piled-up] *caitya*[746] is found; this is

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739 **MNKB** E (Ca) 133a1, 136a2, (Cd) 198b2; **KCHKKHM-1** 756.1-2; **KCHKKHM-2** 215.7-8, 222.13-15; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.1, 449.3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 252b1, 257b3; **MBNTH** 58a3-4, 65a3; **GBCHBY** 281.10-11; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b1-2; **DTHZHG** 39.15.

The texts talk about piercing or eliminating it with the linga or phallos (*lingga, gsang ba'i rten*) of Maheśvara.

740 **MNKB** E (Ca) 136a2, (Cd) 198b3; **KCHKKHM-1** 756.2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 214.15-17, 215.9, 222.15-17: Grib Kha-ser; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.1-2, 449.4; **CHBYMTNYP** 252b1-2, 257b3-4; **MBNTH** 58a4-5, 65a3-4; **GBCHBY** 281.11; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b2; **DTHZHG** 39.16.

Ke-ru is a garbled form of *ga ru da*. Cf. note 733 *supra*. Yug-ma-ri is unidentified, but see note 759.

741 **KCHKKHM-2**: Shun gyi brag te'u rtse. Cf. also the notes 768, 1541.

742 **MNKB** E (Ca) 133a4 (slightly different), 136a2-3; (Cd) 198a1; **KCHKKHM-1** 756.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 214.17-18, 215.9-11, 222.17-19; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 252b3, 257b4; **MBNTH** 58a5, 65a4; **GBCHBY** 281.12; **HBCHBY** 35b2-3, 38a4-5; **DTHZHG** 39.16-7.

743 **GLR** B: dGe-te; **MNKB**: Nya-ran/ban dang Dor-te'i ri; **KCHKKHM-1**: Nya-nar gyi ri; **KCHKKHM-2**: Nyan-brang dang Dor-te'u bar gyi ri; **MBNTH** 58a6; **HBCHBY**: Nyang-brang Dog-sde'i dbus ri. **TSLKHKCH** 13b2: Don-nyang Dogs bar gyi ri. The location Dor-ste was well-known during the dynastic period, where it was one of the *stong-sde* or thousand-communities or districts of dBu-ru, the Central Horn, being commanded by a *stong-dpon*, cf. **GBCHBY** 258.15, 261.3; **NGTMTPH** 2a3.

Also written Dor-te/sde, cf. the informative note in Uebach, 1987, p. 51, n. 129.

744 **MNKB** E (Ca) 136a3, (Cd) 198b1-2; **KCHKKHM-1** 756.4-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 214.17-18, 215.11, 222.19-223.2; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.3, 449.4; **CHBYMTNYP** 252b4, 257b4; **MBNTH** 58a6, 65a4-5; **GBCHBY** 281.12-13; **HBCHBY** 35b3; **DTHZHG** 39.17; **TSLKHKCH** 13b1-3.

745 **MNKB** E (Ca) 130a5-1, 136a1-4, (Cd) 198a2-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 212.19-213.17 (for text, cf. Appendix, note 726); **CHBYMTNYP** 251b3-252a3.

Cf. also note 728.

746 **MNKB** E (Ca) 198a2; **KCHKKHM-2** 202.14-15 and 213.4 and **GBCHBY** 277.15-16, here it is the mountain located to the west; **KCHKKHM-3** 436.5; **HBCHBY** 35b3; **DTHZHG** 39.5. The auspicious characterization of these four cardinal rear mountains surrounding lHa-sa (*lha sa'i phyogs bzhi'i ri rgyab*) or the four noble mountains (*'phags pa'i ri bzhi*) is, **KCHKKHM-2** *op. cit.* 213.5-7

the mountain [called] Ban-khos Bang-ba-ri.[747] In the south [a mountain] is found resembling a mound of jewels,[748] this is the mountain [called] the rear mountain (*rgyab ri*) of Grib.[749] To the west [from lHa-sa] a mountain is found resembling a skull-bowl (*dung phor*) placed upon a tripod (*man dzi = man lci*),[750] this is the Brang-phu'i ri in sTod-lung.[751] To the north the mountain resembling a disclosing lotus[752] is the lHa-phu'i ri of Dogs-te.[753]

Moreover, [the mountains being [con]figured with the eight auspicious signs are found, such as] the mountain 'Phan-dkar gyi ri of Nyang-bran having an umbrella (*gdugs, channa*) [for] the head [of Buddha];[754] the rear mountain (*rgyab ri*) of Mal-gro[ng] has a fish (*nya,*

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and **KCHKKHM-3** 436.6-7 explain us, signs that veneration for the relics and the bodily form of Buddha Śākya-muni will increase and durate for a long time in this place. This Buddhist veneer is, if anything, a later formulation. For a number of sacred mountains or hills around bSam-yas, being depicted almost similarly, cf. **BZH** (Chin. ed. 37.5-16) but in particular **PMKTH** Chap. 56, 346.1-347.16.

747 **GLR** B: Bun-pa-ri. Unmentioned in other texts, except **HBCHBY** 35b3: Ban-khos Gung-ba-ri. Ban-khos appears corrupt. If we retain the reading Bang-ba-ri, it may refer to the well-known hill-top in the lHa-sa Valley, a hill abutting the lCags-kha-ri, cf. note 455. This linking is however highly questionable.

748 **KCHKKHM-2** 202.14 and 213.3-4; **KCHKKHM-3** 436.5; **GBCHBY** 277.15; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b4; **DTHZHG** 39.5.

749 Unmentioned in other texts. Grib is the district lying opposite to lHa-sa, where e.g. [m]Tshal Gung-thang is located.

750 **KCHKKHM-2** 202.15-16 and **GBCHBY** 277.16-17, here the mountain is placed to the north; *ibid.* 213.4-5 has a mountain located to the east resembling a heap of lotuses (*padma spungs pa*); **KCHKKHM-3** 436.4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b4; **DTHZHG** 39.5-6.

751 Unmentioned in other texts, except **HBCHBY**. For this place, cf. also **NGTMTPH** 9b4 (Uebach, 1987, p. 97): sTod-lungs Brang. For sTod-lung, a valley of sTod-lung chu, situated south-west of lHa-sa and running into the sKyid-chu river, cf. Ferrari, Map. Cf. also note 1183.

752 **MṆKB** E (Cd) 198a2; **KCHKKHM-2** 202.13-14 and 213.2-3 have in the east a mountain resembling a heap of lotuses, and **KCHKKHM-3** 436.4 and **GBCHBY** 277.14-15 have to the east [a mountain] resembling a disclosing lotus; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b4; **DTHZHG** 39.6.

753 **GLR** B: dGe-te. Unmentioned in the other texts, except **HBCHBY:** Dog-ste lha-ri. For Dog[s]-te, cf. note 743.

754 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 135b5: Shar 'Phan gyi ri, (Cd) 198a3: Byang ngos 'Phan ri; **KCHKKHM-1** 755.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 213.8-9; **KCHKKHM-3** 441.3: 'Phag[s-d]kar; **CHBYMTNYP** 251b6; **MBNTH** 57b5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b5; **DTHZHG** 39.7-8; **TSLKHKCH** 3b5: Nyang-bran Bal-po-che'i ri. Corroborated by such a late text as Kaḥ-thog Si-tu's guide **GJBTSNK** 134.6-135.2 (= 67b6-68a2). He may of course have based himself upon one of the above sources, say the V. Dalai Lama, but his text being a *lam-yig*, this local travelogue may lend credence to at least the existence of a local depiction of this old geomantic portrayal and classification.

These eight auspicious Buddhist tokens are part of the prerequisites required for the geomantically successful erection of a temple. This is stated by all primary sources (ref., cf. note 726 *supra*), but perhaps most distinctly by mKhas-pa lDe'u, **GBCHBY** 278.6-12, where the *aṣṭamaṅgala* is listed as one of the eight (propitious) attributes (*yon tan brgyad*) or *guṇa*-s which are *sine non qua* for any temple's erection. The other items, aside from the full presence of these eight emblems in the intermediate sphere (i.e. the mountains around the proposed site), were the resemblence in space of the eight-spoked wheel, on ground the configuration of the eight-petalled lotus (cf. note 774 *infra*) and the presence of four divinational or mantic gods (*ju ẓhag gi lha*) in the four directions (around the site, cf. note 766). However, in order to make these *guṇa*-s wield their positive effect (*nus pa*), the five immediate perils (cf. note 728ff. *supra*) threatening the site

matsya) being the eyes;[755] the rocks of mDangs-mkhar has a lotus (*padma*) being the tongue;[756] the glacial ice (*'khyag khrom*) [of the mountain of] Grib has a conch shell (*dung, śaṅkha*) for the voice;[757] the mountain of rDzong-btsan has a vase (*bum pa, kumbha*) as neck;[758] the Yug-ma'i ri has a *śrīvatsa*-emblem as breast;[759] the mountain of 'Phan-dkar has

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must be eliminated.

From the ensuing notes, it is evident that in the description and location of these sites, full consensus is rarely achieved when we collate the sources. It is worthy of note that the eight auspicious tokens, in accordance with common tradition, correspond to the various limbs and endowments of Buddha and his body. Cf. the very useful presentation of the *aṣṭamaṅgala*, its imagery and corresponding Buddha-limbs given by Dagyab Rinpoche, 1992, pp. 33-62.

The present imagery of the umbrella is that its protecting shield is perceived to shelter the head [of Buddha] from the radiating heat of passion (*kleśa*).

755 **MNKB** E (Ca) 135b5: Shar brag dkar na'i brag [*sic*], (Cd) 198a3-4: Ra-kha'i brag; **KCHKKHM-1** 755.1-2: Ngag-dkar gyi brag; **KCHKKHM-2** 213.9-10: gDos-pa'i brag in the east (*shar gyi gdos pa'i brag*); **KCHKKHM-3** 441.3 and **CHBYMTNYP** 251b6 have the rock of Ra-ka having a fish resembling three eyes (*ra ka'i brag la spyan gsum nya 'dra ba*); **MBNTH** 57b6: Ra-ka'i brag; **HBCHBY** 35b5; **DTHZHG** 39.8; **TSLKHKCH** 3b5. Here is a homonymous confusion Brag-dkar/Ra-ga at play, cf. also note 763. **GLR**: Mal-grong is probably aberrant for Mal-gro.

The imagery of the golden fish (*suvarṇa matsya*) is that the two eyes are cabable of seeing and thus crossing the Ocean of Suffering (*saṃsāra*) or the Ocean of the All-knowing.

756 **GLR** A: mDeng-'khar. **MNKB** 135b6: Do-ri'i phugs; **KCHKKHM-2** 213.11-12: the mountain of rDzong-btsan resembles the leaves of a lotus representing the tongue [of Buddha]; **CHBYMTNYP** 252a2: the mountain of rTsibs in the east resembles a disclosing lotus representing the tongue; **HBCHBY** 35b5: gDong-mkhar gyi brag; **TSLKHKCH** 3b6.

The lotus flower signals purity and the slim tongue in speaking likewise. It is one of the distinguishing marks characterizing a Mahāpuruṣa.

757 **MNKB** E (Ca) 135b6: 'Phan-dar ri, (Cd) 198a4: lHo sPyan-ri; **KCHKKHM-1** 755.3: Grub bSe-sgob kyi phun; **KCHKKHM-2** 213.10-11: the mountain lDong-btsan-ri in the south resembles a sound-giving conch (*lho'i ldong btsan ri la gsung 'bud dung 'dra ba*); **KCHKKHM-3** 441.4: Grib Se-sgrom gyi phu; **CHBYMTNYP** 252a1-2: the upper valley of Grib bSe-sgrom resembles a [white] conch wounded to the right (*dung g.yas su 'khyil ba, dakṣinārttaśaṅkha*); **MBNTH** 57b6: sGrib bSe'i sgrom; **HBCHBY** 35b5: Grib-phu; **DTHZHG** 39.8-9; **TSLKHKCH** 3b6; cf. notes 707, 754 and 759-60.

For bSe-sgrom kyi phu of Grib, cf. also **NGTMTPH** 15a1 (Uebach, p. 121), a shelter for the fleeing lHa-lung after his regicide on Glang-dar-ma cf. also **BZH** (Stein ed. 82.15); **CHBYMTNYP** 476a6; **CHBY** 146a4 (Szerb, p. 51). Cf. note 1544 *infra*. One may wonder whether the *'khyag khrom* in **GLR** is a corruption for bSe-sgrom? Grib (the centre of which is ['/mTshal] Gung-thang, that, however, in the dynastic period was known as Ngan-lam) is the district lying opposite to Lhasa, on the southern bank of sKyid-chu. This site was allegedly passed through by princess Kong-jo *en route* to Tibet.

The conch, equally a symbol of purity, is symbolically depicted to announce and proclaim the Dharma of Buddha.

758 **MNKB** E (Ca) 135b5, (Cd) 198a4: Grib kyi phu; **KCHKKHM-1** 755.2-3: lDong-btsan gyi ri in the south; **KCHKKHM-2** 213.12-13: the rock of Grib-rdzong; **KCHKKHM-3** 441.3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 252a1: the rock of rDzong-btsan; **MBNTH** 57b6: lDong-btsan gyi brag; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b6; **DTHZHG** 39.9; **TSLKHKCH** 3b6; cf. also note 754. The vase is conceived to contain the *cintāmani* and indicates the extraordinary qualities of Buddha.

For the goddess of Grib rDzong-btsan, a fierce guardian-deity of Tshe-mchog-gling, a protectress and a form of dPal-ldan lha-mo, cf. Richardson, 1993, pp. 87-88. Buddha is commonly perceived to have a long, gracious neck. It is one of the distinguishing marks characterizing a

a victory-banner (*rgyal mtshan, gañjira*) as body[760] and the upper pasture (*spang*) of Brang-phu in sTod-lung [has] a wheel (*'khor lo, cakra*) as hands and feet,[761] thus making the eight auspicious emblems (*bkra shis rtags brgyad, aṣṭamaṅgala*) complete.

Furthermore, [the mountain named] Gar-pa'i Jo-mo Ze-ze holds iron mines (*lcags kha*),[762] [the place] Ra-ga brag has copper mines,[763] the rock of La-dong has silver ores,[764] and the rocks of lCags-kha-ri hold gold ores.[765]

Mahāpuruṣa.

759 **MNKB** E (Ca) 135a5: Rin-chen za [*sic*], (Cd) 198a4: mDa'; **KCHKKHM-1** 755.3-4: Grib-mtha' Yug-ma'i zur; **KCHKKHM-2** 213.13: Sgo-phu; **KCHKKHM-3** 441.4-5: Grib-'da' Yug-ma'i zur; **CHBYMTNYP** 252a2: Grib-mda' Yug-ma'i zur; **MBNTH** 57b6-58a1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b6; **DTHZHG** 39.9-10; **TSLKHKCH** 3B6.

Yug-ma in the Grib-district opposite to lHa-sa is still unidentified. See also note 740 *supra*.

The *śrīvatsa* as a knot is usually considered to be endless, so also the mind and thought (*thugs*, i.e. heart) of the Buddha, endless in the width and depth. Moreover, it indicates that all phenomena eventually are interdependent.

760 **MNKB** E (Ca) 135b5, (Cd) 198a4: 'Phrang-phu; **KCHKKHM-1** 755.2 and 755.4 (dittography!): Phun gyi brag; **KCHKKHM-2** 213.13-14: Byang-phu in the west; **KCHKKHM-3** 441.5, **CHBYMTNYP** 252a2-3: Shun gyi brag; so also **MBNTH** 58a1; for the latter cf. note 739. Only **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b6: 'Phan-dar gyi ri and **DTHZHG** 39.10 corroborate **GLR**, presumably by quoting it. But since 'Phan-d[k]ar has already been introduced, cf. note 754, one would suspect a scribal error for Byang-phu. However, the linking is corroborated by **MNKB** which reads: *shar 'phan gyi ri la gdugs 'dra ba'i ri yod ǀ de'i byang shar rgyal mtshan 'dra ba'i ri yod*, whereas the Vth Dalai Lama, **TSLKHKCH** *op. cit.* 3b6-4a1, by stating: *bKa' khol mar gdugs kyi byang shar ngos na yod par bshad pas ǀ da lta rMog lcog tu grags pa'i brag ri la sku lus rgyal mtshan*, has equally observed this inconsistency, and therefore identified the location with a rock called rMog-lcog.

The victory banner as symbol heralds the victory over all obstructions but mainly the victory and success of the Law of Buddha and the victory of knowledge over ignorance.

761 **KCHKKHM-2** 213.14-15: sTod-lung-mda'; lacking in **CHBYMTNYP**; **HBCHBY** 35b6; **DTHZHG** 39.10; **TSLKHKCH** 4a1.

The *cakra* or the wheel of the Dharma indicates setting in motion the preaching of the Law. As such it represents the Buddha Teaching. Cf. note 751 *supra*.

762 **MNKB** 133b6; **KCHKKHM-1** 757.1-2: sGo-phu; **KCHKKHM-2** 213.18-19: Dog-te sgo-phu; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.5; so also **CHBYMTNYP** 252b6 and **MBNTH** 58b3. Only **HBCHBY** 35b6 and **DTHZHG** 39.11 follow and corroborate **GLR**.

KCHKKHM-2 97.12-14, 136.5-6, 158.10-12, gives another early list of minerals found during king gNam-ri srong-btsan: At Tshe-spong gi ri gold was found; at Ge-ri'i brag la silver-ores were found; at 'Phreng-po copper was found (cf. note 444 *supra*) and at Ra-ga'i ri iron was found (cf. next note, the only place both lists have in common).

763 **MNKB** 133b6, 135b6: Ra-ga; **KCHKKHM-1** 757.2: Ra-kha'i khri-btsun [*sic*]; **KCHKKHM-2** 213.18-19: Dog-sde Ra-ga; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.5; **CHBYMTNYP** 253a1; **MBNTH** 58b3; **HBCHBY** 35b6; **DTHZHG** 39.11.

For Ra-ga/ka, cf. also note 755, previous note and Ferrari, p. 83.

764 **MNKB** E (Ca) 133b6: lHo-stengs, 135b6: La-stod; **KCHKKHM-1** 757.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 136.6 (La-sto'i ri =? La-stod), 158.11, 213.19-214.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.5; **CHBYMTNYP** 253a1: La-rtog; **MBNTH** 58b3: Da-dong; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b6; **DTHZHG** 39.11: Shug-pa-gdong.

For La-dong, cf. also note 782.

765 **MNKB** E (Ca) 133b6: lCags-kha-ri, 135b6: lCags-mkhar-ri; **KCHKKHM-1** 757.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 214.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.5; **CHBYMTNYP** 253a1; **MBNTH** 58b3: lCags-dkar; **HBCHBY** 35b7;

[Furthermore, in the four cardinal points from 'O-thang the mountains and locations are found, which configurally represent the four animals of the four directions:] In the east[ern direction] [the mountain is located which represents] the gray tiger (*stag skya bo*) [known as the] dGa'-bo gdong 'og-ma,[766] to the south [the azure-blue river] [sKyid-]chu [flows, representing] the turquoise-blue dragon (*g.yu 'brug sngon mo*),[767] to the west [the mountain is found representing] the red cock (*bya dmar po*), [identified with the] red rock (Brag-dmar) of Shun [and looking like] the face of a calf (*rte'u'i gdong*);[768] to the north [the

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DTHZHG 39.11.

lCags-kha-ri, lit. the 'mine-mountain' or lCags-mkhar-ri, the 'mountainous iron-castle' appear to be the original name for the later lCags-pho-ri, in use in texts until the XIV-XVIth century when the form lCags-pho-ri prevailed. This hilly mountain is the *bla ri* of Vajrapāṇi and is configured as a lion leaping upwards towards the sky (*seng ge gnam du mchong pa lta bu'i dbyibs*), cf. **TSLKHKCH** 18b5-6 and this depiction is comparatively old, already known from **BZH** (lCags-ka-ri; Stein ed. 78.13-14). Cf. also the notes 455, 726 (Appendix) and 735.

766 **MNKB** E (Ca) 133b5: Shar Bye-ma-ri, 135b6; **KCHKKHM-1** 757.1: Bye-ma; **KCHKKHM-2** 214.2; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.4-5: Bye-ma-ri; **CHBYMTNYP** 253a1: Bye-ma'i ri; it remains here to be solved whether dGa'-mo gdong 'og-ma is the proper name of a place, or, while Nyang-ral etc. gives Bye-ma'i ri, whether we should take it as an epithet of the symbolic tiger meaning the 'lovely face [protuding from] below'. In Chinese lore the white tiger (*bai hu*) of autumn is associated with the western quarter.

We are here dealing with another element taking over from the Chinese *feng-shui* and related geomantic divination, where the celestrial animals of the Chinese cardinal points are indicated and where each of these constituents here represents a mountain. For this scheme, which perhaps in its Tibetan fashion has undergone a slight modification (or the original system has been confounded by the Tibetans), cf. Aris, 1979, pp. 21-22. These four [animal-configured mountains] are considered the four gods of divination (*rtsis, ju zhag*) and of the gTsug-lag-khang (i.e. Jo-khang), cf. **MNKB** 136a1 (*lha'i gzhi* [*sic*]: (read: *lha bzhi*)) of the *gtsug-lag-khang*; **KCHKKHM-1** 756.6-757.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 214.4-5; **MBNTH** 58b2-3; **HBCHBY** 35b7 and **DTHZHG** 39.12-13. Cf. also note 754 *supra*. **KTHDNG** (KA) Chap. 24, 76.6-23 offers an interesting list, which corroborates the present list, only these animals are called the soil-lord (*sa bdag*) of the four cardinal corners.

767 **MNKB** E (Ca) 133b5, 135b6-136a1; **KCHKKHM-1** 755.6-756.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 214.2-3; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.4; **CHBYMTNYP** 252b5; **MBNTH** 58b2. Only **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b7: sKyi[d]-chu and **DTHZHG** 39.13: gTsang-chab (= gTsang-chu, meaning both river and representing Brahmaputra, also **HBCHBY** (JA) 151b6) help us with an attempt to restore **GLR** which merely reads *g.yu 'brug sngon mo chu*.

Normally, one would expect a mountain, but I am unable to identify such one from the given testimonies. In Chinese lore, the green dragon of spring is associated with the eastern quarter of the sky. The dragon is in their mythology associated with the river from which it springs, cf. Dieny, 1987, pp. 87, 116-117; Karmay, 1993, p. 151. Equally interesting, **KCHKKHM-2** 306.17-307.2 has an brief, (though somewhat distorted), etymology of Kyid [= sKyid]-shod and Kyi [= sKyid]-chu (cf. also 313.7-8). Here sKyid-chu sngon-mo, incidentally, is also glossed with *g.yu chu sngon mo*, as above. In **PMKTH** (Chap. 56, 346.9-10) the (waters of?) gTsang-po or Brahmaputra river is said to resemble a turquoise-blue dragon (*g.yu 'brug*). The entire geomantic scenario is e.g. paralleled in **Myang chos-'byung** (Chin. ed., 159.1-2, 181.8-10) which relates about the river of the turquoise dragon, but there of the northern direction in connection with the description of a site in gTsang.

For the turquoise-blue dragon, cf. also Karmay, 1972, p. 11.

768 **MNKB** 133b5: Bya-phu, 136a1; **KCHKKHM-2** 214.3; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.4: Brag-phu; **CHBYMTNYP** 252b6; **MBNTH** 58b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b7: Shun gyi Brag-dmar rTe-gdong;

mountain that topographically resembles] the black tortoise (*rus sbal nag po*) is found, [to be identified with the black boulder, i.e. the] Pha-bong-kha of Nyang-brang.[769]

[III] [The Twelve Temples Suppressing the Demoness]

Thus, in order to suppress all the major limbs and members of the supine *raksasī*, twelve immovable bolts [are to be] pinned down (*mi 'gyur ba'i gzer bcu gnyis zer*) [into her body],[770] viz. the Four Temples Taming the Border (*mtha' 'dul gyi gtsug lag khang*):[771]

[1] In g.Yo-ru [district], the Khra-'brug [temple],
[2] In sPu [= dBu]-ru [district], the Ka-rtsal [temple],
[3] In g.Yas-ru [district], the gTsang-'phrang temple,
[4] In gTsang [district], the Grum-pa rGyang temple.

In case this [should] not be enough [to suppress her], then build the Four Temples

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DTHZHG 39.13.

For the rock of Shun, cf. note 741.

769 **GLR** A: Pho-'ong-kha. **MNKB** E (Ca) 133b5: Byang rDo-rje, 136a1; **KCHKKHM-1** 757.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 214.3-4; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.4; **CHBYMTNYP** 252b6; **MBNTH** 58b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 35b7; **DTHZHG** 39.13-14; the adamantine black tortoise.

Also here a number of the above versions refrains from identifying the mountain in question. At Nyang-bran Pha-bong-kha in sKyid-shod the king erected a solid castle in nine levels, cf. **TSLKHKCH** 4b6. Pha-bong-kha was formerly the place where mThon-mi (cf. note 462) invented the Tibetan alphabet (cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 16a4-5; Chab-spel, 1989(b), p. 157) denoted *sku mkhar* Ma-ru. Cf. also note 496 *supra*. On Pha-bong-kha, one of the most sacred sites in Tibet, cf. Ferrari, p. 42, n. 86.

770 The specific reference to twelve bolts pinning down the demoness is lacking from all the primary or parallel sources, except by a somewhat distorted parallel found in Nel-pa. The presentation and division of the scheme of the twelve temples of Ru-gnon, mTha'-'dul and Yang-'dul in **GLR** is - when compared against the other versions - somewhat misplaced. Consequently, our discussion and possible identification of each temple will follow under the respective notes, nos. 832-858 *infra*.

GLR's present version of the scheme is decidedly distorted. Firstly, the author, Bla-ma dam-pa, or perhaps a later redactor of the text?, has confused the mTha'-'dul bzhi scheme with that of the Ru-gnon bzhi (cf. next note) here in the present quote as well as later in this chapter.

In the light of new sources which have surfaced since the publication of Aris' study on this interesting scheme in 1979, *loc. cit.* pp. 3-33 (with tables), we may now augment Aris' listing of ten sources that delineate this concentric diagram. Contrary to what is commonly assumed, it was Hummel who first made a very brief description of this scheme, cf. Hummel, 1962. As already noted by Aris, *op. cit.* pp. 8-9, this geomantic classification constitutes a key subplot in the narrative of Srong-btsan sgam-po's Vita and yet, tracing the individual temples and their locations, there are, in my eyes, cogent reasons - albeit still with some scepticism - to accept the rough outline of this scheme and its historicity. For an expansion of the lists of the scheme drawn from new sources, cf. Appendix, note 770.

771 As adduced in the previous note the following four temples should not be subsumed under the mTha'-'dul, but should be classified as the Four Ru-gnon temples, in accordance with the general conception of this scheme, cf. Aris and Appendix, note 770.

Taming [the area] Beyond [the Border] (*yang [mtha'] 'dul gyi lha khang*):[772]

[1] Gong [= Kong]-po Bu-chu'i lha-khang,
[2] 'Khon [= Kho]-mthing gser gyi lha-khang,
[3] Byams-sprin dGe-rgyas kyi lha-khang,
[4] sPra-dun-[r]tse'i lha-khang.

In case this [should] not be enough [to suppress her], then raise Four Temples Suppressing the [Four] Horns (*ru [g]non gyi lha khang*)![773] Namely,

[1] In Khams, Klong-thang sGron-ma [lha-khang],
[2] Bum-thang sKyer-chu'i lha-khang,
[3] mTshal-rigs Shes-rab sgron-ma'i lha-khang,
[4] Tshang[s]-pa Rlung-[g]non gyi lha-khang.

These [four] must first be erected! Although [you] should not be able to fulfill [the task], be sure to attain the *kīla* (*phur-[bu]*) ritual of the soil!

If you proceed accordingly, you will [certainly] encounter no obstracles when raising [your] temples.

In space, the eight-spoked wheel [is seen], on earth the eight-petal lotus, and the sides [of the mountains] the eight auspicious tokens [are seen].[774] The very spot [upon which we now stand] is the very heart of the [prostrate] demoness. [You] must proceed successively in accordance with the previous auspices (*rten 'brel*)!

As to the first [act, the] choking up (*bsubs pa*) of the lake [of 'O-thang]: [Your mistress] must fill [it] up by loading [dug-up earth] upon white goats! Upon that [dried-up and filled-in] lake you must [then] erect [your] temple! Do not succomb to any adverse view of jealousy!" [With] these [words] the Chinese princess taught the maid-servant of the Nepalese princess properly.[775]

Now, when the maid-servant arrived in the presence of Khri-btsun, she got the [mantic] message [tendered by princess Kong-jo all] mixed up (*phrin gong 'og 'dzol*).[776] After having [related properly] about how to eliminate the previously [mentioned] [geomantic] impediments (*skyon*),[777] [how] to suppress the terrestrial antagonists [anent] the existence of the [propitious] attributes (*yon tan*) [778] and [anent] the erection of the mTha'-'dul and Yang [mtha']-'dul temples, she forgot the detailed descriptions concerning the very means, [i.e.]

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772 Cf. note 770 *supra*.

773 The temples listed here are generally conceived to pertain to the Yang-'dul bzhi scheme, cf. the notes 770-771 *supra*.

774 **MNKB** E (Ca) 130a5-6, 133a2, 135b4, (Cd) 198a4-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 203.4-6, 213.15-17, 222.9-11; **KCHKKHM-3** 437.5, 441.2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 248b1-2, 251b3-4; **MBNTH** 58b5; **GBCHBY** 278.9-12; **TSLKHKCH** 3b4.
Cf. also Appendix, note 726 and note 754ff.

775 **MNKB** E (Ca) 133a4-5, (Cd) 198b5-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 756.6; **KCHKKHM-2** 215.11-13.

776 **MNKB** E (Ca) 133a3, (Cd) 198b6; **KCHKKHM-1** 757.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 215.14-15; **CHBYMTNYP** 255a3; **MBNTH** 58b4; **DTHZHG** 40.12; **TSLKHKCH** 4b2.

777 Cf. note 728 and Appendix, note 726.

778 Cf. note 728 and Appendix, note 726.

the auspices.[779] When the [princess] inquired about which place was the most appropriate site for raising a temple, [the female maiden] responded that the twelve temples had to be erected first in all directions. "The lake [of 'O-thang] must be filled up [by] loading earth on goats (*ra la sa khol la mtsho bsubs*), upon which the temple was to be erected."[780] Khri-btsun was doubtful, [but] she [nevertheless] loaded earth upon goats in order to fill the lake in accordance with the instruction of the maiden. But [in vain], since she was not even capable of filling up even a trifle part of the lake.

She now understood that she had be misinformed by the Chinese princess and [therefore] became jealous and [very] depressed.[781] Without even reporting [it] to the king, and lending an ear to [what] some ministers [suggested her], she came to know about a spot [endowed] with an auspicious geomantic probe on the meadow plain (*ne'u thang*) of La-dong.[782] She [consequently] laid the foundation of a temple, but everything she raised during the day was tracelessly razed to the ground during [the following] night by the [local] *lha-'dre* creatures. This [naturally] made Khri-btsun [very] gloomy (*yi mug*) and frustrated and, [in despair] she [turned] to the king, to whom she reported [what had happened]. He, [in turn then] declared: "Do not despair! I know a [oracular] source where we can ask for advice."[783] That [very] night the king propitiated the statue of his [personal] tutelary deity (*yi dam gyi lha, iṣṭadevatā*) and from the heart of the statue of the tutelary deity, a ray of light emanated and [was seen] being absorbed into the lake [of 'O-thang].

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779 I.e. the terrestrial renovations or cure (*bcos kha byed pa*); cf. Appendix, note 726, and note 728 *supra*.

780 **MNKB** E (Ca) 133a4-5, (Cd) 198b6; **KCHKKHM-1** 756.6, 757.4-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 215.11-19; 221.10-11, 269.17-19, 270.12-13; **KCHKKHM-3** 442.7; **CHBYMTNYP** 255a3; **MBNTH** 60b4; good earth was to be carried from 'Phan-yul (**KCHKKHM-2** being even more specific: earth was brought from a place named Them-bu lkog-pa located in dBu-ru 'Phan-yul gyi mdo-smad) being loaded on the backs of a thousand white she-goats. Later a temple, ([Yer-pa] Them-bu lkog-pa'i lha khang; so also **MBNTH** 74b6, **KCHKKHM-3** 467.5, but **MNKB** 206a1-2: Khrims-bu lkog-pa; **KCHKKHM-1** 790.2: Them-bu bkod-pa) was erected, being raised by Zhang-zhung-bza' Li-thig-sman. For this temple, cf. note 905 *infra*. Instead of *khol* (imp. of *'gel ba*, to load) other versions read *skyol* (imp. of *skyel ba*, to carry) and *skyos* (imp. of *skya ba*). Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 36a2-3.

781 **MNKB** E (Ca) 133b1, (Cd) 199a1-2 (here Khri-btsun seeks advice from the king); **KCHKKHM-1** 757.6-758.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 443.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 255a3-5.

782 **KCHKKHM-1** 753.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 211.1-10; **KCHKKHM-3** 440.3-4; **MBNTH** 57a4; **GBCHBY** 279.21-280.2; post-**GLR**: **HBCHBY** (JA) 35a2-4; **DTHZHG** 38.16-19; **TSLKHKCH** 4b3; Tsong-kha-pa **rNam-thar**, 13b (Kaschewsky, p. 177 wrongly reads La-gdong Ne'u-thab) (the four latter sources following **GLR**). Conspicuously absent from **MNKB**. This section of **GLR** is somewhat misplaced in the narrative sequence of the story, as the erection of a temple at La-dong should properly antecede the attempts at erecting the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang upon the lake of 'O-thang and should precede the full divinatory calculation contrived by Kong-jo upon the request of Khri-btsun as delineated at the inception of this chapter. Probably the author of **GLR** has been confused by the circumstance that Kong-jo, as demonstrated by almost all the primary sources (cf. e.g. Appendix, note 726), in fact contrived two or rather three successive geomantic probes. The present independent attempt by Khri-btsun to raise a temple at La-dong thus took place after the first geomantic analysis had been completed by Kong-jo, and it was actually the failure of the attempt at La-dong that prompted Khri-btsun to seek advice from the king, who then suggested her to consult her rival, Kong-jo, which then led the latter to conduct her second geomantic probe on behalf of the Nepalese princess.

783 **MNKB** E (Ca) 134a3-4, (Cd) 199a2; **KCHKKHM-1** 758.2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 217.1-4; **KCHKKHM-3** 443.3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 255a5-6; **GBCHBY** 280.3-6.

[IV] [The Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang Temple Miraculously Manifested]

The king therefore thought that it would be good if the temple was erected upon the filled-up lake, and the king told Khri-btsun: "Saddle [your] horse! Tomorrow the two of us shall go for a leisure."[784]

The following day as the king and the queen, the two, repaired to recreate [themselves] at the grassy plain (*ne'u thang*) along the shore of the lake. The king spoke: "Take off your finger-ring (*sor gdub*) and throw it into the air! You [must] erect the temple at the plain where it falls down."[785] So Khri-btsun propitiated the statue of the [king's] tutelary deity and then threw the finger-ring into the air. It enveloped [itself] into a veil of light-rays (*'od zer gyi gang bur 'dril*)[786] which then fell into the lake.[787]

Khri-btsun then thought: "If I were to erect a temple upon [this very] lake itself, then I shall in no possible way be able to fulfill the task in this very life." When she alighted the horse, she was in a [very] depressed mood, but the king [consoled] her by saying: "You [should] not cry, instead look into the lake! It is [truly a sight of] many wonders!"

Khri-btsun wiped away her tears and looked: In the lake a *caitya* was [to be] seen, [solely] produced out of a multitude of radiating rays of light and having nine steps (*khri 'phang*).[788] These [rays] [made] the entire lake be connected by a net-work of lightbeams, which appeared with the contour (*ri mo*) of a temple.[789] [By this sight] Khri-btsun [re]gained [her] confidence and the king moreover promised to assist [her] in erecting the temple.

The following day the king, accompanied by an assembly of ministers and by the sounding of music, arrived at the shore of the lake bringing along the self-originated sandal-wood statue.

In the four directions around the lake the *ktla*-ritual was carried out (*sa phur gtab bo*). A large banner was hoisted and prayers were uttered. Khri-btsun propitiated [her] lapis-lazuli-made begging-bowl (*lhung bzed*, *piṇḍapātra*), whereby food and drink were secured *ad infinitum*. The entire Tibetan population was [then] imposed to work. [The subterranean water flowing from] sKye [= sKyid?]-chu [that was threatening to flood the edifice] was changed into [harmless] water-bubbles (*skye chu sbo ba gdong la bsgyur*).[790] In the four

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784 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 133a4-b4; **KCHKKHM-1** 758.4-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 217.4-11; **KCHKKHM-3** 443.4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 253b5-6; **GBCHBY** 280.8-10; **HBCHBY** (JA) 36a4.

785 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 134b5; **KCHKKHM-1** 758.6; **KCHKKHM-2** 218.13-16; **KCHKKHM-3** 444.2-4; **CḤBYMTNYP** 254a2; **MBNTH** 59b5-6; **GBCHBY** 280.10-13; **HBCHBY** (JA) 36a4-5.
In these versions it is the king who throws the ring into the air.

786 Or read *gang por*, i.e. into a lump of [light], as suggested by Jäschke, Dict. p. 66.

787 **MṆKB** 135a3-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 758.6-759.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 218.15-16; **KCHKKHM-3** 444.4-5; **CḤBYMTNYP** 254a2-4; **MBNTH** 59b5-6; **GBCHBY** 280.10-13.
These versions, contrary to **GLR**, narrate that the ring first stroke the sattle of the horse and then bounched back into the lake.

788 **MṆKB**: five *parisaṇḍa*-s; **MBNTH**: three.

789 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 135a4-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 759.2-6.

790 The text here in **GLR** is somewhat distorted, a state of affair it shares with a number of parallel sources which contain other fragments germane to this interesting and semi-obscure passage. Chab-spel, *op. cit.*, 1989, p. 191, reads these two lines metrically, i.e.

directions around the lake [the workers] were urged to drag [huge quantities of] stones (*mtsho'i phyogs bzhir rdo bskyed* [= *skya*] *du bcug*) [and to amass them there], whereby the lake [eventually] assumed a quadratic shape (*mtsho gru bzhir bcos*).[791]

Subsequently, huge blocks of stones (*rdo dpe chen po*) were pitched in each of the cardinal points of the [square-formed] lake in sets of four. The king then approached these stones and [from there he] perceived a light-*caitya* in the middle of the lake [whereupon he] offered up prayers. Under the recitation of the Six-syllabic [formula] by the ministers, the stones were then thrown into the water and due to the [magical] strength of the king's prayers a square stone-*caitya* rose in the middle of the lake, being endowed with nine steps (*khri 'phang, parisaṇḍa*) and manifesting [itself] spontaneously [just] like the axle of a mill-stone (*rang 'thag gi ṭe ba*), standing firm, solid and unchangable. [This scenario] was thoroughly observed [not only] by the king [and the queen, i.e.] the father and mother, [but also by] the accompanied assembly of ministers, [a sight] which aroused great confidence and veneration in all [those attending].

Subsequently, sixteen long and thick logs stemming from the cedar-tree (*shing shug pa*) were cut [into shape], the bases (*rtsa ba*) were attached to the huge stone blocks in each of the four corners and the top (*rtse mo*) [of the logs were made to] lean against the self-originated stone-*caitya* in the middle of the lake, which thereby resembled the ribs of a canopy (*gdugs kyi rtsib ma*). Thereupon, a large quantity of long and thick timber-logs [of] the *gla-ba* tree[792] were cut [in shape] and [then] placed atop the [earlier construction] in a chequered pattern (*mig mangs ris su byas*).[793]

Next, the timber[-foundation] was plastered with a [marvellous] adamantine mortar (*rdo*

| *bod 'bangs thams cad las la bskul* |
| *skye bo sbu ba gdong la bsgyur* |

(Note: Chab-spel emends *skye chu* to *skye bo* in order to make the cryptic passage understandable, but **GLR** *skye chu* = sKyid-chu must be retained). This construction is doubtful, as this couplet would then stand isolated against the rest of the prose-text. For a full discussion of the relevant passages and an attempt to construe the background, cf. Appendix note 790.

791 **MNKB** E (Cd) 199a4-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 760.6-761.4; **GBCHBY** 280.19-281.1 (somewhat different); **MBNTH** 60a6-b1.

792 **MNKB** E (Cd) 199a3; **KCHKKHM-2** 221.3-5; **CHBTMTNYP** 254b4. The *gla ba* species of tree is a tree of common sight in Tibet, the term *gla ba* however has apparently gone out of usage at least as a technical-biological term for a specific species, but has probably retained its usage as a common, popular idiom. One looks in vain for any specification or even entry of the *gla ba* in any Tibetan herbal treatise or any dictionary for that matter. The reason is that it has since long been substituted with its more well-known name *star bu*, i.e. the Hippophae rhamnoides, or the sea buckthorn, a thorny poisonous tree, cf. Sørensen, 1990, p. 376. According to **Shel-gong shel-phreng**, three species, all thorny, are found, a tall species reaching almost to the second storey of a house, a middle-sized one, having the size of the human body and a small shrubby type of species, growing along and in the marshy banks of lakes and rivers. Here evidently there is reference to the tall species which was used in the construction of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, cf. also **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. XVIII, 158.19-21: *rtsig pa shing gla ba*; 160.18: *gla ba shing chen*. It is excellent as building-material. It has nothing to do with *musta* or cyperus rotundus = *gla sgang* etc. as is commonly assumed. Cf. also note 729 *supra*.

793 **MNKB** E (Ca) 135a1-2 (less detailed); **KCHKKHM-1** 761.2-5 (slightly diferent); **KCHKKHM-2** 220.4-221.12 slightly differently detailed so also **KCHKKHM-3** 445.5-446.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 254b6-255a1.

rje'i 'jim pa) [originally] acquired by the emanational *bhikṣu* Akaramatiśīla, who [once] by magical means had gone to the land of the Nāga-s and [there fetched] the adamantine clay. Being [now] applied to the timber-logs, [the construction] was [made] not to rotten even if it remained underwater for an aeon, made imperishable by fire and [generally] made undestructable.[794]

Upon this, [layers of] planks (*pang leb*) were applied, followed by [layers of] bricks (*so phag*), which then were soldered with melted bronze (*khro chus gdams*).[795] [Finally,] on top of this, the [entire] surface was levelled (*sa 'khod snyoms par byas*) and thus, in the earth-male-dog year (638 A.D.), the filling up of the lake of 'O-thang had been successfully accomplished. In the thirty-third [year] of the Dharmarāja [Srong-btsan sgam-po], the foundation of the successful construction of lHa-sa was laid and in the earth-female-pig year (639 A.D.), the temple [itself] was founded, but when the edifice was about half finished, and everyone rejoiced, [the entire temple-construction] was overthrown by the [local] *lha 'dre* creatures overnight.[796]

Again, Khri-btsun was plunged in grief and went into the presence of the king, [where] she entreated: "Great king! I am unable to erect a temple upon the filled-in lake. Please come along amd inspect my temple!" The king responded [[with consoling words]: "Do not despair! I have a place we can consult for an [oracular] advice!"[797]

[V] [The Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara]

Then the king offered up prayers to the statue of [his personal] tutelary deity, whereby [as an response] an immaterial (*gzugs med pa*) sound occured [from] out of space: "King! In case you raise an effigy (*sku 'bag*) of yourself, a [statue of] Jo-bo [Avalokiteśvara] then no

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794 **MṆKB** E (Cd) 199a5-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 760.6-761.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 221.5-7; **KCHKKHM-3** 446.1-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 255a3; **MBNTH** 60b2-4; **GBCHBY** 281.2-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 36b6-7.

795 **MṆKB** E (Cd) 199a6-b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 761.2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 221.8-13; **KCHKKHM-3** 446.2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 255a4-6; **GBCHBY** 281.4-6.

796 **KCHKKHM-2** 222.3-5; **KCHKKHM-3** 446.5.

The date indicated in **GLR**, which can only refer to 639 A.D. in our calender, is not much amiss. According to some of these texts, he was born in 617 A.D. (but 569 A.D. according to other sources, cf. note 1046 *infra*), was thirteen when he came on the throne, and in his twenty-third year the foundation was laid: 639 A.D. Preciser information offers dPa'-bo, who usually slavishly follows or, at least parallels **GLR**. He states, **HBCHBY** *op. cit.* 41b5, that the Nepalese consort Khri-btsun arrived in Tibet in the water-female-dragon year when the king was sixteen years old. This would correspond to 632 A.D (but 634 A.D. acc. to **YLJBCHBY** 52.7 and **HBCHBY** itself 27b1-2). When the king was twenty, in the fire-monkey year, the Chinese consort arrived in Tibet: 636 A.D. The lake of 'O-thang was filled in a dog year, when the king was twenty-two, i.e. 638 A.D. and the foundation was laid in the earth-female-pig year, when the king was twenty-four: 639 A.D.; cf. also **YLJBCHBY** 52.7-14, whereas **KCHKKHM-2** 264.2-3 maintains that the king was thirty-four when Ra-sa was erected. The chronology here thus makes sense in its own right, only it fits badly with reliable Chinese records which inform us that Kong-jo first arrived in Tibet 641 A.D. And although Kong-jo only had little to do with the erection of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, she allegedly was active in pointing out, geomantically, the site as delineated in this chapter.

797 **KCHKKHM-2** 222.5-7.

omnious factors (*'gal rkyen*) whatsoever will occur [which may harass] the construction of your temple", whereafter [the sound] disappeared.[798]

The king then questioned the Nepalese sculptors:[799]

> "Carrying the name: 'My Effigy' (*nga'i sku 'bag*),
> Are you capable of erecting [such a statue of] the Noble Eleven-headed [Avalokiteśvara]?"

[They] responded: "[We] are able!" As material [for] erecting (*bzo rgyu*) [the statue they] gathered numerous wonderous items [all] acquired from India, such as fragments (*dum bu*) of [the fragrant] 'snakeheart-sandalwood' (*uragasāracandana*), fragments of 'the cowhead-sandalwood' (*gośīrṣacandana*), branches (*śākhā*) from the Bodhi-tree, [fragrant] 'island-grass' (*gle'i 'jag ma, vīrana*) from the ocean, [sacred] sand (*śikatā*) from the river Nairañjanā and earth from the eight great hermitages [in India] etc. When it had been thoroughly grounded and [subsequently] milk from a red cow and a white goat had been applied, then [the material] was made into a large compound of clayish matter (*'jim pa'i phung po*) which [finally] was deposited on the sleeping pillow (*dbu sngas*) of the king's jewel-mounted couch (*khri*).[800] [While] the king offered up prayers to [the statue of the] tutelary deity, he speculated what kind [of form] among the numerous forms of Avalokita [should] be erected as his [personal] tutelary deity, and [recognizing] that the most superior (*lhag pa*) [would] be the Eleven-Headed (Ekādaśamukha) [Avalokiteśvara denoted the] Wish-Granting Gem (Cintāmaṇi, Yid-bzhin nor-bu), he thought that it had [better] be erected. The king observed [how] all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas gathered [in a number so infinite] as motes [gather] in a sun-beam, and [how] they were absorbed into [this] compound of clayish matter. The king thought: "Certainly this bless-bestowing (*byin rlabs can*) tutelary deity of mine is going to arrive [here]", whereafter he fell asleep on the couch mounted with precious stones.[801]

At sunrise early in the morning the Ekādaśamukha Cintāmaṇi occured self-manifested

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798 **KCHKKHM-2** 223.7-9 (brief); **CHBYMTNYP** 255b4-5.

799 **MNKB** E (Cd) 200a5: *lha bzo* Khri-pa; **KCHKKHM-1** 767.2 mentioning that the name of the Nepalese sculptor was Ha-shang khri-pa; **KCHKKHM-2** 223.10-11; **KCHKKHM-3** 446.4-5; **MBNTH** 61b3-4.

I construe the present passage as two versified lines. For similar types of idols, named 'my effigy' or 'my likeness', cf. Ferrari, p. 80, n. 366; Ronge, 1990.

800 **MNKB** E (Cd) 200a6-b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 767.4-768.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 223.11-224.5; **KCHKKHM-3** 446.6-447.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 255b4-256a1; **MBNTH** 61b4-6; **GBCHBY** 282.4-10; **HBCHBY** (JA) 37a1-2; **TSLKHKCH** 5b2-3.

801 **MNKB** E (Cd) 200b1-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 768.1-769.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 224.10-225.4; **KCHKKHM-3** 447.2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 256a1-b2; **MBNTH** 62a2-b1; **GBCHBY** 282.10-15; **HBCHBY** (JA) 37a1; **TSLKHKCH** 5b4-5; Tsong-kha-pa **rNam-thar** 13a (Kaschewsky, pp. 176-177).

Two iconographies or idols of an Eleven-headed form of Avalokiteśvara carrying the name or representing Cintāmaṇi are actually found. As seen in Chap. XI earlier in **GLR** (note 544), an idol, only not an autogenous one, was created. The first or older one is, as alluded to in the present narrative, inserted into the present idol. This 'double' statue, later known as Rang-byon lnga-ldan, later became the idol into which the king and his two principal consorts were absorbed during their ritual apotheosis, cf. note 1064-65 *infra*. Cf. also Ferrari, 1958, p. 39, n. 40; Macdonald, 1967, p. 479-81.

[on the pillow of the couch], wherefore the divine artisans thus did not need to mould [it].

This [statue's] three lowest faces were white with a smiling countenance (*'dzum pa, smita*) and [displayed] the [ritual] act of appeasing (*zhi ba, śāntika*); the three faces above these were of a golden colour, with raging wrathful countenance (*rngams pa'i khro*) and [displaying] the [ritual] act of expanding (*rgyas pa, pauṣṭika*). The two faces above these, had a coulour of coral and with a malicious wrathful countenance (*bzhad pa'i khro*) and [displayed] the [ritual] act of dominating (*dbang, vaśīkaraṇa*). Above these two black faces were [seen] with wrathful countenances and with [the mouth] wide open, [displaying] the [ritual] act of forceful[ness] (*drag po, abhicāruka*). Above these was the countenance of Amideva (i.e. Amitābha) with the colour of minium orange (*li khri, sindūra*) [the size of the statue] beneath the countenance of Amideva matched the size of the king's [actual] body.

The hand-held emblems (*phyag mtshan, hastacihna*) of the ten basic hands of the Dharmakāya[-medium]: The two first held together the palms of the hands (*thal mo sbyar, pragṛhitāñjali*) in front of the breast; in the second [hand] to the right a rosary-bead (*bgrang phreng, japamālā*) [was held]; in the third a wheel (*'khor lo, cakra*), in the fourth the [*mudrā* of] bestowing (*mchog sbyin, varada*) and in the fifth a [statue of] Amitābha was held.

In the two hands to the left [hand] a white lotus was held; in the third a water-pot (*ril ba spyi blugs, karakiṇī*); in the fourth a jewel, and in the fifth an arrow and a bow.*[802]

The thirty-eight [emblems attached to] the hands (*yan lag, aṅga*) of the Sambhogakāya[-medium]: In the nineteen hands to the right were successively held: in the first a jewel, in the second a lasso (*zhags pa, pāśa*), in the third a begging-bowl (*lhung bzed, pātra*), in the fourth a knife (*ral gri, khaḍga*), in the fifth a sceptre (*rdo rje, vajra*), in the sixth a sun-stone (*me shel, sūryakāntamaṇi*), in the seventh a moon stone (*chu shel, candrakāntamaṇi*), in the eighth a bow (*gzhu, dhanu*), in the ninth a rod (*lcug ma, latāvallī*), in the tenth a [ceremonial] *g.yag*-tail (*rnga yab, cāmara*), in the eleventh a shield (*phub, phara*), in the twelfth a bottle (*bum pa, ghaṭa*), in the thirteenth a hatchet (*dgra sta, paraśu*), in the fourteenth a rosery (*phreng ba, mālā*), in the fifteenth a blue lotus (*padma sngon po, nīlapadma*), in the sixteenth a water-pot (*spyi blugs, kuṇḍikā*), in the seventeenth a sun (*nyi ma, sūrya*), in the eighteenth a white 'water-born' [*puṇḍarīka*] lotus (*chu skyes dkar po*) and in the ninteenth a corn-ear (*'bras kyi snye ma, phalamañjarī*).

In the nineteenth hands to the left [the emblems] successively held: in the first a white cloud (*sprin dkar, śuklamegha*), in the second a water-pot (*spyi blugs, kuṇḍikā*), in the third a lotus, in the fourth a dagger (*ral gri, khaḍga*), in the fifth a conch (*dung, śaṅkha*), in the sixth a skull (*thod pa, kapāla*), in the seventh a rosery, in the eighth a bell (*dril bu, ghaṇṭā*), in the ninth a sceptre, in the tenth a hook (*lcags kyu, aṅkuśa*), in the eleventh a staff (*'khar gsil, khakhara*), in the twelfth a [statue of] Buddha in the Nirmāṇakāya-[medium], in the thirteenth a [miniature] temple, in the fourteenth a book (*glegs bam, pustaka*), in the fifteenth a wheel, in the sixteenth a [statue of] Buddha, in the seventeenth a fruit (*shing thog*), in the eighteenth a lotus (*padma ge sar, padmakeśara*) and in the nineteenth a jewel.

The thousand minor hands (*nying lag, pratyaṅga*) of its Nirmāṇakāya[-medium] appeared most beautiful, In the palm of each hand was an eye of wisdom (*jñānacakṣus*). Hands and feet were ornamented with golden bracelets (*gdu gu, valaya*) and snakes. The wrathful countenances were beset with three eyes and the brownish (*kham pa*) head-hair was

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802 **gloss*: *The hands of the Nirmāṇakāya-[medium] were framed by the artisan. When it occured self-manifested there was nothing besides these basic hands [visible].*

Source unidentified. Possibly a personal observation by the glossarist.

wound upwards. The bodies were all embellished with precious ornaments, emitting rays of light in all ten directions. The upper part of the body was covered by a skin of the antilope, just covering the left nipple. It was [moreover] adorned with the [thirty-two] marks and [eighty] features [of a Mahāpuruṣa]. As the king observed [how] [the statue] manifested itself so clearly in light, he was filled with great joy. He now addressed [his] Nepalese sculptors: "Although most wonderously this receptacle of yours has already been erected so swift, still this autogenous (*rang byon*) statue [of mine] made from sandalwood coming from India and these relics of the seven [previous] successive Buddhas (*sangs rgyas rabs bdun*) need to be installed (*bzhugs 'jug rgyu yin*) in the breast of this receptacle [too]." The sculptors responded: "We have not personally erected this receptacle, it is self-manifest (*rang byon*)." Immediately after, the statue [began] to move, and the [image's] undergarment (*sham thabs*, *antarvāsa*) [covering] the left leg was tussed up above the knee (*pus mo'i gong du brdzes*). Thereafter a ray of light emanated from the breast [of the receptacle, embraced and] guided (*spyan drangs*) the self-manifested sandal-wood statue and the relics of Buddha whereafter [these items] took up residence in the posture of *jñānasattva* in its breast.

The countenance of Amitābha slanted slightly (*cung yo ba*) to the left and the undergarments remained in the position above the knee, which they have even done ever since.

The 'snakeheart sandalwood' was [as material] employed as backbone (*srog shing*) for the heads [of this statue], whereas two [trunks from] the Bodhi-tree (*bodhivṛkṣa*) were used as backbone for the [erection of] the feet. The previous[ly mentioned] items made up [the material] for the [erection] of the [remaining] torso. [Finally] flowers were strewn.[803]

Subsequently, the Nepalese sculptors erected [the images of] the retinue (*'khor*, *parivāra*) [surrounding the principal self-generated image]: Lokeśvara ('Jig-rten dbang-phyug), Kharsarpaṇi, Bhṛkutī (Khro-gnyer-can), Tārā (sGrol-ma), Marīci ('Od-zer-can), Sarasvatī (dByangs-can-ma), Amṛtakuṇḍalī (bDud-rtsi 'khyil-pa) and Śrī Hayagrīva (dPal rTa-mgrin).[804]

All directions were thereby filled with auspicious omens and even the soil shook in six directions.

Now the king [and queen], father and mother, together with the assembly of ministers carried along various items of offerings and then offered up prayers [to the image]. While [thus] propitiating the king's receptacle [in order] to avert [all] omnious factors (*'gal rkyen bzlog*) for erecting the temple and [in order] to secure favourable factors (*mthun rkyen sgrub*) [for its construction], a huge number of *'dre srin* spirits and Asura-s gathered at the foot of the trunk of a poisonous tree at [the place] Zla[= Gla]-ba-tshal [located in] the western direction.[805] They argued: "This two-headed [personage] called Srong-btsan sgam-po has

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803 **MNKB** E (Cd) 200b5-201a6; **KCHKKHM-1** 768.6-771.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 225.5-227.13; **KCHKKHM-3** 447.3-449.3; **CHBYMTNYP** 256b2-b6; **MBNTH** 62b1-63a6; **GBCHBY** 282.15-283.16; **HBCHBY** (JA) 37a3-6, 38a2-4.

The above full description is also found in the other versions, only comparatively briefer. Said to be the first autogenous idol in Tibet. Cf. note 801.

804 **GBCHBY** 284.8-13; Tsong-kha-pa **rNam-thar** 13a (Kaschewsky, p. 177).

805 **MNKB** E (Cd) 201a3-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 771.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 227.14-17; **KCHKKHM-3** 451.3-6; **MBNTH** 63a6-b1; **GBCHBY** 281.18-20, 283.17-18; **HBCHBY** (JA) 37b1-2; **DTHZHG** 42.1-2; **TSLKHKCH** 6a1.

Cf. note 729, but also 792 *supra*. **GLR**: Zla-ba-tshal, but read Gla-ba-tshal. A poisonous tree from which these creatures acquired their nourishment (*'dre rnams gso byed pa'i dug shing*).

destroyed our meeting-place (*'dus sa*) and blocked [our] oft-frequented alleys (*rgyu srang*). We too shall not allow him to built his temple, [we] shall take the life of those practicing the virtuous path, and [constantly] be bringing about frost, hail and plagues (*sad ser ba dang nad yams*)."[806]

[All this] the king knew [through his clairvoyant faculty] and he intensively offered up prayers to the [eleven-headed image of] Ārya [Avalokiteśvara]. As [a response] a ray of light emitted from the smiling countenance of Ārya, which turned into fire. [Likewise,] from the wrathful countenance a ray of light emitted which materialized into Hayagrīva and Amṛtakuṇḍalī. These two wrathful deities hit the trunk of the poisonous tree at Gla-ba-tshal with [their] fire of wisdom (*jñāna*) just like lightning struck down in the middle of a heap of peas (*srang phung dkyil du thog babs pa*). Some of the *'dre*-demons fainted, some were struck [to the ground] and lamented highly.[807]

The two wrathful deities then chased these [spirits] away with [their] fire of wisdom, beyond the outer greater ocean and [thus] ascertained that [they could] not return.

When the fire of wisdom stroke the rock of Gla-ba-tshal [an image of] Kharsapaṇi manifested [itself] self-generated on the rock.

The following day the king arrived in the presence of the self-generated [image] accompanied by a retinue of ministers, where they presented offerings and offered up prayers. A hymn of praise was uttered:[808]

> "Avalokiteśvara, Protector of the World (Lokanātha),
> Ornamented with the head-crown of Munīndra
> With an effulgent white body-colour, resembling the glacier mountains,
> Unstained by emotional affliction like a lotus [in pureness],
> Imbued with might and great compassion.
> For all miserable and destituted sentient beings
> The illnesses and sufferings are allayed.
> To [this] Protector turned [being], [we] pay our respects."

Although the self-generated [image of Kharsapaṇi] was clearly visible upon the rock, the Nepalese sculptors (*lha bzo*) chiselled it out clearly [upon the rock] in order to secure the

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806 **MNKB** E (Ca) 137a2-3, (Cd) 201b2-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 771.2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 227.14-228.8; **CHBYMTNYP** 258a3-b2; **MBNTH** 63b1-64a3; **GBCHBY** 281.19-282.3; **HBCHBY** 37b1-3; **DTHZHG** 42.1-4.

807 **MNKB** E (Ca) 137a2-4, (Cd) 201a6-202a1; **KCHKKHM-1** 771.2-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 228.8-19; **KCHKKHM-3** 450.7-451.5; **CHBYMTNYP** 258b2-259a3; **MBNTH** 64a1-4; **GBCHBY** 283.17-284.3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 37b3-5; **DTHZHG** 42.5-10; bTsong-kha-pa **rNam-thar**, 13b (Kaschewsky, p. 177).

GLR: Zla-ba-tshal, read: Gla-ba-tshal, cf. note 729. Most suprisingly, a reminiscence of this story is retained in a Bon-text, the **Legs-bshad-mdzod** 164a1, tr. Karmay, 1972, p. 79. Here the place is spelled mKhar-chung, i.e. s/dkar-chung and as Gla-ba-tshal is situated at sKar-chung to the west of Lhasa, cf. notes 729 and 790, Appendix, this identification and its bearing on this narrative incidence is thus ascertained, wherefore Karmay's tentative suggestion to identify mKhar-chung with lHa-sa mKhar-brag can be rejected.

808 **MNKB** E (Ca) 137a4-5 and **HBCHBY** (JA) 37b6-7.

Aside from these texts, this hymn is lacking altogether from the other versions.

sentient beings of posterity [a receptacle wherefrom they] can accumulate merits.[809]

Then, thinking [now] that there remains no impediment left for [obstructing] the erection of the temple, the lord and [his] ministers all arrived upon the filled-up lake. [They] blessed the spot and [then] drew the [out]line [for erecting the temple] (*thig btab bo*).

At that time a Nāgarāja [denoted] Buddha Bhagavat appeared, [imbued with] a white body-colour and with the head and neck of a serpent (*sbrul gyi gdengs ka can*) and endowed with three eyes. He presented to the king a white snake's noose (*sbrul zhags*) and requested: "In case any harm [should] occur to his temple of the king [from] within a [whole] Microchiliocosm (*stong chung ngu'i* [*'jig rten gyi khams*], *cūḍasāhasra*[*lokadhātu*]), I shall protect it! Please make an image of me [to be installed in your temple]!"[810]

Again, the Nāgarāja Ananda appeared. He requested: "If any harm occurs [which threatens] this temple of the king [from] within an [entire] Mediochiliocosm (*stong gnyis bar ma'i* [*'jig rten gyi khams*], *dvisāhasra*[*lokadhātu*]), I shall protect it! Please erect an image of me!"[811]

Again the Nāgarāja Upānanda emerged, who forwarded [the following] request: "If any aquatic harm occurs [which threatens] this temple of the king [from] within the [entire] Trichiliomegachiliocosm (*stong gsum gyi* [*stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams*], *trisāhasra*[*māhasāhasralokadhātu*]), I shall protect it! Please erect an image of me!"[812]

Then the Rakṣasarāja Laṅka Daśaskandha (mGrin-bcu) occured. He presented a tub full of gold and forwarded the request: "If any harm from fire [should] occur [which threatens] this temple of the king, I shall protect it! Please [only] erect an image of me!"[813]

Then the Yakṣa Nāga Kubera occured, who presented [the king] with a fine golden rope (*gser gyi thag*[*s*] *bzang*) and requested: "If harm originating [from] the four elements [should] occur to this temple of the king, I shall protect it! [Only] please erect an image of me!"[814]

Also Mahākāla made [his] appearance and requested: "If any harm inflicted by Asura-s

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809 **MNKB** E Ca) 137a3-5, (Cd) 202a1-2; **KCHKKHM-1** 771.6-772.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 228.19-229.11; **KCHKKHM-3** 451.5-452.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 259a3-5; **MBNTH** 64a3-5; **GBCHBY** 284.4-7; post-**GLR**: **HBCHBY** (JA) 37b5-38a2; **DTHZHG** 42.10-12; **TSLKHKCH** 6a1-3.

The images of Amitābha, Khasarpāṇi and Hayagrīva made themselves manifest on the rock whereafter they were sculptured by Nepalese/Newari craftsmen; the place it hit was the rock of lCags-pho-ri according to **KCHKKHM-2**, Gla-ba-tshal gyi brag according to the other versions and the site was hereafter given the various metonyms: Brag-lha btsun-gdong, lHa-can-gdong, Brag-lha-gdong, 'godly face' or sPyan-sdong [= gdong].

810 **KCHKKHM-1** 778.6-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 246.8-247.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 458.3-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 266a2-4; **MBNTH** 67b6-68a4; **GBCHBY** 288.13-18; **HBCHBY** (JA) 43a1-2.

811 **MNKB** E (Cd) 203a1-2; **KCHKKHM-1** 779.4-780.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 247.1-7; **KCHKKHM-3** 458.6-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 266a5-b1; **MBNTH** 68a4-6; **GBCHBY** 288.19-289.1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 43a2.

812 **MNKB** E (Ca) 138a6 (brief); **KCHKKHM-2** 247.8-13; **KCHKKHM-3** 458.7-459.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 266a1-3; **MBNTH** 68a6-b2; **GBCHBY** 289.2-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 43a2.

813 **MNKB** E (Ca) 138a6 (brief); **KCHKKHM-1** 780.2-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 247.13-18; **KCHKKHM-3** 459.3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 266b5-267a2; **MBNTH** 68b2-3; **GBCHBY** 289.10-12; **HBCHBY** (JA) 43a3-4.

814 **MNKB** E (Ca) 138a6, Cd) 203a2-3 (brief); **KCHKKHM-2** 247.18-248.2; **KCHKKHM-3** 459.1-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 266b3-6; **MBNTH** 68b3-4; **GBCHBY** 289.5-9; **HBCHBY** (JA) 43a2-3.

Cf. also note 1035 *infra*.

or foreign border armies [should] occur [which threatens] this temple of the king, then I shall protect it! Please erect an image of me!"[815]

Also dPal-ldan lHa-mo occured, presented [the king] with an iron net (*lcags kyi bre ba*)[816] and requested: "If any harm inflicted by the human beings and the *ma-mo*-s [should] occur [which threatens] this temple of the king, then I shall safeguard it! Please erect an image of me!"[817]

Again the [Buddhist] *bla ma*-s occured, requesting: "Please erect this temple of the king in [accordance with] the tradition of the [Buddhist] *bla ma*-s!"

The [Tantric] Mantrikas (*sngags pa*) next occured, requesting: "Please erect this temple of the king in [accordance with] the tradition of the us [Tantric] Mantrikas!"

Then the Bon-po-s made [their] appearance, entreating: "Please erect the temple of the king in [accordance with] the tradition of the Bon-po-s!"

Then the Tibetan subjects [finally] made [their] appearance, entreating: "Please erect this temple of the king in the tradition of the [ordinary] Tibetan subjects!"[818]

[All this] greatly rejoiced the king, who promised everybody [to meet their demands].

Satisfying the Tibetan people with food and drink, the king put [them] to labour work, where some tiled, some constructed the building, some plastered with clay. Thus the lower construction of the temple was brought to a completion.[819]*[820]

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815 **MNKB** E (Cd) 203a3; **KCHKKHM-3** 459.4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 267a2-4; **MBNTH** 68b4-6; **GBCHBY** 289.13-15; **HBCHBY** (JA) 43a3.

The other texts replace Mahākāla with Dri-za Zur-phud lnga-pa.

816 **KCHKKHM-1** 780.4-5: holding twelve *lcags kyi bre ba* in his hands; **KCHKKHM-2** 248.8-9 (so also **HBCHBY** (JA) 43a4): thirty ditto; **KCHKKHM-3** 459.5 and **CHBYMTNYP** 267a5: thirty-two; **MBNTH** 69a1: thirty-six.

All the texts read *bre ba*, which readily does not make any sense. Perhaps we should read *bre bo*, a vessel or *dra ba*, a grate or net.

817 **MNKB** E (Ca) 138b1, Cd) 203a3-4 (brief); **KCHKKHM-1** 780.4-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 248.6-12; **KCHKKHM-3** 459.5-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 267a4-b2; **MBNTH** 68b6-69a2; **GBCHBY** 289.14-17; **HBCHBY** (JA) 43a4.

818 **MNKB** E (Cd) 199b1-2; **KCHKKHM-2** 221.12-18; **KCHKKHM-3** 446.3-4; **MBNTH** 60b4-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 41b7-42a1.

Cf. also the notes 827-28 *infra*.

819 **MNKB** E (Ca) 138a1; **KCHKKHM-1** 773.7-774.6; **KCHKKHM-2** 236.3-237.13 (more detailed); **CHBYMTNYP** 263a2-4; **MBNTH** 65b1-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 42a1-2, 42b1-3.

820 **gloss*: *From the foundation of the lHa-sa edifice until the ordination of 'Tshal-ba Kun-dga' rdo-rje, 745 years have passed. This is maintained by the sage (rtogs ldan) sNgo-nyal-ma.*

The chronology is also here corrupt, since according to this calculation, the ordination (*rab byung*) of Kun-dga' rdo-rje alias dGe-ba'i blo-gros (author of **DTHMP**), who lived 1309-1364 A.D., would take place: 639 (the approx. date of Ra-sa's foundation, cf. note 796 above) + 745 = ca. 1383-4 A.D. According to Dung-dkar, 1981, p. 1, dGe-ba'i blo-gros took his full ordination (*bsnyen rdzogs*) in 1328 A.D. and by predating his ordinary ordination a few years, it would, following the above figures, indicate that Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang was founded ca. 580-90 A.D., which is equally absurd. Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, the ascetic (*rtogs ldan, kun spangs*) nicknamed sNgo-nyal-ma, 'Blue-sleeper'(?) or rather 'Early-sleeper', is a noted disciple of Bo-dong Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1306-1386 A.D.) and of Kun-dga' rdo-rje. Source unidentified. Perhaps a scholium added by a glossarist, who either had personal knowledge of a calculation made by sNgo-nyal-ma or it has been added by this religious figure personally. On this figure, cf. also **Myang chos-'byung** (Chin. ed. 10.9-14).

Thereupon a huge amount of trunks of the cedar-tree (*shing shug pa*) were cut [into shape] and the king created one hundred and eight emanational bodily epiphanies, who [had] the door to the temple guarded. Inside [the temple] the king [again] created one hundred and eight emanational carpenters [all] carrying an axe and [they all] being engaged in carpentry. No other than the Nepalese princess brought along any fare (*bsang bu*). [While] the time coincided with the offerings presented to the [personal] tutelary deity [by] [princess] Khri-btsun, the king's fare was handed over to the maid-servant [in order to bring it to the king]. But when the maid-servant opened the door [to the temple] and proceeded [inside] [she] found instead of the king one hundred and eight emanational[ly created] carpenters[821] [all] carrying axes, and dressed up in identical costumes (*cha lugs dbyer mi phyed pa*) being [currently] engaged in carving out the nose of [some wooden] lions. Unaware of whom she should serve the food, she returned and handed over the food to the Nepalese princess.[822]

The maid-servant thought [to herself] whether the contention that the king knew [the art of] creating emanational epiphanies really could be true or not and after Khri-btsun had left in order to serve food to the king, she [wanted to make sure and so she went and] looked by lurking behind the door (*sgo phag nas bltas pa*) and [thus came to realize] that all [the carpenters] were emanational epiphanies. "He, he", she said laughing and this distracted the king's attention (*spyan g.yengs pa dang*) [so much] that the axe-blade slipped (*sta kha 'chor*) [out of his hand] and so the axe-blade of all the carpenters [simultaneously] slipped [out of their hand] and the nose of [all] the lions were cut off.[823]

Now further some [carpenters] chiselled out (*ka ba bcos*) pillars, some whittled out the cross-beams (*gdung ma gzhog*), some shaped the spars into a quadrangular form (*lcam gru bzhir bcos*). Again others erected the pillars, some placed the beams [over them], and others arranged the spars [over them]. Some [then] placed the planks (*spang leb btang*) and [finally] the roof was placed (*thog phub*) whereby [the entire edifice appeared] most beautiful.[824*825]

As thus the king had procured [a number of] emanational epiphanies, the [outer] walls were erected within four days, the carpentry was completed within six days, the roof was laid within two days. In sum (*dril bas*), it lasted twelve days before the ground-construction (*'og*

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821 Other texts mention the figure: five thousand emanational created beings (a cherished figure also found in Chap. XII and XIII *supra*) resp. three hundred carpenters.

822 **KCHKKHM-1** 775.1-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 237.5-239-11; **KCHKKHM-3** 452.6-453.3, 454.4-455.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 263a2-264a1; **MBNTH** 65b5-66a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 42a2-4; **DTHZHG** 42.14-17.

823 **MNKB** E (Ca) 138a1-3; **KCHKKHM-1** 775.6-776.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 239.12-240.3; **KCHKKHM-3** 455.2-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 263a2-264a1; **MBNTH** 66a2-b1; **GBCHBY** 287.1-12 (slightly different); **HBCHBY** (JA) 42a4-7: mentioning, *inter alia*, that not only the noses of a hundred lions were cut off, but also one hundred holes were by mistake made and the corner of hundred pillars were damaged; **DTHZHG** 42.18-19.

824 **MNKB** E (Ca) 138a3-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 773.7-774.6; **KCHKKHM-2** 240.3-244.7; **KCHKKHM-3** 455.7-457.4; **CHBYMTNYP** 263a2-264a5; **MBNTH** 66b1-4; **DTHZHG** 42.20-22.

825 **gloss*: *In the **gTer-yig chen-mo** of Jo-bo-rje [i.e. Atiśa] it is stated that the erection of the ground-floor ('og khang) was completed within two days. What is meant is the roofing.*

Cf. also **YLJBCHBY** 53.2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 41a2-3, 42b1-3.

It remains enigmatic which source hereby can be meant. Most readily one would suspect the *gter ma* of Atiśa i.e. **KCHKKHM**, in which case one would suspect that the author would have used that title. Since this information is added by a glossarist, and probably not by the author Blama dam-pa, it cannot be excluded that the person in question employed this appellation. But in **KCHKKHM-2**, cf. next note, it is stated that the ground-flor was finished in seven days.

khang) of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang was brought to a [full] complete.[826]

Now further the four doors [of the ground-construction] resembled the shape of a *maṇḍala*, the [Buddhist] priest-monks (*bla ma*) rejoiced.

Since the pillars [of the ground-construction] were shaped as a ritual-dagger (*phur ba*), the Mantrika-s (*sngags pa*) rejoiced.

Since the quadrangular [structure] (*zur bzhi*) resembled the form of a Svastika (*g.yung drung*), the Bon-po-s rejoiced.

[Finally] since the [structure] resembled the form of a chequered [pattern] (*re'u mig*), the Tibetan populace rejoiced.[827]

The image [about which there has been] said: "Make [us]!", [they] were all made and so the Dharmapāla-s, the Nāga-s, the Rakṣasa-s and the Yakṣa-s etc. [all] rejoiced.

Furthermore, the [main-]portal of [this most] miraculous temple (*'phrul gyi lha khang*) [unifying] the four contentments (*dga' bzhi*)[828] even pointed in the western direction, towards Nepal.[829]

In order to continue [the construction] Khri-btsun summoned many [Newari] artists (*bzo bo*) from Nepal well-versed in [various] crafts (*rig byed*), whereafter the upper construction was erected.*[830]

At the very same time the Chinese princess too summoned many carpenters and sculptors from China, whereafter the Chinese Tiger (*rgya stag*) Ra-mo-che temple was raised.[831] The [main] entrance pointed towards the east.

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826 **KCHKKHM-1** 776.3-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 244.6-7, 262.17-263.3, 267.14-268.11; **CHBYMTNYP** 272a1; **MBNTH** 74b2: The ground-construction raised by a thousand [fast-working] emanational craftsmen (*sprul pa'i bzo pa*) was finished in seven days. The Nepalese Khri-btsun summoned one thousand Newari sculptors (*bal yul nas pha ming gi bal po lha bzo pa*) and assisted by one thousand emanational craftsmen created by the king, the upper construction (or upper floor) (*steng khang*), patterned upon the lower construction (or ground-floor), was erected. The upper floor, erected by [slow-working] human craftsmen (*mi'i bzo bo*), was finished in thirteen years. Twelve years acc. to **YLJBCHBY** 53.2-3. It was planned to erect three storeys, but only two were actually raised. Cf. also note 830 *infra*.

827 **MNKB** E (Ca) 137a6-b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 761.4-5; **KCHKKHM-3** 446.3-4; **GBCHBY** 281.5-7. Cf. the next note.

828 I.e. of the Bla-ma-s, sNgags-pa-s, the Bon-po-s and the Tibetan populace. **HBCHBY** (JA) 42a4-5. Cf. Chab-spel, 1989, pp. 194-95. Cf. also the notes 818, 827 and Chap. XV, note 874.

829 **MNKB** E (Cd) 206a4; **KCHKKHM-1** 762.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 237.4, 256.13-19; 269.15.16; **KCHKKHM-3** 468.7-469.2; **MBNTH** 75b2-3; **GBCHBY** 292.10-13.

These passages all give the explanation for the name-giving of the temple. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang was modelled upon the Indian rGya'i dben-khang be-har (rGya'i Hen-khang Bi-ha ra (i.e. *vihāra*) or rGya'i Ha-shang dPe-dkar (= *vihāra*)), cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 259b6; **GBCHBY** 281.7-8, 284.14-15; **HBCHBY** (JA) 41a2, 41b6, whereas **KCHKKHM-2** 222.2-3 merely maintains that it was built being modelled on *rgya gar gyi lha khang gang legs*, the then best Indian temple. It was initially subdivided into thirty-seven sections (*re'u mig*) to reflect the thirty-seven *bodhipakṣa*-s of the Vinaya; cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 222.1-2; **HBCHBY** 41a1, 41b6-7; cf. also Vitali, 1990, p. 74.

830 **gloss*: [*The erection of*] *the upper construction* (*steng khang*) *of the lHa-sa* [*i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang*] *temple and Ra-mo-che, the two, lasted for two months before they were completed together.*

In contradiction to this gloss, see **KCHKKHM-2** and **YLJBCHBY**, ref. in note 826 above.

831 The Chinese Tiger. This epithet or supplementary metonym of Ra-mo-che has until now baffled an exact definition. Richardson, in a number of papers, has questioned the right etymology of this name. Considering the fact that such unique and archaic witnesses as the *bKa'-gtsigs* and the *bKa'-*

The king too, after having procured [a huge amount] of emanational epiphanies, brought to completion the erection of the [Four] Temples taming the Border (*mtha' 'dul*), the [Four] Temples Taming [the area] Beyond [the border] (*yang [mtha'] 'dul*) and the [Four] Temples Taming the Four Horns (*ru 'dul*):[832]

In order to suppress the right shoulder (*dpung pa g.yas*) [of] the [prostrate] *raksasī*-demoness, the temple [of] sBu [= dBu]-ru Ka-rtsal [= tshal] mi-'gyur[833] was erected. As [affiliated] branch (*lag*) temple [of] gSer Shang gi rti[834] was erected and as [its adjacent] meditation[-cave] (*sgrub pa*) the rock cave of rTse-no-gdong[835] was installed.

In order to suppress the left shoulder (*dpung po g.yon*), the temple of g.Yo [= g.Yu]-ru Khra-'brug bKra-shis Byams-snyoms[836] was erected. As [affiliated] branch the temple of

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mchid of Khri-srong lde-btsan, both presumably composed around 780 A.D., and both reading Ra-sa'i *rgya btags* Ra-mo-che (in dPa-bo's arguably faithfully retained rendition, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 109a2, 109b3), speaks quite strongly in favour of accepting this reading and indeed the frequent occurence in later writings of variant readings like *rgya[s] btab* and *rgya[s] btags* Ra-mo-che should urge us to understand it as: Ra-mo-che established by/named by or even belonging to the Chinese, i.e. Kong-jo. We shall nevertheless consider these constructions as sensible and meaningful attempts or samples of *lectio facilior*, once the original sense of the original metynom rGya-stag at some point either became obsolete, was misunderstood or had fallen into discredit.

Our main argument is as follows: **MNKB** *op.cit.* 139a1 has offered an explanation which is as simple as it is evident: The temple housing the image of Shākyamuni was erected by princess Kong-jo and [since it] was highly variegated [in colour, i.e. striped like a tiger] it resembled [and hence was called the] 'Chinese Tiger' (*lha gcig kong jos lha shakya mu ni bzhugs pa'i lha khang shin tu bkra ba rgya stag 'dra ba zhig bzhengs*). Cf. Appendix, note 831 for a fuller discussion.

832 As indicated in the notes 770-773 above, Bla-ma dam-pa or some redactor of **GLR** confounded the scheme so that the heading of the groupings is distorted. This should most probably be the four Temples of the Four Horns.

833 **GLR**: sBu-ru Ka-rtsal. **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b5; cf. Appendix, no. 770 for the various forms. It is located in Mal-gro, cf. Ferrari, p. 44, n. 113 and ill. 14. For the supplementary form *mi-'gyur*, cf. next note.

834 **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b5.

Unattested in any other source. mKhas-pa lDe'u, **GBCHBY** 285.2-3, mentions that Ka-tshal's affiliated branch temple is Mi-'gyur dge-ba'i gtsug-lag-khang. One may suspect that the full rendering of the temple in **GLR**, i.e. Ka-rtsal mi-'gyur, a form only found in this text, thus originally represents two distinct names, i.e. Ka-tshal and perhaps the rDo-rje mi-'gyur/'gyur-med temple, cf. **GBCHBY** and **DCHBY** in Appendix, note 770. **CHBYMTNYP** 261a5 has a rDo-r[je] mi-'gyur temple. Nel-pa Pandita, has as affiliated (*'chongs*) temple to Ka-tshal, a temple named Shi-hang, cf. Uebach, 1987, pp. 90-91.

835 **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b5.

Unattested in other texts.

836 Probably the oldest temple in Tibet. Where we can entertain well-founded misgivings as to the antiquity or the historicity of a number of the temples listed in this scheme, there is, in my opinion, no doubt that this temple was raised during the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po. The prominent role allotted Khra-'brug in the Vita of Srong-btsan sgam-po adds very cogent credence as to its actual importance during his life-time. For the various forms of the name of this temple, cf. Appendix, note 770, but see also note 446 *supra*, where **GLR** here gives us one form of the temple's supplementary name: bKra-shis Byams-snyoms and thus follows **KCHKKHM-2**.

The first witness is offered by the famous *bKa'-gtsigs* or edict of Khri-srong lde-btsan (of 780 A.D.) where Khra-'brug gi bKra-shis lha-yul *gtsug-lag-khang* is registered. But its original or contemporary name was in fact Byams-pa mi-'gyur-ba'i *lha khang* or *pho brang* and in all

Tsan-thang[837] was erected. As [its] meditation[-cave] Phug-po-che[838] functioned.

In order to suppress the right hip (*dpyi mgo*), the temple of g.Yas-ru gTsang 'brang [= 'gram] Byang-chub dge-gnas[839] was raised. As [its] branch temple, dGe-drung[840] was erected. As [its] meditation[-cave] the rock-cave of [g]Tse[841] functioned.

In order to suppress the left hip, the temple of Grub-pa [= Grom-pa rGyang] rGyal

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likelihood it was raised (perhaps first as *pho brang*, which later turned into a chapel or *lha khang*) by king gNam-ri srong-btsan (cf. note 446 and the lengthy exposition **HBCHBY** (JA) 38a5-39a3), only later it was called (or expanded into) Khra-'brug. As delineated in Appendix, note 92 *supra*, ancient wall-paintings (from the XIth century or plausibly earlier?) in Khra-'brug allegedly depict the empowerment (*dbang bskur*) of king Srong-btsan sgam-po when he, aged thirteen, according to Tibetan tradition (cf. e.g. **HBCHBY** 53b7), took over the reins of power from his father who was then ritually put to death. It cannot, moreover, be excluded that the king actually was born in the *pho brang* Byams-pa mi-'gyur of Khra-'brug, cf. note 446. In a number of texts pertaining to the Vita-cycle of the king, Khra-'brug is consequently denoted or is conceived to represent the *pho brang thugs dam kyi yang snying* or *pho brang lha khang gi yang snying* of this king, i.e. his true, primary or personal tutelary (spiritual bond) temple, or his temple *par excellence*, cf. e.g. **MNKB** E (Cd) 199b3, 205a1; **KCHKKHM-2**, *op. cit.* 299.4-5, 301.18-19 but also **KTHDNG** (KHA) 160.10; **YLJBCHBY** 53.10-11 and dPa'-bo himself **HBCHBY** (JA) 39a2-4. These references even maintain that Khra-'brug is the earliest built temple in Tibet (*bod kyi lha khang la snga ba de yin*). This may very well be the truth, only shortly after its erection it probably fell into abeyance, being, as it was, so intimately associated with the figure Srong-btsan sgam-po. This also accounts for the fact why it is only peripherally mentioned in contemporary inscriptions and documents, where the site is conspicuously disassociated with any political or administrative import. It obviously became eclipsed by Jo-khang and later by bSam-yas for political, geographical or symbolic reasons. We shall also recall that during precisely this period a shift of power took place in Tibet from the Yar-klungs Valley to the area around the sKyid-chu river and Lhasa. Anyway, Khra-'brug was, like its approximately contemporary Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, erected after Nepalese/Newari model and by Nepalese craftsmen (cf. **MNKB** WAM (G) 32b6-33a1) during the short pro-Nepalese/Newari cultural presence and influence surrounding the Srong-btsan sgam-po court until, at least, 641 A.D. Cf. Appendix, note 836 for further discussions.

837 **NGTMTPH**: rTsang-thang; **GBCHBY** has bKra-shis dge-phel; **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b5: Tsan-thang. Cf. also note 839.

838 Unattested in other versions = **DCHBY**: Yang-dben Yon-tan Yid-bzhin 'byung-ba'i phug-po-che?

839 **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b5-6.

Cf. Aris, 1979, p. 26; Uebach, p. 90. n. 371. For its various forms, cf. Appendix, no. 770. It is located, according to Klong-rdol, in the Thob-rgyal area at the left bank of gTsang-po. Its supplementary name Byang-chub dge-rgyas is confirmed by **GBCHBY**, only here it is listed as the name of the branch temple. **CHBYMTNYP** 379a2-3, **KTHZGM** (Chap. 21, 131.5-6), **PMKTH** (Chap. 91, 552.10) adduce that e.g. various treasuries and items (*rdzas gter*) etc. were hidden there; **KTHDNG** (KHA) (Chap. 18, sect. 31, 202.15-22).

840 **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b6.

Unattested in other sources. Nel-pa has as branch temple, the 'Brom sKyer-chung temple, which is also unidentified.

841 **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b5.

Unattested in other sources and unidentified. **GBCHBY**, cf. Appendix, note 770, mentioned that later a solitary recluse called Yang-dben Nag-gseb bDe-ldan 'phrul-gling associated with gTsang-'brang was established.

Dri-ma med-pa rnam-dag[842] was erected. As [affiliated] branch the temple of 'Bre[843] was erected. As [its] meditation[-cave] the rock-cave of rGyang[844] was established.

Thereupon the Four Temples to Suppress [the area] Beyond [the Border] (*yang [mtha'] 'dul gyi lha khang*)[845] were built:

In order to suppress the right elbow (*gre mo g.yas*), the temple of Bu-chu[846] in Kong-po was erected, [being raised] upon the head of the tiger in the east (*shar stag gi mgo*).[847]

In order to suppress the left elbow (*gre mo g.yon*), the temple of mKhon [= Kho]-mthing[848] [in] lHo-brag was erected, [raised] upon the crest of the dragon in the south (*lho*

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842 Also Grom-pa rGyang. **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b6.

Cf. Appendix, note 770 for the various forms of the name. Nel-pa has as its supplementary name rNam-dag sgrib-med. Cf. Uebach, p. 89, n. 363 for a possible identification. **GBCHBY** has the name rNam-dag khrims kyi lha-khang but there listed as the name of the branch-temple. **KCHKKHM-2** 261.3-5 maintains that treasuries on *don khrid sgom* were buried in this place by the king, whereas **PMKTH** (Chap. 91, 556.12-13), describing a later period, maintains that in this place *phyi gter* and *nang gter* were hidden.

843 Nel-pa has also 'Bre'i lha-khang. **GBCHBY**, cf. previous note. Uebach's linking, *op. cit.* p. 89, n. 365, of this temple with Ka-brag of the province of Tre is wrong, as this is another temple, which is often listed as a major temple in the schemes, cf. Appendix, note 770. **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b6.

844 Nel-pa also has rGyang gi brag-phug, cf. Uebach, p. 89, n. 366. **GBCHBY**, cf. Appendix, note 770, maintains that a solitary recluse named Yang-dben dGyes-tshal dGa'-ba'i gling was established, associated to this main-temple.

845 Cf. note 770-773 and 832. This group of four temples should properly be the Four Temples Suppressing the Border.

846 **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b6.

For its various forms, cf. Appendix, note 770. Cf. Wylie, p. 176, n. 572 and P. Tsering, 1976, pp. 146-147. **KCHKKHM-2** 261.2-3 maintains that treasuries of mantric *hrdaya-dhārāni*-s (*snying po sngags*) were buried here during the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po. **CHBYMTNYP** 379a4 and **PMKTH** (Chap. 91-92, 553.14-16, 571.15-16) mention (that later) various Indian (?) treasuries (containing) various items (or texts propounding) magic (*mthu*) and illusion (*rddhi, māyā*); *rgya gter rdzu 'phrul sgyu ma sna tshogs*) were hidden there.

847 Cf. note 766 *supra*. Also **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b6.

Some inconsistency prevails as the gray tiger of the east (the gray tiger is usually associated with the western direction, cf. the note referred to above) was represented by a mountain located in the vicinity of Lhasa. Perhaps we here have a parallel imagery related to the cardinal points and connected with temples. Quite contrary to the testimony in **GLR**, Nel-pa has a temple of Thang-shing mDud-pa-can of dPa'-gro and a rDo-rje-gur [= rDo-rje mi-'gyur?, cf. note 834] temple, lying to the south (!) and erected upon the corner-tooth (*mche*) of the gray tiger, cf. Uebach, p. 91, n. 380. Nyang-ral, in **CHBYMTNYP** 261a5 likewise has a temple named rDo-rje mi-'gyur but located on the corner-tooth of a white lion (!) in the east!

848 **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b7.

For the various forms of its name, cf. Appendix, note 770. For its location, cf. Ferrari, p. 57, n. 373; Aris, p. 23. **KCHKKHM-2** 260.18-261.1 maintains that textual treasuries of *g.yung drung bon* were buried in this temple. **CHBYMTNYP** 379a6; **KTHZGM** (Chap. 21, 131.10-11), **PMKTH** (Chap. 91, 553.8-9) mention that during Padmasambhava's time **bDe-gshegs 'dus-pa**, *mdos* and *ma mo'i sgrub thabs* were hidden there; **KTHDNG** (KHA) (Chap. 18, sect. 33, 203.11-16).

'brug gi ze).[849]

In order to supress the right knee (*pus mo g.yas*), the temple of Byams-chen [= Byams-[pa] [sprin]-chen] dGe-rgyas[850] was erected, [raised] upon the lumbar [part] of the rooster in the west (*nub phyogs bya dmar po'i sgal*).[851]

In order to suppress the left knee, the temple of Pra-dan [=dun]-tse [= rtse][852] was erected, [raised] upon the forehead of the tortoise in the north (*byang rus sbal gyi dpral*).[853]

Fearing that this should not even be enough [to tame the prostrate demoness] Four Temples of the [Four] Horns (*ru gnon gyi lha khang*)[854] were erected:

In order to suppress the right palm of the [demoness'] hand (*lag mthil g.yas*), the Glang-thang sGron-ma[855] in [mDo-]Khams was erected after [craftsmen from] Mi-nyag functioned as supervisors (*lag dpon*).

In order to suppress the left palm of the hand, the temple of Bum-thang sKyer-chu[856]

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849 Cf. also note 767 *supra*. Also **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b6-7.
Nel-pa reads in the south (the eastern direction in other versions, cf. also note 847), upon the feather of the blue dragon, the temples of Ga-chu and Ge-chu were erected, cf. Uebach, pp. 90-91, n. 378. **CHBYMTNYP** 261a5-6 has the temple of sKyer-chu of sPa-gro raised upon the feather of the blue dragon in the south.

850 **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b7.
Cf. Aris, 1979, p. 24, locating it near sKyid-[g]rong in Mang-yul. Cf. Appendix, note 770 for the various forms of the name. **DCHBY** also gives it a supplementary name Yid-'ong dGe-rgyas. **PMKTH** (Chap. 91, 556.6-7; Chap. 92, 559.8-10) mentions that twenty *sgrub thabs* treasuries were hidden there.

851 Also **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b7.
Cf. note 768 *supra*. Nel-pa: the beak (*mchu*) of the red rooster. **CHBYMTNYP** 261a6, (somewhat distortedly) likewise has the beak (*mchil* = *mchu*!) of the red rooster [located] in the the western direction [erected in order to suppress] the nature of the element fire (*me kha*).

852 Also **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b7.
Cf. Aris, 1979, pp. 74-76; 1979, p. 23, locating it to the west of Sa-dga' rdzong in mNga'-ris. This would place it to the west and not to the north, cf. next note. A certain confusion prevails in terms of the cardinal points here. Cf. Appendix, note 770 for the various forms of the name of this temple. **CHBYMTNYP** 379a2, **KTHZGM** (Chap. 21, 131.3-4), **PMKTH** (Chap. 91, 552.12-13) mention that during Padmasambhava's time one hundred and eight *nang gter ngan sngags* texts of gShin-rje dmar nag etc. were hidden there; **KTHDNG** (KHA) (Chap. 18, sect. 35, 204.7-10).

853 Also **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b7.
Cf. note 769 *supra*. So also Nel-pa, cf. Uebach, 1987, pp. 90-91. **CHBYMTNYP** 261b1, instead of the forehead, Nyang-ral has the back (*rgyab*, resp. *gdan*).

854 Cf. note 770-73 *supra*. This group of four temples represents actually the Four Temples Suppressing the Area Beyond the Border.

855 Also **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b7.
For the various names of this temple, cf. Appendix, note 770. It is located in the district of 'Dan [ma khog] (cf. note 696) in Khams, along the river of 'Bri-chu. In **DCHBY**, f. ex., the temple is called Klong-thang 'Jig-rten sgron-ma. **KCHKKHM-2** 261.1-2 maintains that treasuries of arithmetic/divination (*rtsis gyi gter*) were buried there during the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po, whereas **CHBYMTNYP** 379a4, **KTHZGM** (Chap. 21, 131.7-8), **PMKTH** (Chap. 91, 552.13-14), ascribed to the period of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan, maintain e.g. that thirteen 'different intermediate treasuries' (*bar gter*) of *rgyud lung* and *lha mo'i rgyud* were buried there.

856 Also **HBCHBY** (JA) 39b7-40a1.
Cf. Aris, 1987, p. 3 *et passim* for its history and location. Perhaps the testimony in **GLR**:

in the southern direction was erected after the [craftsmen from] To-dkar had taken over [the task of being] supervisors.

In order to suppress the right foot (*rkang mthil g.yas*), the temple of mTshal-Rig Shes-rab sgron-ma[857] was erected in the glorious Kashmir (Kha-che) to the west, after the Nepalese [i.e. Newari craftsmen] had taken over [the task of being] supervisors.

In order to suppress the left palm of the foot, the temple of Tshangs-pa Rlung-[g]non[858] was erected in the the northern direction, after sBa dPal-dbyangs[859] of Hor had taken over the [task of being] supervisor.

Furthermore, in the east the three [temples of] Ka-chu, Kang-chu and Gling-chu were erected in order to [reflect] the arrangement of the sun, moon and the lunar constellation (*nyi*

Bum-thang sKyer-chu is a mistake of two temples, i.e. the two 'Bhutanese' temples of the scheme, cf. Aris, p. 30, Bum-thang = Byams-pa lha-khang and sKyer-chu lha-khang. This is evidently the case. The same contraction is made by Bu-ston, **CHBY** 138b4 (Szerb, 1990, p. 11). See also Appendix, note 770 for the various names of this or these temple(s) and also Blondeau, 1971, p. 88. **CHBYMTNYP** 379a1, **KTHZGM** (Chap. 21, 130.17-131.3) maintain that during the period of Padmasambhava, in the sKyer-chu temple, *sDe-snod kun-'dus* texts were hidden; in Bum-thang rTsis-lung treasuries of a mentalistic orientation (*sems phyogs*) were buried and in Bum-thang dGe-gnas, Mother-tantra texts were treasured; **PMKTH** (Chap. 91, 552.3-6) maintains that sKyer-chu lha-khang treasured *zab gter*, whereas Bum-thang rTsi-lung kept *rje gter* of a mentalistic orientation (*sems phyogs*); cf. also **KTHDNG** (KHA) (Chap. 18, sect. 28, 201.7-17): sKyer-chu lha-khang; sect. 29, 201.18-202.6: Bum-thang dGe-gnas or dGe-ba'i gtsug lag khang; sect. 30, 202.7-14: Bum-thang rTsi-lung.

857 Also **HBCHBY** (JA) 40a1 and Nel-pa, cf. Uebach, 1987, p. 91. **CHBYMTNYP** and **GBCHBY** as possible parallels have mTshal byir (or Tsha-spe [*sic*]) dPal-char/dPal-tshad, but cf. note 770. In fact, **KCHKKHM-2** 261.6-7 mentions that in the temple dPal-chen lha-khang to the North many treasuries [containing] fragments of the genealogy (*rgyal rabs sil ma*) (i.e. genealogical documents?) were buried there during the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po. Otherwise unidentified.

858 Also **HBCHBY** (JA) 40a1 where it is also stated that the Newaris functioned as supervisors, prob. confusing it with the previous item, cf. prev. note. The temple Rlung-gnon of the district Tshangs-[pa], cf. Aris, p. 23-24. It is confirmed by **GBCHBY**, cf. Appendix, note 770. Further, we should pay attention to the testimony in **KCHKKHM-3**: dPal-chad Klu-'dul and **CHBYMTNYP**: Tsha-spe dPal-tshal Klu-non (where *chad* or *tshal* = Tshangs? and *klu non* = *rlung gnon*?); but the latter is contradicted by the testimony in **GBCHBY**, cf. note 770; Klong-rdol places the Rlung-gnon temple in the sNye-thang chos-rdzong area close to Lhasa.

859 This religious figure, as already noted by Uebach, 1987, *op. cit.* pp. 100-01, n. 453, occurs in numerous lists of the IXth century. **BZH** (Chin. ed. 58.19-22) e.g. interestingly notes that sBa dPal-dbyangs was the name of sBa (gloss: Sang-shi-ta) Khri-gzigs prior to his status as a monk, later he was also called (sBa) Ratna. The first identification is also made by Bu-ston, **CHBY** 141b3 (Szerb, p. 29, n. 15). This information would suggest the identification of what has up to now been assumed to be different figures: 'Ba'/rBa Khri-bzher Sang-shi-ta, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 50-51), occasionally listed as one of the seven Sad-mi (for a discussion of these cf. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, II, pp. 12-26). Cf. also note 1203 *infra*. His identity is uncertain, cf. Uebach, 1987, p. 113, n. 614. rBa Ratna, Uebach, 1987, p. 100-01, n. 450, is another Sad-mi figure, often regarded as the first monk ordained in Tibet. **CHBY** 141a2 (Szerb, p. 29), in contrast, has an interesting information, namely that a certain Bya Khri-gzigs was the first ordained monk in Tibet. This figure Bya Khri-gzigs may in fact be identified with the sBa Khri-gzigs mentioned in **BZH** as both texts maintain that this figure was endowed with the five *abhijñā*-s.

zla gza' skar gtan la 'bebs).[860]

In the south the temples of sNyal sNang-gro and Gling-thang,[861] the two, were erected in order to suppress the nature of fire[-element] (*me'i kha*) by propitiating the Fire-god Ṛṣi Agni (*me lha drang srong bsgrubs*).

In the west the temples of Gu-lang [i.e. Paśupatinātha] [and] Shing-kun [i.e. Svayambhūnātha],[862] the two, were erected in order to suppress the nature of the water[-element] (*chu'i kha*) [by] safeguarding the border between Tibet and Nepal.

In the north, the temples of dGe-ri and dPal-ri,[863] the two, were erected in order to suppress the nature of the wind[-element] (*rlung gi kha*) [by] oath-binding (*dam la btags*) the *deva*-s, *nāga*-s, the *'dre* and *srin*-demons.

By virtue of the empowerment of erecting these [temples], the kingdom below the sun was under control[864] and [so enabled] the erection of the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang temple [to become manifest] spontaneously without encountering any mishap or obstruction.

Thus Khri-btsun and Kong-jo, the two, jointly completed the erection of the temples of Goat-Site (Ra-sa) 'Phrul-snang and the Chinese Tiger (*rgya stag*) Ra-mo-che, the two, each [along] with the completion of all possible statues and frescoes (*lha ri mo gang dang ci*) each within [a period] of twelve months.[865]

The king too brought the temples of mTha'-'dul, Yang [mTha'-]'dul [and Ru-gnon] to a [full] completion and again, having returned to Khra-'brug, he revered the precious Teaching of Buddha and revered anyone who was endowed with the marks of an ascetic by bowing with [his] head-crown. He issued [the order]: "My ministers and my subjects too must act accordingly!" When [the king] went outside [the temple], he observed an old beggar-priest (*sprang ban rgan po*), [who was engaged] in looking for lice (*shig thu gin 'dug*)

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860 Cf. Stein, 1959, p. 235 for a suggested identification of these three temples; Aris, p. 25; **CHBYMTNYP** 261b4: *gling chung skyer chu shar nyi zla men* [= *mnon*] *pa'i phyir*; confirmed by mKhas-pa lDe'u, **GBCHBY** 236.9-10 and **DCHBY** 116.14-15: Gling-chu, [s]Kam-chung and Ko/Ke-chu, raised in order to suppress the sun, moon and the lunar constellation. **HBCHBY** (JA) 40a1-2. Cf. also Nel-pa: Ka-chu, cf. Uebach, p. 90, n. 378.

861 Also **HBCHBY** (JA) 40a2.

Both unidentified. **GBCHBY** 286.11-12 and **DCHBY** 116.15-16; **CHBYMTNYP** 261b4-5 all have Bum-thang and Kong- or Glong-rtse temple instead. Nel-pa combines by having Bum-thang and Gling-thang, cf. Uebach, 92-93, n. 397-98. Bum-thang here undoubtedly represents the Byams-pa lha-khang, cf. Aris, pp. 5-8ff.

862 Confirmed by **NGTMTPH** (Uebach, p. 93, nn. 400-01); **HBCHBY** (JA) 40a2; however, **CHBYMTNYP** 261b5-6: The Dhe-shan temple was built using the Gu-lang temple as model; the Hab-sha temple was built using the Shing-kun temple as model; **GBCHBY** 286.12-13, **DCHBY** 116.19-20: The Shang lha-khang and Hab-shang lha-khang were erected in order to safeguard the border. Unidentified.

863 Nel-pa has sGye-ri and sKyer-chu and the text only mentions that they were erected in order to oath-bind Iśvarī (dBang-phyug-ma); **CHBYMTNYP** 261b5-6 has Gye-re and Gyer-chung raised in order to suppress the Yakṣa-s; **GBCHBY** 286.11-12 and **DCHBY** 116.18-19 have dGe-re (resp. sGe-ri), dGyer-chu (resp. sGyer-chung) and Hor-chu (resp. sDe-chu), the three, raised in order to rely (*brten*) on the Yakṣī-s. **HBCHBY** (JA) 40a2-3. For Gye-re, cf. also the notes 444, 456.

864 Cf. Uebach, p. 95, n. 424 for a relevant discussion on the concept 'below the sun' (*nyi 'og*, *aparāntakam*).

865 **MNKB** E (Ca) 138b2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 253.1-14; **KCHKKHM-3** 461.7-463.3; **MBNTH** 69b5-70a6; **GBCHBY** 291.1-6.

in his ragged garment (*bla gos hrul po*) being spread out in front of a five-pointed *caitya* erected [as an atonement] to expiate the killing of a snake. He recognized that the beggar-priest was endowed with the signs of an ascetic, wherefore the king showed him [due] respect.[866]

The king spoke: "Although I am a king who holds under [my] sway a kingdom, I [earnestly] want to make the sun of the Buddha's Teaching shine in this barbarous Snow-clad borderland [too]. I have [already] raised a number of temples and installed many receptacles [representing] the body, speech and mind of the Buddha in these temples to which respect [must] be paid. Furthermore, [we] have vowed to pay [our] homage to anyone who merely possesses the marks of an ascetic. Is it not most marvellous?" The old beggar-priest rose, threw the ragged toga over his shoulder and declared: "It is [truly] most marvellous that you, O king, after showing concern with the Buddha's Teaching, pay [your] respects to ascetics and show me honour, a beggar-priest, but is it not [equally] wonderful that I am present here?" Thereafter he took hold of the five-pointed *caitya* with the five fingers of his right hand and circumambulated it.

The king felt a little apprehended [in view of] this, whereafter he took off his turban (*la thod*), demonstrated the countenance of Amideva (Amitābha) and said: "That [demonstration of yours] is indeed amazing, but this [display] of mine is it not most marvellous too?"

Again, the beggar-priest opened the 'door' to his breast (*brang sgo*), with a pointed instrument [he] cut open his breast, whereby [he] revealed all the gods [adhering to] the Omniscient (*kun rig, sarvavid*) Vairocana poised inside the inner cavity of [his own] torso[867] and spoke: "King, for you there is only one god, whereas to me exist as many as these. Is it not most marvellous!" Now, the king rejoiced greatly and became pious and so he made [this beggar-priest his personal] chaplain (*mchod gnas*).[868]

Thereafter the king ordered: "As regards the ascetics, whether [they wear] ragged togas or whatever their apppearance or conduct, [everyone] must revere [them highly] without generating any wrong ideas about them (*log par lta ba ma byed pa*)!"

The Successful Erection of the Temples of mTha'-'dul, Yang-[mtha'-]'dul, 'Phrul-snang and Ra-mo-che.

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866 **MNKB** E (Ca) 139b4-5, E (Cd) 205a2-6, WAM (G) 32b4-33b3; **KCHKKHM-1** 763.1-765.3, 798.3-799.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 297.4-298.13, 299.4-301.17; **KCHKKHM-3** 474.7-476.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 287a1-b4; **MBNTH** 78b4-79b4; **GBCHBY** 294.16-295.7; **HBCHBY** (JA) 39a6-b4. **PMKTH** (Chap. 92, 555.9-10) even adduces that this five-pointed *caitya* at Yar-klungs Khra-'brug (in the lengthy version in **MNKB** WAM, it is located close to Lhasa) treasured many hybrid troves of *zab gter* and *rdzas gter*. As morover corroborated by **KCHKKHM-2** (which states that it is the earliest five-pointed *caitya* or *stūpa* in Tibet) and further by dPa'-bo's **HBCHBY** (JA) 39a1-5, we have reason, stripping this narrative off its mythological layers, to believe that this receptacle (erected by Newari craftsmen?) is the *earliest* Buddhist shrine raised in Tibet being erected simultaneously with or just prior to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang. Cf. Appendix, note 866 for a fuller discussion.

867 The other texts have: The godly assembly of the Guhyasamāja (*gsang ba 'dus pa'i lha tshogs*).

868 Cf. note 835. The mention of the beggar becoming the chaplain is lacking from the other versions.

XV

The Act of Consecration after the Successful Completion of the Two [Temples of] lHa-sa and the mTha'-'dul, Yang-[mtha'-]'dul Temples etc.

Next,[869] Khri-btsun and Kong-jo, the two, brought the erection of [their respective] temples to a successful finish. After having been invited by the king, [Khri-btsun] arrived at the summit of [Mt.] Potala [in lHa-saa].[870]

The following day Khri-btsun offered [the king] a sight-seeing of her temple 'Phrul-snang, and she invited the king along with his retinue of ministers and accompanied by musical entertainment and the [burning of] incense.

When Khri-btsun opened the gate to the temple, the king was requested to go inside, but [he] observed all the reflections on the ceiling [mirroring itself] on the lime floor (*mthil gyi zha la*) which had a watery colour. He consequently thought that the water of this previous [subterranean] lake was [still] gushing forth. Not [daring] to enter [the temple], Khri-btsun [felt compelled] to take off her finger-ring and throw it [into the air] and [when it hit the floor] it made a sliding sound (*khrol gyis song*) like throwing a little stone onto the surface of ice (*khyag thog khar*). As soon as the king beheld this, he became very confident and went inside.[871]

He then addressed Khri-btsun: "This temple of yours appears to be miraculously [created] (*'phrul du snang*)!" First earth was loaded upon goats to fill up the lake, subsequently the king expressed that it manifested [itself] as miraculously [created in terms of non-human manpower and of craftmanship], therefore it became universally known as Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang Temple.[872]

[I] [Excursion inside the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang Temple]

Thus, the king inspected [exhaustively] [all] the great wonders (*ngo mtshar che ba rnams*) inside the temple, viz.[873]

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869 Prosecuting the theme in the previous chapter, this chapter offers an exposition in form of a detailed *dkar chag* or guide to the newly established Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang temple. Most of the primary sources and texts show a remarkable textual and sequential congruence, whereas Bla-ma dam-pa's witness in some minor details proves to be unique.

870 Cf. note 455 *supra*.

871 **MNKB** E (Cd) 206a3-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 790.6-791.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 268.19-269.15; **KCHKKHM-3** 468.1-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 272b3-273a1; **MBNTH** 75a4-b1; **GBCHBY** 292.11-13; **HBCHBY** (JA) 45a2-3.

872 **MNKB** E (Ca) 138b6-139a1, (Cd) 206a4; **KCHKKHM-1** 762.1, 792.3-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 237.4, 256.13-19; 269.15-270.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 468.7-469.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 273a4-b1; **MBNTH** 75b2-3; **GBCHBY** 292.10-13; **HBCHBY** (JA) 45a4-55.

These passages all offer an almost similar-worded etymological explanation for the name-giving of the temple.

873 This lengthy description of the various chapels inside Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang is in **GLR** rendered in metrical form but in most of the other versions it is found in narrative prose. dPa'-bo's exposition of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang in **HBCHBY** offers the most detailed version. As to the prose narrative, all other versions, albeit of different length, share over lengthy passsages an identical witness and they all doubtlessly draw from a common original, a proto-version which may also account for the metrical version behind **GLR**. Bla-ma dam-pa's version is somewhat less detailed, whereas **KCHKKHM-2** at places displays still other details diverging from dPa'-bo and Bla-ma dam-pa's versions.

"The divine mansion (*gzhal yas khang*) of the Victor [i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang], wonderous and peerless
Is superbly embellished by limitless properties;
The spontaneously manifested square ground structure (*gzhi ma*)
[Is endowed with] four grand niches (*zur chen*) [in the] pattern of a svastika;
And constructed with four doors like a *maṇḍala*.
Its cement-floor is lapis lazuli-coloured,
[In which] the drawings [on the ceiling] above (*steng*) [i.e.] the fish and water-creatures
Are just like reflections in a mirror.
All the pillars of the ground floor and the upper floor
Are most beautifully crafted being made [configured in form] of a thunderbolt-dagger (*rdo rje phur pa, vajrakīla*);
The capitals (*ka gzhu*), columns (*gdung dang gdung khebs*) and entablatures (*gab spangs*) are erected [in the form of a] *caitya*;
The refinements of the craftman[ship] (*bzo yi rnam 'gyur*) were [most] astonishing and without peer (*'gran zla med*);
Upon all the external and internal capitals and entablatures the [Buddhist] tales of ancient [times] (*sngon gyi sgrung rgyud*) were distinctly embossed as relievos (*'bur du bskos*);[874]
On the hems of the rafters (*lcam sna*) of the upper and lower galleries (*mthongs kha*)
White lioness' [were found, being decorated] with turquoise[-coloured] manes (*g.yu ral*) and ornaments,
One hundred and eight [lioness' in all] were to be seen in the posture of

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For a discussion of Jo-khang, cf. Richardson, 1979; Taring and Shakabpa, 1982 and in particular the valuable study by Vitali, 1990, pp. 69-83. Cf. also Tsong-kha-pa's **rNam-thar** (ed. Kaschewsky, fols. 15a-17a, pp. 180-184 foll. mainly **GLR**).

874 Not only embossed but mainly drawn or painted; **KCHKKHM-1** 783.4-784.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 5.15-6.18, 252.12-253.13, 254.11-256.8, 258.2-14, 268.3-4; **KCHKKHM-3** 462.4-463.3; **CHBYMTNYP** 269a5-b2; **MBNTH** 74b1-2; **GBCHBY** 291.1-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 9a1, 44a1-3, 44a7-b2; **DTHZHG** 43.24-44.1; **TSLKHKCH** 12b4-6. See also note 391 *supra*.

Vitali, *op. cit.* pp. 77-78 attempts to make a significant point out of a reference given in Nyang-ral's **MBNTH** which allegedly should indicate the existence of murals on the north-western (external) protuding wall (*nub byang glo 'bur*) depicting *bsgrub pa lde'u rgyud ris*, which according to Vitali *inter alia* represents the earliest murals discovered in Tibet and in part show, according to recent Chinese excavations in Jo-khang, a group of Buddhist masters wearing caps. Firstly, there is no reference in the above relevant Tibetan sources which describe murals or wall-paintings with Buddhist masters. More pertinent, Vitali's reading is also wrong, while **MBNTH** 74b1 (a corrupt text in many places) merely reads *bsgru* [*sic*] *pa lde'u rgyud ris*. But what is abundantly clear from all the above passages which describe the same theme (and esp. the lengthy description in **KCHKKHM-2**), the depiction has nothing to do with Buddhist masters in meditative realization (*bsgrub pa*) or the like. As already indicated in note 391, the walls and pillars are here plastered with frescoes of *sgrung* and *lde'u*, the two literary exponents: *tales* (incl. many animal-fables) and edifying riddles (of paramount importance in the early dynastic period). Cf. Appendix, note 874 for further discussions.

leaping (*mchong ba'i tshul*);[875]
Above that, pearl[-mounted] lattice-nets (*dra ba can*, *jālin*) were [seen],
[Along with] turquoise[-mounted/coloured] extreme points of balustrades (*g.yu bad*)[876] in the colour of indigo (*indranīla*);
The upper[most] building (*rtsig pa*) [was endowed with] 'half-nets' (*dra phyed*, *ardhahāra*), copings (*pha gu*),
Jewel-ornamented balconies (*mda' yab*, *ovidyana*) and balustrades (*pu shu*, *harmikā*);
[Further, the edifice was surmounted with] golden pinnacles (*gañjira*) emitting a thousand rays of light [from splendour];
And numerous turbans (*cod pan*, *mukuṭa*) [adorned with] various [embossed] silken [designs];
Ornaments [such as] [ceremonial] yak-tails (*rnga yab*, *cāmara*) and *kiṅkiṇī*-drums (*dril bu g.yer kha*, *kiṅkiṇī*).
All the walls (*khor yug*) were connected with wire-chains.
Thus, [possessing] endless wonders and being arrayed with embellishments,
In [this] divine [mansion] (*gzhal yas* [*khang*] of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang), the central (*dbus ma*) chapel (*btsan* [= *gtsang*] *khang*, *gandhakūṭī*) [located] on the lower [level, i.e. ground-level]:
Endowed with the hand gesture (*mudrā*) of bestowing protection (*skyabs sbyin*) safeguarding the worldlings,*[877]
Being superbly adorned by the [thirty-two minor] features (*mtshan*, *lakṣaṇa*) and [eighty major] marks (*dpe* [*byad*], *anuvyañjana*) [of a Mahāpuruṣa] and being splendent qua [being endowed with] the two [accumulative] equipments (*tshogs*, *saṃbhāra*),[878]
[The central image of this chapel was] Buddha Dīpaṃkara (Mar-me-

875 For these architectural details, cf. analogously, **KCHKKHM-2** 253.3-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 44a2-5. Cf. also note 455 *supra*.

876 *Bad* = *bad ka* is lexically defined as *khang thog pu shu 'dabs sne*, i.e. the fridge or tip of the roof-balustrade.

877 **gloss*: *The principal image* (*gtso bo*) *of that time was the Buddha* [*named*:] *Mi-'gro gsung-byon* [*lit.* '[*From which*] *the utterance came: I am*] *not going*'].

Cf. also Vitali, 1990, p. 78. Some confusion prevails here, the principal statue of Jo-khang and of the central chapel is Mi-'khrugs-pa or Akṣobhya (cf. note 879 *infra*) and not the dowry-statue brought along by Khri-btsun, Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (cf. note 883 *infra*). Mi-'khrugs-pa is said to have been a *dar sku*, a clay-statue and its soubriquet or epithet Mi-'gro gsung-byon purportedly first came into existence in the XIth century during its temporal removal and a restoration conducted by Zangs-dkar Lo-tsā-ba. At that point, the idol declared that it did not want to be removed (*mi 'khrugs pa'i skus kho bo gzhan du mi 'gro gsungs pas*), cf. dPa'-bo's **HBCHBY** (JA) 148a5. This epithet thus did not originate simultaneously with its installation as maintained in this gloss. But this is somewhat contradicted by **TSLKHKCH** 9b4-5, 12a6, where the Vth Dalai Lama, like **GLR**, maintains that Mar-me-mdzad is identical with Mi-'gro gsung-byon. Then again, the Vth Dalai Lama occasionally tends to follow **GLR** uncritically. Adding further to the confusion, **YLJBCHBY** 56.1 in a gloss maintains that the image of Amitābha (cf. note 880 *infra*) is Mi-'gro gsung-byon.

878 Of Gnosis and Merit (*ye shes* and *bsod nams*).

mdzad)[879] and in emanational forms;
It was surrounded by a retinue (*'khor, parivāra*) of the Eight [Great] [Bodhisattva-]Sons (*nye ba'i sras [chen] brgyad*),
Two wrathful [deities] were seen functioning as protecting door-keepers.
In the chapel located to the right, [the central image] was Buddha Amitābha[880]
Having a hue of vermilion (*li khri, sindhūra*) and with the hand gesture of mental equipoise (*samāhita, mnyam bzhag*);
[Possessing] endless wonders and being embellished by the embellishments [consisting] of the features and marks [of a Mahāpuruṣa];
The retinue surrounding [him] are: the Eight [Bodhisattva-]Sons:
Such as Avalokita and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (mThu-chen-thob) etc.
[All] poised in the cross-legged posture (*rdo rje phyed [= skyil] krung*) on a seat [beset with design of] lotuses, [the sun] and the moon;
[A statue of] Guhyapati (gSang-ba'i bdag-po) was installed to the right of the entrance,
Having the colour of space, holding aloof a thunderbolt (*vajra*)
[A statue of] Krodha Bhurkuṃkūṭa (Khro-rgyal sMe[-ba] brtsegs[-pa])[881] was installed to the left of the entrance,
Having a colour of coral, poised in the posture of cleansing defilements (*grib*);
In the chapel located to the left [the central image] was the venerable

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879 **MNKB** E (Ca) 138a4-6, WAM (G) 20b2; **KCHKKHM-1** 783.2-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 244.13-17, 256.17-19; **KCHKKHM-3** 457.4-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 265a3-6 (but 270a2-3: Amitābha main-image of central chapel); **GBCHBY** 288.5-8; **HBCHBY** (JA) 41a5, 42b3-4; **DTHZHG** 43.13-14.

GLR is at variance with the other versions, while they unanimously have as principal image of the central chapel, the Tathāgata Akṣobhya (Mi-'khrugs-pa) together with his retinue of eight Bodhisattva-s, nine in all (*gtso 'khro dgu*). In **GLR** it appears that Bla-ma dam-pa makes Mar-me-mdzad as the principal deity, when in fact the latter-mentioned image with retinue constitute the accompanying images. This *dar sku* or clay-effigy idol was installed to the right of the principal image Mi-'khrugs-pa (also a *dar sku* idol), cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 63a2-3. Cf. also note 877 *supra* and note 883 *infra*, and Vitali, 1990, p. 78.

Thus the main image is not, as generally and commonly assumed, the dowry of Khri-btsun, i.e. Akṣobhyavajra or Mi-bskyod rdo-rje. In fact, this principal statue of the Nepalese princess, also known as Jo-bo chung-ba, was initially planned to be installed here in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, it never took up its rightful position in Jo-khang for long, instead it was exchanged with the Jo-bo Shākya-muni, or Jo-bo che-ba, the principal dowry of the Chinese princess, which initially was installed in Ra-mo-che. When an alleged (cf. Richardson, 1972; Vitali, p. 86, n. 71) Chinese invasion during the time of Mang-srong mang-btsan was feared that might have led to an abduction of the statue, this *mchod gnas* was removed and secretly installed in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang (in the southern or central chapel, the sources differ). Later the dowry of Khri-btsun, the idol of Akṣobhyavajra was installed in Ra-mo-che, cf. also **GBCHBY** 298.8-9; **TSLKHKCH** 9b2-5, 17b1-3 and foremost Appendix, note 1094 for the fortunes of these idols.

880 **KCHKKHM-2** 244.17-245.1, 257.2-3; **KCHKKHM-3** 457.6-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 265b1-2, 270a2; **GBCHBY** 291.13-14; **HBCHBY** (JA) 42b4; **DTHZHG** 43.14-15; **TSLKHKCH** 7b6-8a2.

881 Cf. also **KCHKKHM-2** 256.7-8: The eight (types of) *stūpa*-s were (drawn) behind this statue of Khro-bo sMe-brtsegs; **HBCHBY** (JA) 42b4-5; **TSLKHKCH** 8a2-3. It was a *dar sku* or clay-effigy idol installed in *gtsang khang dbus ma*.

Maitreya (Byams-pa),[882]
Endowed with the hand-gesture (*mudrā*) of revolving the Wheel of the Law (*dharmacakra*),
In a colour of saffron (*gur gum*) and glittering with the splendour of the characteristic features and marks [of a Mahāpuruṣa];
The *devī*-s encircling [Maitreya] and which presented offerings externally and internally,
[Were seen] in the manner of stretching [their arms] up, [a scenario] of extreme beauty and wonders beyond measure,
Being poised in the cross-legged posture on a seat [beset with designs of] lotuses, [the sun] and the moon;
In the southern chapel (*gtsang khang lho ma*) [the central image] was Akṣobhyavajra (Mi-bskyod rdo-rje),[883]
Superbly embellished by the characteristic features and marks [of a Mahāpuruṣa] and with the hand-gesture of 'earth-witness' (*sa gnon*, *bhūmisparśa*) and mental equipoise (*samāhita*)
Radiating a thousand rays of light like a heap of [glittering] gold;
The highly lustrous retinue surrounding [this image]:[884]
Mahāsahasrapramardanī (sTong-chen rab-'joms), [with] one countenance (*ekamukhā*) and four arms (*caturbhujā*);
Mahāpratisarā (So-sor brang-ma), [with] one countenance (*ekamukhā*) and six arms (*ṣaḍbhujā*);
Yamāntaka (gShin-rje mthar-byed) being six-legged (*ṣaṭpādā*) [respectively with legs] stretched out and drawn in (*brkyang bskum tshul*) and
With a bodily complexion of an asure-blue and black hue, its six countenances (*ṣaṇmukha*) [displaying] a highly wrathful [mien] and
Its six arms (*ṣaḍbhuja*) holding many weapons;
Prajñāntaka (Shes-rab mthar-byed) with a white bodily colour
[Having] four countenances (*caturmukha*) and eight arms (*aṣṭābhuja*) poised respectively in the manner of stretching out and bowing

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882 **MNKB** E (Ca) 138a5-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 245.2-5, 256.19-257.2: Byams-pa Chos kyi 'khor-lo; **KCHKKHM-3** 457.7-458.1: has Mi-skyod rdo-rje (the principal statue of the *gtsang khang lho ma*; cf. below); **CHBYMTNYP** 265b1-2; **GBCHBY** 291.14-15; **HBCHBY** (JA) 42b5; **DTHZHG** 43.14-15; this idol was a *li ma*-alloy idol, cf. note 1076.

883 **KCHKKHM-2** 245.9-12, 257.4-5; **KCHKKHM-3** 457.7-458.1 (cf. previous note); **CHBYMTNYP** 265b3-5, 270a1-3; **GBCHBY** 288.9-11, 291.15-16; **HBCHBY** (JA) 42b5-6; **DTHZHG** 43.16-17.
It must be assumed to be the statue brought along by the Nepalese princess. It was later installed in Ra-mo-che, cf. note 879 *supra*. Cf. also **GBCHBY** 298.8-9; **TSLKHKCH** 9b2-5, 17b1-3. So the Jo-bo mentioned in dPa'-bo **HBCHBY** (JA) 148b3-4, which was temporarily removed from the southern chapel to the central chapel during renovation undertaken in the XIth century by Zangs-dkar and mDol-chung, was the Jo-bo Shākya-muni, the dowry-idol brought along by Kong-jo. It was a *li ma*-alloy idol, cf. note 1075.

884 **KCHKKHM-2** 245.11-12, 257.5-6: Yakṣa-s and Dzambhala; **KCHKKHM-3** 458.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 265b5, 270a4; **HBCHBY** 42b5-7.
Only **GLR** and dPa'-bo give details and names. The other versions laconically add that the Yakṣa-s held bottles [filled with] jewels.

[inwards];
Padmāntaka (Pad-ma mthar-byed) with a bodily [complexion] of a rudy colour (*padmarāga*),
Being one-faced (*ekamukha*) and four-armed (*caturbhuja*) [with an expressive] mien of extreme wrathfulness.
Vighnāntaka (bGegs mthar-byed) with a [bodily complexion of] azure-blue and black hue, [and with an expression] in the manner of wrathfulness (*rngams pa*),
[Being] one-faced (*ekamukha*) and four-armed (*caturbhuja*) eliminating the host of [obstructive] *vighna*-demons;
On both sides of the entrance [the image of the Lokapāla] Vaiśravaṇa (rNam[-thos-]sras) Jambhala [were installed],[885]
With a yellow body colour and [poised] in order to eliminate poverty,
In the right hand [they] held a jewel (*maṇi*) and in the left an ichneumon (*ne'u le*);
In the Nāga-chapel (*klu khang*) [located] along the outer entrance
[Images of] the three great Nāga-s [were found], [being] one-faced and two-handed,[886]
[Being] serpent-necked and poised in the pose of *[jñāna]sattva* ([*ye shes*] *sems dpa'i skyil krung*),
[Their] body-colours being white, red and reddish-yellow;
In the Yakṣa-chapel [located] to the right of the entrance
The nine-headed Rakṣasa Laṅka Daśaskandha (mGrin-bcu) [was installed];[887]
[Endowed] with a horse-head and the upper body (*spangs* = *phang stod*) [tinted] azure-blue;
Yakṣa-s and Gandharva-s, the two, with a reddish body-colour
[Installed with] three heads, four arms and in the *sattva*-posture;[888]
Above the portal [or vestibule] (*sgo khang*) [were chisseled images of] the Seven [First] Successive Buddhas (*sangs rgyas rabs bdun*):[889]
Superbly embellished by the [characteristic] features and marks [of a Mahāpuruṣa] and installed in the manner of Nirmāṇakāya.
Along the side[s] of the lower construction (*'og khang*; i.e. ground floor) were images of the Victor (Jina).
On the southern [wall] frescoes (*ri mo*) [displaying] the continent[s where

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885 **KCHKKHM-2** 245.13-14; **KCHKKHM-3** 458.1-2; **CHBYMTNYP** 265b5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 42b7.

886 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 108a6; **KCHKKHM-2** 257.12-14; **HBCHBY** (JA) 44a5.
On the western walls of the *klu khang* inside Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang were depiction of the erection of the fortress (*sku mkhar*) of Brag-lha bkra-śis, the king's *pho brang* at dMar-po-ri, cf. Appendix, note 557 and the notes 604, 712-4, 900. For some reason, Vitali, 1990 in his study on the earliest structure of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang has overseen this chapel which definitely was part of the original structure.

887 **MṆKB** 108a6; **HBCHBY** 44a5.

888 One leg stretched out or half cross-legged.

889 **KCHKKHM-2** 268.4-5.

Avalokiteśvara] converted each in a manner best suited to the individual (*gang la ci 'dul gling*) [were found],
[Showing] Mahākāruṇika [Avalokiteśvara] [in the form] safeguarding [the sentient beings against the eight apprehensions] (*'jigs pa brgyad skyob, aṣṭabhayatrāṇa*),
And an array (*bkod pa, vyūha*) of the [paradise-]field (*zhing, kṣetra*) of Mañjūghoṣa ('Jam-dbyangs), the principal [image] and retinue, five [in all] (*gtso 'khor lnga*),
An array of the [paradise] field of Sukhāvatī (bDe-ba-can) [etc.] were [all] seen.[890]
To the south and west, in the svastika-niches (*g.yu[ng] [d]rung khug pa = sbug pa*; i.e. corners) were [depictions of] Rigs-gsum mgon-po;
In the western direction, [upon] columns (*ka tshigs*) were [images of] the Five Jina Families,
And [wall-]paintings of king [Srong-btsan sgam-po's] endless feats for the welfare of the sentient beings.
The Buddha-s of the Three Times being surrounded by the retinue
Were [found as] frescoes on the [walls of the] western and northern swastika-niches (*g.yu[ng] [d]rung khug pa*);
On the wall-paintings between the northern and north-eastern [sides]
[Depictions] of the accomplishments of the twelve deeds of the Muni were found;
On the eastern wall side were [drawings of] Tārā (sGrol-ma), Avalokita (sPyan-ras-gzigs)
And Muni [in the posture of] subduing Māra (*bdud 'dul*) along with assemblies of [Bodhi]sattva-s [nine in all].
In the eastern and southern svastika-niches (*g.yung drung khug pa = sbug pa*)
Were [depictions of] Bhagavat poised in an assembly with the Medicinal King (Bhaiṣajyarāja; sMan gyi rgyal-po);
The majority of wall-paintings inside the middle room (*bar khang*; i.e. second floor)
[Depicted] Tārā and the white Hayagrīva [rTa-mgrin] etc.[891]
Drawn in accordance with the [paradise depicted in the collection of] one

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890 **MNKB** E (Ca) 138b2-4; **KCHKKHM-1** 782.5-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 252.4-9; **KCHKKHM-3** 462.2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 269a1-4; **GBCHBY** 290.15-20; **HBCHBY** (JA) 43b4-5, 44a5-7; **TSLKHKCH** 18a1.

On the details of the frescoes of the southern walls, the witness in **KCHKKHM-2**, **CHBYMTNYP**, **GBCHBY** and **HBCHBY** are almost verbatim identical, albeit the last two texts have Khasarpani in the form of safeguarding against the eight fears; **KCHKKHM-2** records that the image of Khasarpani/Khasarpana was white and in a three-faced and eight-armed form adding that it was Tārā that was the saviouress protecting against the *aṣṭabhaya*. The drawings and the chisellings were executed by Newari craftsmen.

891 **KCHKKHM-1** 783.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 252.9-11, 268.17; **KCHKKHM-3** 462.4; **CHBYMTNYP** 269a3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 43b7-44a1, 44a4-7; **TSLKHKCH** 12a1.

These three idols were painted images (*bris sku*), cf. the notes 1080-1082.

hundred and eight *Be'u-bum*.[892]
These variegated drawings with manifold colours,
When the king saw these, he [greatly] rejoiced.
On the eastern and southern turrets (*lcog*) open flight of steps (*seng gi gru skas byas*) were installed;
In the svastika-niche (*g.yung drung khug pa*) a statue of Śrī Devī (dPal[-ldan] lHa[-mo]) was installed;
The northern *gandhakuṭī*-chapel (*gtsang khang byang ma*), marvellous and pompous
Had not been taken in possession by any image (*lha yi bdag bzung mi 'dug*) [yet], so
The emanantional created king [Srong-btsan sgam-po] thought [it better when]
The self-originated Eleven-Headed [statue of Avalokiteśvara] [was brought] from [Mt.] Pota[la] [in lHa-sa]
Being carried upon a waggon and accompanied by music
And then be installed in the northern chapel;
That evening the Self-originated [Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara image], [this] central [figure] and its retinue,
After having received a welcome with divine music,
And even after having arrived through the air by way of magical faculties
Took up residence without [any] seat (lit. throne, *gdan khri*) in the northern chapel.[893]
[Images of] Lokeśvara ('Jig-rten dbang-phyug) embellished by [precious] ornaments and
Jo-mo Bhṛkuṭī (Khro-gnyer-can), Sarasvatī (dByangs-can-ma),
Amṛtakuṇḍalī (bDud-rtsi 'khyil-ba) were installed to the right side of the entrance.
[Images of] Khasarpāṇi, being blue-necked (*mgrin pa sngo ba*),
The venerable Tārā (sGrol-ma), the Goddess Marīci ('Od-zer-can[-ma]),

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892 **MṆKB** E (Cd) 208a3-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 268.4.

Cf. also note 874 above. The one hundred and eight *be'u-bum* allude to depictions of ancient edifying legends and tales originally sung by bards. The *be'u-bum* genre replete with edifying tales was mainly prevalent in the XI/XIIth cent. (cf. Stein, 1959, p. 417ff). But the term (lit. a 'cow's nipple, (dug from which) the calf' (sucks milk,) hence a designation for stories as spiritual nourishment) may arguably be a corruption for *dpe 'bum*, a 'collection of samples' and this old genre may well turn out to be nothing but an early Tib. equivalent of the Chinese *bian-wen* or *bian-xiang* genre of pictorial, transformational recitation known e.g. from Dunhuang.

893 **MṆKB** E 138b4-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 781.6-782.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 246.5-8, 248.17-251.18; **CHBYMTNYP** 265a3-266a1, 268b1-3; **GBCHBY** 288.12-13; **HBCHBY** (JA) 42b7-43a1, 43a5-b3 (detailed). The statue was brought from the king's palace mKhar-brag lha-khang (cf. notes 900 and 911) lying between the dMar[-po-ri] and lCag[-kha/pho-ri] (*pho brang dmar lcags bar gyi mkhar brag lha khang*).

The statue was installed in a projection (*glo 'bur*) bulging out from the building, cf. **MṆKB** WAṂ (G) 17a6; **KCHKKHM-2** 273.3-4; **KCHKKHM-2** and **HBCHBY** are here more detailed than **GLR**. For the statue cf. the notes 544, 801.

Hayagrīva (rTa-mgrin), [were seen by] the king (*rgyal po*),[894] [etc. being] installed on the left side of the entrance.[895]
In that [very] instant (*mod la*) along with the mountains
The ocean-garbed (*rgya mtsho'i gos can, samudrāmbarā*) [earth] shook in six directions;
All the gods had a rain of flowers fall down;
Subsequently, the king [and the queen], [i.e.] father and mother, [along with] the assembly of ministers,
[Their] faces being covered with tears [brought about] by the fervour of their faith,
And each and everyone carrying [along his] item of offering,
Presented [their] offerings and paid [their] respect with deep veneration,
[Whereby they] attained [both] the ordinary and the highest [paranormal] attainments (*siddhi*).
For the safeguarding of the [Buddhist] Teaching and [as] Lord of the Soil (*gzhi bdag*) of this [place],
The Nāga-kings Ananda and Upānanda,
The Rakṣasa-king Laṅka Daśaskandha,
The Yakṣa-s and a host of gandharva-s, Kuvera
Mahākāla and Śrī Devī (dPal gyi lHa-mo) etc.
Were [all] elected as Lords of Protection (*srung ba'i bdag po*) [preserving] the [Buddhist] Teaching and the temple [of 'Phrul-snang]."[896]

Subsequently, the Chinese princess too invited the king to Ra-mo-che and offered [him] a sightseeing, which pleased [the king] very much.

[II] [The Consecration of the lHa-sa Temples]

Then the king, contemplating that [the temples of] 'Phrul-snang and Ra-mo-che, the two, were to be consecrated (*rab tu gnas pa*), [he] arranged a wide [range] of items for a feast along with inconceivably [many] items of worship, canopies, victory banners and music, the king then arrived upon the *maṇḍala*, where he held a flower in his hand and [while] joining

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894 In is unclear what *rgyal po* here refers to. Hardly to a statue of the king. Perhaps, as deduced from the more detailed prose passage in **KCHKKHM-2**, it is reminiscent of what this text states, *op. cit.* 251.5-6: *bzhugs pa rgyal po blon po 'bangs dang bcas pas mthong*, i.e. the installation was observed by the king, the ministers and the [entire Tibetan] population.

895 **KCHKKHM-2** 250.17-251.6; **DTHZHG** 43.17-19.

896 Cf. **MṆKB** E (Ca) 138a6-b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 43a3-b3; **TSLKHKCH** 11b1-3.
The notes 810-817 *supra* for further ref. Being the Protector of the lHa-sa site, close to the image of the Yakṣa Nāga-Kubera, treasuries and other costly precious items were concealed as means in order to safeguard the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang when or if e.g. a watery menace at some point in the future should threaten the site, cf. Appendix, note 790 and foremost the notes 1023, 1035 *infra*.

the palms of his hands, he declared the [following] truthful words:[897]

"Principal among the Bipeds, Munendra and Son of Śākya,
Promoting the welfare of the worldlings qua countless emanational creations;

The Teacher, Sugata-s etc.
Buddhas of the ten directions, pray, [be kind and] bestow [upon us] happiness!

By the current endowed with skillfulness in means (*upayakauśalya*) and compassion (*karuṇā*),
[They] convert each individual according to disposition, bringing [people] to maturity and liberation;

The venerable Avalokiteśvara etc.
Bodhisattva-s, pray, [be kind and] bestow [upon us] happiness!

The Promulgation of the Victor, completely pure and immaculate,
Propagating Saddharma through the four [means of] conversions (*bsdu ba['i dngos po] bzhi, catvāri saṃgraha[vastu]*);
The Sons of the Victor (i.e. the Bodhisattva-s), the Elder (*sthavira*) Subhūti (Rab-'byor) etc.
The Noble Śrāvaka-s, pray [be kind] and bestow [upon us] happiness!

Furthermore, in all the paradises (*zhing khams*) of the ten directions
Of the past, the future and the present
Buddha-s, Bodhisattva-s, by all
Pray, [be kind] and bestow [your] blessing of empowerment on this place!"

[Thus he] prayed and in a trice the Buddha-s and the Bodhisattva-s, the Heroes and the Heroines along with the Guardians of the Saddharma, [they] all convened as the moles [gather] in the sunbeam and crowded together like cloud and mist.

Thereupon all the Buddha-s strewed flowers and performed [their] blessing, the Bodhisattva-s expressed their *maṅgala*, whereafter [the places] were consecrated.

Gods such as Brahma and Śakra had a huge rain of flower fall, and not only the son and daughters of the gods [carried] canophies (*gdugs, channa*), victory banners (*rgyal mtshan, gañjira*), banners (*ba dan, patāka*), ornaments (*lhab lhub, vibhūṣana*) and numerous embellishments such as precious rosaries etc., but [they also] let the great drum of the gods, the flute (*gling bu*), the bronze-gong (*'khar rnga*), the small drum (*cang te'u*) and many kinds of music [accompaniment] sound; the sweet-scenting smells of godly incense too penetrated the ten directions as if wafted by the smooth wind [coming from] Malaya

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897 Cf. also identical **HBCHBY** (JA) 45a6-b2.
The custom (*srol*) of consecration (*rab gnas*) with regard to not only the Ra-sa temples but also bSam-yas was first formally introduced at the time of Atiśa, cf. dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 53a6-b2.

[whereby] a sweet smell [prevailed all over]. The sons and daughters of the gods proclaimed in unison (*mgrin tu*):[898]

"Unifying in one the intent of all the Buddha-s,
Avalokiteśvara, endowed with the nature of compassion,
In order to propagate the [Buddhist] Teaching in this barbarous borderland,
O Noble One, you have been born as a Lord of Men.

Gloriously exalted by knowledge, extraction and accomplishment,
Srong-btsan sgam-po, the emanantional body (*nirmāṇakāya*) of Buddha,
O Dharmarāja, your two temples
Are being consecrated by the Buddha-s.

The Bodhisattva-s have expressed their *maṅgala*
All the gods have presented extensive offerings,
From space a rain of flowers fell,
In the intermediate sphere incense fumigated and congested like clouds.

The entire site (*sa gzhi thams cad*) was displayed (*gcal du bkram*) with jewels;
The victory banner of the Teaching of Buddha has been properly planted;
The great holy drum of Saddharma has been stroken,
Today the sun of Dharma has emerged on the heaven's firmament,
Today the lamp of glory permeates everything.
Today the king has attained the blessing of empowerment.
Like the lotus discloses [its flowers] by the ray of the sun,
Today the mental darkness has been fully removed.
Like the poor ones unearth a trove of riches,
Dharmarāja [Srong-btsan sgam-po], Bodhisattva, you
Satisfy the senses of [everyone's] mind with joy and felicity."

Thereafter they disappeared.

Thus the consecration of the 'Phrul-snang temple and the Ra-mo-che temple, the two, were simultaneously accomplished in a [most] spontaneous way.

A manner [of consecration] like this is not to be comprehended in terms of clarity, but is like a reflection in a mirror or like the moon in the water ((*u*)*dakacandra*), [nevertheless] the ruler [Srong-btsan sgam-po] along with all the ministers and the [Tibetan] subjects observed [it] directly.

Thus, having prepared a grand feast, a show beyond imagination was given in agreement with the entire Tibetan populace that included [the performance of] song and dances.

At that time the king was seated upon the jewel[-mounted] throne at the site of the feast. Having [then] risen, uttering words [which resembled] the voice of Brahma, the king

898 Lacking from all other versions.

proffered the [following] song of joy:[899]

"The Three Jewels (*triratna*) endowed with the nature of compassion
The guide [showing] the path to liberation, Avalokita,
With a mind [replete] with reverence [we] offer up prayers [to you],
Pray, [be kind] and bear in mind [this] song of felicity.

Today, in space right above
The Buddha-s and the Bodhisattva-s
Are seen to take [their] seat like a heap of clouds,
Felicity and consecration are [therefore] accomplished [most] spontaneously.

The gods such as Brahma etc.
Let the cymbal (*sil snyan*) sound, the voice of music,
Had a rain of flower fall,
Felicity and consecration are [therefore] accomplished [most] spontaneously.

Planting the victorious banner of the Teaching of Buddha
Conquering fully [all] nefarious quarters,
By the splendour of [possessing] the potency of overcoming the host of Māra,
Felicity and consecration are [therefore] accomplished [most] spontaneously.

Beating the great drum of Saddharma,
Appeasing naturally ignorance [among] the five vices,
By the drum sound of the Three Jewels,
Felicity and consecration are [therefore] accomplished [most] spontaneously.

Today the sun of felicity has risen,
A joyous mood is involentarily produced,
Enjoyment of all wishes descends like a rain,
Felicity and consecration are [therefore] accomplished [most] spontaneously.

By the auspice of the tutelary deity,
Srong-btsan sgam-po is [teeming] with happiness;
Wherefore [I] am [now] singing a song of bliss,
Pray, may my Tibetan subjects [be blessed] with happiness!"

The queen[s] and the ministers, along with [the king's] Tibetan subjects, all rejoiced

899 This seven-syllabic metrical song on happiness is also identically retained in **HBCHBY** (JA) 45b6-46a4.

and cheered whereafter [they] paid the king their respects and presented [him] with offerings.

Next, the king erected a temple at Brag-lha klu-sbugs,[900] the principal [image] being Thub-pa Brag-lha mgon-po,[901] to the right [a statue of] Śāriputra and to the left [a statue of] Maudgalyāyana. To the right of the [latter] [a statue of] Maitreya and to left [a statue of] Avalokita. Although the principal [statue] and its retinue [of four], five [in all] (*gtso 'khor lnga*), were clearly visible on the rock, the Nepalese sculptors embossed [them later] in relief (*'bur du brkos*) in order to secure for the sentient beings of the posterity [a receptacle from where they] could accumulate merit. For the [planned] carving of a circumambulation-path (*bskor khang = bskor lam*) [around the monastery] [along] the rocks, the Tibetan subjects were successful [in] chiselling it [out].

At that time, when salt was sixty [times] dearer [than barley] (*tshva la drug cu bed yod pa*), the king rewarded [everyone by recompensating] each half (*ph[y]ed pa*) *bre*-measure [of hewed] rock-stone powder-dust (*brag phye*) with a [full] *bre*-measure of salt. The half *bre*-measure was even [reduced further] to a quarter (*bre phyed tsam ph[y]ed kyang*) of stone powder bartered against salt and so [the king] was capable of finishing [all] the images and frescoes [to be installed] in the temple[902] whereafter [the entire place] was [properly] consecrated.

The Act of Consecration after the Successful Completion of the Two [Temples of] lHa-sa, the mTha'-'dul, Yang-[mtha'-]'dul Temples etc.

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900 **MNKB** E (Ca) 139a1-2, (Cd) 206a2; **KCHKKHM-1** 790.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 228.11-ff., 231.17-18, 270.13-15; whereas **KCHKKHM-3** 467.7, **CHBYMTNYP** 272b2 ascribe the erection of the statue Brag-l[h]a mgon-po (*Kun tu zhal*; *'dun zhal* [*sic*]) to Jo-mo rGya[l]-[mo]-btsun; **MBNTH** 64b5-6, 75a1; **GBCHBY** 281.14-15; **DCHBY** 117.8-9: Zhang-zhung bza' Shi-ku erected Brag-lha'i rtse; Nel-pa, **NGTMTPH** 9b2, 12a7 mentions that Mong-bza' Khri-lcam erected the cave-temple. But this is a mistake for mKhar-brag (cf. note 911, next Chapter); **CHBY** 257b5-6, 272b2 (Szerb, 1990). But most of the above texts maintain that it was queen Ru-yong bza' who erected the Brag-lha temple, which is a cave-temple perched on the lCags-po-ri (cf. Ferrari, pp. 41, 62). So also **MBNTH** 75a1 and **HBCHBY** (JA) 44b4-5 (but see also 37a7-b1). Only **GLR** holds that the king erected this temple. Cf. also notes 708, 712, 714 *supra*. The principal image was Vairocana (also called Brag-lha mgon-po), cf. next note.

901 The statue of Vairocana or rNam-par snang-mdzad Kun-tu zhal (Kun-rig? Sarvavid) Vairocana.

902 **KCHKKHM-2** 270.16; **KCHKKHM-3** 467.7-468.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 272b2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 44b4-5: Salt was eighty times dearer (than barley).

XVI

The Concealment of Treasuries and the Conversion of All Tibetan Subjects to Buddhism in order to Ensure the Emergence of Benefit and Felicity

[I] [The Birth of Gung-ri gung-btsan]

Next,[903] while the Chinese and the Nepalese consorts, the two, had no son born to them, the king married the so-called consort from Zhang-zhung (*zhang zhung bza'*),[904] to whom too no son war born. She erected the temple of Thim-bu skog-pa.[905] This [temple] was located in the heart (*khongs*) of lCags-kha.[906] Then [the king] married the so-called consort of Ru-yong (*ru yong bza'*).[907] Nor to her was a son born. She erected the temple of Mig-mangs-

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903 The main part of the present chapter introduces, aside from a brief note on the king's consorts and the birth of his son, a celebrated story about two Khotanese monk-novices and a lengthy exposition on the provident burial of treasuries for the sake of the future sentient beings of Tibet.

904 **MNKB** E (Ca) 139a2, E (Cd) 206a1-2; **KCHKKHM-2** 231.15-16, 270.11-13; **KCHKKHM-3** 467.4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 272a4-5; **MBNTH** 74b6; **GBCHBY** 276.19-20, 298.16-17; Zhang-zhung bza' Li-thig-sman, daughter of the Zhang-zhung king Li-[d]mig[s]-skya/bkra. **HBCHBY** (JA) 44a4. Cf. also Karmay, 1972, p. 78.

According to **KCHKKHM-2** 208.11-209.5, 231.7-232.11: King Srong-btsan sgam-po had six consorts, all listed here in their order of seniority and succession:

1. Pho-gong Mong (or lDong)-bza' Khri-lcam (or khri-)btsun-ma, she laid the foundation for the lHa-sa mKhar-brag lha-khang;

2. Zhang-zhung (Bon-po'i bu-mo) Khri-btsun-ma, she laid the foundation for the Them-pu lkog-pa'i lha-khang;

3. Ru-yong (or Ru-spong) stong-bza' Khri-btsun-ma, she laid the foundation for the Brag-lha mgon-po'i lha-khang;

4. Li-lcam mThon-bza' Khri-btsun-ma, she laid the foundation for the lHa-sa Mig-dmangs-tshal gyi lha-khang; (the two above passages differ on the succession of the third and fourth queen);

These first four great queens are also called *btsun chen bod mo bzhi*, while they all came from Tibet (incl. here Zhang-zhung), and while they are believed to be incarnations of *lha-mo*-s;

5. Bal-mo-bza' Khri-btsun-ma, incarnation of sGrol-ma dkar-mo, she laid the foundation of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang;

6. rGya-mo-bza' Khri-btsun-ma Ong-Cong, incarnation of sGrol-ma sngon-mo, she laid the foundation of lHa-sa Ra-mo-che. The two famous queens of foreign origin.

In this list the Mi-nyag-bza' is missing, cf. below, a queen only recorded in **GLR** and **HBCHBY** (JA) 33b5-6, 44b6 (paralleling **GLR**). dPa'-bo maintains that the king had five queens, cf. also Haarh, 1969, pp. 52-53. The source for introducing this figure remains unidentified, but dPa'-bo suggests that Ru-yong-bza' and Mi-nyag-bza' are one and the same figure.

905 **MNKB** E (Ca) 139a1-2, (Cd) 206a1-2: Khrims-bu lkog (or lkol)-pa (one passage ascribes to her the erection of Brag-lha klu-phug); **KCHKKHM-2** 231.15-17, 270.10-12: Yer-pa Them-bu lkog-pa'i lha-khang; **KCHKKHM-3** 467.5; **CHBYMTNYP** 272a5: Thim-nya lkog-ma; **MBNTH** 74b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 44b4; **DTHZHG** 45.9-10.

Cf. Karmay, 1972, p. 78. This temple should allegedly have housed a statue of gShen-rab. Cf. also note 780 *supra*. See also next note.

906 Or the district lCags-kha-khong. Unidentified, however from note 780 *supra* we learn that Them-pa-lkog is located in 'Phan-yul, whereas **KCHKKHM-2** (cf. prev. note) maintains that it is located in Yer-pa (north-east of lHa-sa).

907 **MNKB** E (Ca) 139a2 (maintains that she raised Them-bu lkol-pa temple, see above), (Cd) 206a2; **KCHKKHM-2** 231.18-19, 270.13-15; **HBCHBY** (JA) 44b5-6; **DTHZHG** 45.8-10.

She did not erect the Mig-mangs-tshal temple, but erected the Brag-lha mgon-po temple with the image of Vairocana Kun-tu zhal (also called Kun-tu zhal gyi lha-khang), cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 228.12ff. and the notes 900-901 in previous chapter. Full name Ru-yong-bza' rJe-khri-dkar, cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 53. Cf. next note.

tshal,[908] which was located in Go-sha-gling.[909]

Then [the king] married the so-called consort of Mi-nyag (*mi nyag bza'*),[910] but to her too no son was born. She erected the temple of Kha [= mKhar]-brag-gser.[911] This is located in [the district of] mKhar-sna-gdong.[912] Thereafter [the king] married the so-called Mong-bza' Khri-lcam[913] from [the district and clan] Mong in sTod-lung.[914] To her was prophesied that a son would be born and when nine or ten months had passed a son called Gung-ri gung-btsan[915] was born, [a child] of royal extraction without peer, [born] in the iron-female-snake year (*lcags mo sbrul*)[916] in the divine mansion of Brag-lha bkra-shis.[917] A grand birth

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908 According to the prevailing consensus in the other versions, it was Li-lcam lha'i sras-mo lDong bza' who erected the temple of Mig-mangs-tshal gyi lha-khang, cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 270.17-19; Ru-yong-bza' erected the Brag lha mgon-po Kun-tu-zhal gyi lha-khang, cf. ref. previous note.

909 Only **GLR** offers a precise geographical location of this temple. Otherwise unidentified.

910 Only introduced by **GLR** and following this text, by dPa'-bo, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 44b5-6. Cf. also note 904 above and next note. Cf. also Haarh, p. 53.

911 According to the majority of sources, it was the first queen (to Srong-btsan sgam-po) named [Pho-gong] Mong-bza' khri-lcam (for her diff. names, cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 53 and note 913 *infra*) who erected mKhar-brag lha-khang, a temple which was furnished with gold and silver etc., cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 270.9-11; **KCHKKHM-3** 467.4; **CHBYMTNYP** 272a3-4; **MBNTH** 74b6-75a1. Hence, the misplaced *gser* in the name of the temple in **GLR** appears to be a reminiscence of this. Alternatively, it may be reminiscent of the name-complement gSang, cf. below. But this statement is contradicted by **BZH** (Stein. ed. 2.13, Chin. ed. 1.17-18, 9.10) where it is maintained that it was raised during the reign of king Khri-lde gtsug-btsan (i.e. Mes-ag-tshoms; cf. note 1115), cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 293b5 (where Nyang-ral thus contradicts himself, that is when we assume that mKhar-brag is not refering to two distinct places!); so also Nel-pa (Uebach, p. 95); **CHBY** 139b5 (Szerb, p. 15); **YLJBCHBY** 58.18; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71a4; **DTHZHG** 50.8-9: gSang mKhar-brag. Cf. also the notes 1130, 1173 *infra*.

Again, a solution to the problem may be that the queen of Srong-btsan sgam-po founded the mKhar-brag (chapel), but an actual *temple* was first established during Mes Ag-tshoms' reign. Cf. previous note.

912 Unidentified. But it was definitely located in the lHa-sa area and we may suspect that it is a misprint for Phag-sna-gdong, cf. note 708 and Appendix, note 1094 *infra*.

913 **GLR**: Mang. Full name: Pho-gong Mong-bza' Khri-lcam or Khri-btsun-ma; she erected the temple of lHa-sa mKhar-brag (cf. note 911); whereas **MNKB** E (Ca) 139a1-2 maintains that she erected Brag-rtsa lha-khang, (**GBCHBY** 276.18-19: Brag-rtse lha-khang), **MNKB** 206a2 and **HBCHBY** (JA) 44b5: Yer-pa'i gtsug-lag-khang.

Cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 53 for the different forms of her name. Confirmed Dunhuang Ms 249 (Bacot *et al.*, p. 82.23-24): Mong-za Khri-mo mNyen ldong-steng.

914 This location is only attested in **GLR** and **HBCHBY** (JA) 33b5-6.

915 Also called Gung-srong gung-btsan. **KCHKKHM-2** 268.17-18, 296.6-7; **GBCHBY** 298.19-21; **YLJBCHBY** 56.8-9: Gung-srong gung-btsan was son of 'Bro-[b]za['] Khri-mo 'bring-stengs; **HBCHBY** (JA) 46a4-5; **DTHMPSM** 21b5-6, where bSod-nams grags-pa wrongly criticizes **GLR** for confusing the succession; **DTHZHG** 45.11. Dunhuang, Ms 249 (Bacot *et al.* p. 82.23-24): Gung-srong gung-btsan was son of Srong-lde-brtsan (= Srong-btsan sgam-po) and Mong-za Khri-mo mNyen-ldong-steng. For the different forms of his name, cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 53.

916 This iron-snake year can only correspond to 621 A.D. Taking this year as point of departure and following **GLR**'s own computation (cf. note 936 *infra*), he passed away, aged eighteen, in 638-639 A.D., whereas the Dunhuang material records that he fathered Mang-srong mang-btsan with Kong-jo, who however first arrived in Tibet 641 A.D. So Gung-srong passed away 646 A.D., and retaining the age eighteen as plausible, he was born 629 A.D., which however would mean,

banquet (*btsas ston*) was prepared and everybody rejoiced.

The [queen-]mother and the [prince-]son, the two, raised as [their] spiritual bond (*thugs dam du*) a temple and a *caitya*-receptacle at the site of Yer-pa,[918] [situated] upon the lap resembling a sitting Āryā Tārā and [outwardly] having the form of a rocky mountain. After the Ra-sa ['Phrul-snang temple] had been inaugurated, the father [i.e. the king] offered up prayers at [this very] temple of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang [which in importance] was tantamount to the life-vein (*srog rtsa gcig pa*) of the [Buddhist] Teaching.

Then the king,[919] in order to urge his Tibetan subjects to observe his [secular] laws based upon the ten [Buddhist] virtues, established a court of justice (*khrims ra 'chas*) [based upon] horror and intimidation, proclaiming: "Those inflicting harm towards the Buddhist Teaching or act counter to the Tibetan law are to be punished", whereafter [the king] created emanational appearances, [i.e.] non-human [spirits] (*mi ma yin*, *amanuṣya*) [who were] chained and battered, [their] eyes pulled out and [their] knee-joint lamed (*bcing ba dang brdeg pa dang mig 'don pa dang sgyid pa gcod pa*) etc. Although it did not not actually happen so (*don la grub pa med kyang*), it served its means of terrifying and frightening everybody, whereafter [they] were converted to the law of the ten virtues.

[II] [The Monks from Khotan]

At that time[920] in lCang-ra smug-po of Li-yul [i.e. Khotan],[921] two monk-novices

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following a line of argumentation for Srong-btsan sgam-po's chronology placing his birth 617 A.D. (cf. the notes 449, 1046), that Srong-btsan sgam-po fathered Gung-srong at an age of eleven. This, among other things, compels us to suggest that king Srong-btsan sgam-po was born 569 A.D., cf. the notes 560, 562 and 1046 for further discussions.

917 Cf. notes 708 and 900 *supra*.

918 Corroborated by **MNKB**, cf. note 913; **HBCHBY** (JA) 106a7; **DTHZHG** 45.11-13: on the 'Phags-ma sGrol-ma'i dbyibs-can gyi ri, the dPal gyi Yer-pa'i lha khang.

919 Cf. parallel **HBCHBY** (JA) 46a4-b1.

920 The famous story is found lengthy embodied or briefly referred to: **MNKB** E (Ca) 139a4-b4, E (Cd) 204a1-205a1, WAM (G) 33b5-35a2; **KCHKKHM-1** 785.7-789.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 302.4-305.8; **KCHKKHM-3** 476.1-478.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 287b4-290a2; **MBNTH** 79b4-81a2; **GBCHBY** 252.16-253.12, 295.6-10; **DCHBY** 108.13-14; **CHBY** 139a2 (Szerb, p. 14); **HBCHBY** (JA) 46a1-47b2; **DTHZHG** 45.19-23.

Aside from **GLR**, the testimonies in **MNKB** WAM, **KCHKKHM-2**, **CHBYMTNYP** and **HBCHBY** have preserved the most detailed versions. It is a narrative tradition of immense popularity. The story is in the numerous versions almost identically transmitted, albeit at varying length. A number of these sources, moreover, asserts that the present story may be consulted in the treatise entitled: **Li-yul lung-bstan chen-mo**; now, this work has little to do with the treatise found in the Buddhist Canon and entitled **Li-yul lung-bstan-pa** (cf. text and tr. by Emmerick, 1967), while we abortively search for any even indirect hint to the present narrative in this work. A plausible hint may be found in another very ancient and small treatise definitely originating from the dynastic period, the **Li-yul chos kyi lo-rgyus** (also ed. Emmerick, 1967, *loc. cit.* pp. 78-91 and which in fact contains a *li-yul gyi lung-bstan* (*op. cit.* p. 83 (48)), which, if the reference is to same text - which is far from conclusively settled - may have been its original or supplementary title). Cf. note 866 and in particular Appendix, note 920 for a fuller discussion.

(*sramaṇera*) lived, who for eight years had [tried] to propitiate (*bsgrubs pa*) Ārya Mañjuśrī without any success. A sound [suddenly] appeared from space [above], imparting to [them the following] prophecy: "Between you two monk-novices and Mañjuśrī, there is no karmic bond (*las 'brel*), wherefore [you would] hardly achieve any supernatural accomplishments (*dngos grub, siddhi*). The deity of you two is Ārya Avalokita and this Ārya has now emanationally retransformed [himself] into the king of Tibet, [reigning] in the Snow-clad realm of Tibet. [You may] go there and pay [this king] a personal visit (*zhal dngos su mjal*)", whereafter [the voice] disappeared [again].

Merely by hearing this, the tiny hair on the body of both monk-novices shuddered tremendously.[922] Without paying any [respect] to body and life and carrying along provisions of flour, they reached Tibet. There, while arriving at a chasm [which they had to] cross [in order to reach] the Valley (*mda'*) of sTod-lung,[923] they observed along the river-bank many human corpses, [all] beheaded and with the eyes removed [as] they [had been] devoured by dogs. This made the monk-novices entertain some doubts and addressing a Tibetan as to the whereabouts of the king and the reason for the presence of these corpses, the [local] man responded: "[Our] king resides in lHa-sa and these corpses are transgressors of the law punished by the king." Both monk-novices [now] grew [strongly] sceptical and [recognized] that Avalokita was [none else but] the devil,[924] [responsible for] killing so [many] people. "We two [better] have to turn back", [they] said and returned.[925]

[However,] the king [qua his supernatural clairvoyance] read the thoughts of these two, and the king ordered [his] minister 'Bri Se-ru gong-ston:[926] "Mount your horse and set off! In the Valley (*mda'*) of sTod-lung[927] [you will find] two men dressed up in a square saffron-coloured robe, being tonsured and [wearing] the marks of a renunciate [i.e. monk] (*rab tu byung ba, pravrajyā*). [They] were [originally] planning to come into my presence, but [instead] grew sceptical and have [now started to make their] return [back to Khotan], so bring [them] hither by peaceful means!" The minister [was able] to follow [in their] tracks and [initially] both [monks] became very terrified, but [eventually they] were [persuaded]

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921 This location is occasionally mentioned in a number of the texts and then in apparent different contexts, without having been properly identified. **BZH** (Stein ed. 71.7) and **CHBYMTNYP** 451a2 mention the king of lCag-ra smug-po in connection with Khotanese artisans being brought to Tibet in order to assist in erecting king Ral-pa-can's temple of 'U-shang-rdo; Nel-pa, **NGTHTPH** 8b3, mentions the erection of a temple Li-yul lCang-ra rmug-po to the south-east (of Tibet)! and **bShad-mdzod** has the temple located to the north-east! (cf. Uebach, 1987, p. 91, n. 388), where it refers to the erection of temples by king Srong-btsan sgam-po to pin down the supine *srin-mo* (cf. **GLR** Chap. XIV). **CHBY** 150a5: lCang-ra; **PMKTH** (Chap. 79, 462.3); **KTHDNG** (KHA) (Chap. VII 119.1-2) mentions that the place was invaded by Tibetans. Cf. also Karmay, 1972, p. 50.

922 This passage is lacking from the other versions. Added by Bla-ma dam-pa, obviously, to dramatize the narrative.

923 **MṆKB**: Yar-lungs...dBu-ra (the name refering to the 'enclosure of heads' (*dbu'i ra ba*; i.e. from beheaded corpses which even became the name of the place); **KCHKKHM-1**: Yar-lung Khra-'brug; **CHBYMTNYP**: Yar-lung U-ra; **MBNTH**: Yar-lungs; **GBCHBY**: Khra-'brug and dBu-ri; **HBCHBY**: Khra-'brug and sTod-lung mda'.

924 Some of the other versions have here erringly Mañjuśrī instead of Avalokiteśvara.

925 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 139b1, (Cd) 204b1; **KCHKKHM-1** 787.3; **KCHKKHM-2** 303.8; **KCHKKHM-3** 476.7; **CHBYMTNYP** 288b3; **MBNTH** 80a2; **GBCHBY** 253.2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 46b7.

926 Only **GLR** gives the name of the minister. For this figure cf. note 517 *supra*.

927 Most other texts have Dan-'bag-thang in Lhasa. Others both sTod-lung mda' and Dan-'bag-thang.

with tender words to be brought into the presence of the Tibetan king.

There the Tibetan king greeted the two monk-novices, and with a smiling countenance the king inquired [them]:[928] "You two monk-novices why have you come to Tibet?" The two monk-novices responded: "We two come from Khotan. We have [tried] to propitiate Ārya Mañjuśrī for eight years, but failing, a voice emerged from space proclaiming: "The deity of you two is Ārya Avalokita. As this Ārya presently has retransformed [himself] emanationally into the king of Tibet, [reigning] in the Snow-clad realm of Tibet, [you may] go there and pay [this king] a personal visit!" So the two of us have come to Tibet without paying any respect to [our own] body and life. *En route* (*lam kha na*) [we] found many human corpses, and when inquiring a Tibetan, it was said to be law-breakers punished by the king. We therefore became terrified and [decided to] return."

The king then satisfied the two with food and drink and then took off his crown-turban (*thod phud*) and [thereby] uncovered the countenance of A-mi de-ba [i.e. Amitābha], declaring: "I am the king of Tibet, the Compassionate One. Ever since I assumed the royal power I have not only rendered beneficial service to the sentient beings up to the present [day] now by bringing [them] unto the path of Liberation and Enlightenment, but [they] have never experienced any harm inflicted [by me] even as much as [one may find] on the point of a needle! The Tibetan population descends from [the union] of an ape and a rock-ogress, so [I] have created some forceful emanational manifestations." Snapping his fingers (*se gol brdab pas*), the corpses disappeared like a vanishing rainbow (*'ja' yal ba bzhin*).[929] The two monk-novices [regained their] faith and trust [in the king], and requested: "Great king! Be kind and [give us] instructions which summarize the three topics (*don gsum la 'dus pa'i gdams pa*)[930] in order to [enable us to] understand the [Buddhist] Dharma, [while] the two of us have covered a long distance and underwent [great] hardships [to come here].

The king responded: "[You] two monk-novices pay attention! Summing up entirely the foundations of all [Buddhist] Teachings, [they] can be subsumed under three headings (*don*):

By means of the body, avoid [altogether] taking lives, to take what has not be given or to act unchastely etc. Pay [your] respect in front of [any receptacle pertaining to] the Three Jewels and circumambulate it! Hold in esteem the [precious] jewel of morality, the basis for obtaining a blissful [body] in a happier state! Never and in no way part from the precious ornament, the [three higher] discipline (*śikṣā*)!

By means of speech, renounce [altogether] slanderous lies (*rdzun phra ma*) and utterance of crude words etc. and recite the Six-syllabic [formula], the highest maxim, the [very] root of all supernatural accomplishments [bringing] happiness and benefit, the trove of all qualities and prosperity, the essence uniting the roots of all teachings, the [very] nature which unifies in one the intent of all the Buddha-s!

By means of the mind, abolish [altogether] covetousness (*brnab sems*), ill-will and

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928 Most other texts mention that the Tibetan king spoke to them in Khotanese.

929 This last narrative incidence is lacking from the other versions, and only partly retained in **HBCHBY**.

930 I.e. body, speech and mind (*lus*, *ngag*, *yid*). This religious instruction interwoven into the Li-yul story is lacking from the other versions. Its provenance may therefore either be a hitherto unknown *gdams-pa* portion from a Vita of the king, as yet unidentified, or represents Bla-ma dam-pa's own paraphrase culled from the teachings delineated in the bulky instruction-cycle embodied in **MṆKB** (WAM (F)). The doctrinal content of these teachings given here does not differ substantially from those offered in **GLR** Chap. IV *supra*.

heretical thoughts etc., and seek refuge in the Three Jewels. Not only should everyone inevitably regard all [other] sentient beings pertaining to the six classes and three sphere (*khams gsum rigs drug*) as one's own parents (*rang gi pha mar ma gyur pa gcig kyang med pas*), but also [be endowed] with the zealous wish (*'dun pa drag po*) of taking upon oneselves (*rang gi rgyud thog tu len pa*) the unbearable sufferings of these and confer [upon] these [sentient beings] whatever one possesses of benefit and happiness! Be [moreover] endowed with a good thought [in which] oneself should contemplate holding others in esteem! In short, do not even for one moment separate from the precious thought of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), affection and compassion! A benign inclination (*bsam bzang*) surpasses a pious one (*chos bzang*). If [you] are equipped with these three points then [you] will acquire the status of Buddhahood within one [single] existence and one [single] body. If [however your disposition] lacks these three points then, you may hold all the *sūtra*-s and *tantra*-s of [Buddha's] promulgation and of scripture and manuals (*lung man ngag*) in [your] mind, but it [would] be hypocrisy (*kha chos*) and be without substance (*snying po med*)."

Then the king preached to the two monk-novices the three cycles of Mahākāruṇika [Avalokiteśvara], the **[Saddharma]Puṇḍarīkasūtra**, and the benefit of the Six-syllabic [formula], and [thus] brought [them firmly] on the path of Liberation and Enlightenment.

Subsequently, the two monk-novices were pleased and rejoiced and [they] paid [their] respect [by bowing] to the feet of the king. [They] requested accordingly:[931]

> "Alas! Dharmarāja, emanantional body
> Compassionate Āryapālo
> Since [we] are to travel [back to our] country, we ask for an escort."

The king responded:[932] "Do you two [really] want to reach [your] country in an instant and unimpeded?" The two monk-novices spoke: " By all means [we] would like to reach [our] country effortlessly (*dka' tshegs med par*)." The king therefore anointed the skirts of both with one *bre*-measure of sand each and [then] graced [them with] an alchemical blessing (*gser 'gyur gyi byin gyis brlabs*). Placing his hand on the head of both, he proclaimed: "Use whatever baggage [you] have as cushion (*yo byad gang yod sngas su chug*) and [now] go to sleep while recollecting the country of the both of you!"

The two having acted accordingly, [they] [instantly] went to sleep (*gnyid thum pa song*) and [thus arrived] in their own country.[933]

The sand-dust on [their] skirts turned into gold and in [their] subsequent existence they both attained the fruit of Arhantship.[934]

[III] [Gung-ri gung-btsan]

Thereafter, when the prince Gung-ri gung-btsan reached the age of thirteen, he assumed royal power, entered matrimony and the son called Mang-srong mang-btsan was born in the fire-

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931 Lacking altogether from the other versions, except **HBCHBY** (JA) 46a6-7.

932 Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 46a7-b2 slightly different.

933 This element also shared by **KCHKKHM-2**, **CHBYMTNYP** and **MBNTH**, but lacking in **HBCHBY**.

934 **MṆKB** E (Cd) 205a1; **KCHKKHM-2** 305.2-3; **MBNTH** 81a2.

male-dog year.[935] [King] Gung-ri gung-btsan held the power for five years, and at the age of eighteen[936] he passed away in the [royal palace at] Potala.

"Gung-ri gung-btsan passed away prior to [his] father;
His tomb was built in Don-mkhar-mda';
As to succession it was placed to the left of gNam-ri-srong-btsan['s tomb],[937]
Its name was Gung-chen gung-ri.[938] So it is told."

Again, the [old] king assumed the royal power [again] and brought about happiness [in Tibet].[939]

[IV] [Burial of Treasuries]

The king then again thought: "My Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang temple and the rGya-stag Ra-mo-che temple, the two, must be equipped with uncountable properties [in order to] stand just as long as the Buddhist Teaching durates."

So [in order to make these two temples] resemble a precious continent, [where] Buddha-s, Bodhisattva-s, ḍāka-s and jñānaḍākinī-s each [had] transformed [themselves] emanationally [into] the lowest gestalt [i.e. human beings] and had taken up permanent residence [there], and in order to make [the two temples] surpass all [other] Tibetan temples and to be equipped with numerous unmeasurable qualities, [in order to] make the [amount of] comfort for the trainees (*vaineya*) [active there] equal to space, [to make] whatever [one] wishes come true according to [one's] wishes, to make all the affluence [found in] the

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935 Cf. also **GBCHBY** 299.5-9; **DCHBY** 118.12; **DTHMP** 17a5; **YLJBCHBY** 56.15-57.4: He married 'A-zha [b]za['] Kho-'jo Mong-rke khri-dkar ti-shags.

This can only refer to 626 A.D., but in fact king Mang-srong mang-btsan ruled from 650 until his death 676 A.D. As discussed earlier (cf. e.g. note 449) the chronological data conserved in later Tibetan historiography are beset with serious problems when comparing it with other material. According to the present narrative, Gung-ri gung-btsan was born 621 A.D. (cf. note 916), which makes it impossible to ascribe to him the fathership of Mang-srong mang-btsan in 626 A.D.

Mang-srong mang-btsan was son of Gung-srong gung-btsan and consort Kong-jo Mang-mo-rje Khri-skar (i.e. Wencheng Gongzhu), cf. Dunhuang Ms 249 (Bacot *et al.* p. 82.25-26), which suggests that he was born between 641 and 646 A.D., when king Gung-srong passed away and Srong-btsan sgam-po took over his second term of rule.

936 **CHBYMTNYP** 292a3: Gung-srong gung-btsan son of Mang-srong mang-btsan!; **GBCHBY** 299.1-4; **DCHBY** 118.8-9; **BGR** 198a4-5; **NGTMTPH** 5b5-6 (Uebach, pp. 76-77); **DTHMP** 17a4; **YLJBCHBY** 56.8-12; **GBYTSH** 122a2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 46b2; **DTHZHG** 45.15-16; **DSYML** 57.8-10.

Gung-srong gung-btsan most likely ruled from 641 until his death in 646 A.D. Cf. previous note.

937 **DCHBY**: to the right.

938 **DCHBY** 118.10-11; **YLJBCHBY** 56.13-14; **GBYTSH** 122a3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 47b3-4.
Cf. Panglung, 1988, pp. 336-37.

939 His second term of rule from 646-649 A.D.

neighbouring [states] to be gathered at this place, to [ensure] victory over all [neighbouring] border [countries], and [in order to make these temples and their idols installed there] without peer in Tibet, [in order to make their] light and rays permeate all ten directions, [so that their] repute and fame cover all places on earth, [in order to make their] blessing equal to the light of the sun and moon, [in order to make] jewels, riches, grain, gold, silver, wealth (*dbyig*), ornaments, clothes and [other] material comfort fall like a rain, and in order to make [them] be endowed with numerous [other] properties, [the king decided it was] necessary to hide treasuries after [he] had examined [properly] the auspicious features of the [Tibetan] territory (*sa'i yon tan bltas*).

So for example just like the Wish-granting Gem, which, relying on its power, provides wealth [for] every town and city along the coast of the ocean, the origin of all wishes, so also in this place which is possessive of treasuries of precious stones, wealth and material comfort will come about [all] by itself.

Therefore, [to provide similar circumstances] for the sake of the Tibetan people of the posterity the treasuries [that were] hidden [in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang were as follows]:

At the place near the pillar with a vase-shaped [capital] (*ka ba bum pa can*) [texts and writings of] the [Buddhist] Saddharma were hidden. The benefit (*yon tan*) of this [concealment]: In the future the Teaching of Buddha would emerge like the rising sun here in country of Tibet [whereby its population] would have [full] enjoyment of Saddharma.[940]

At the place near the pillar [with the capital ornamented] with leaf-carvings (*ka ba shing lo can*) gold and silver and precious troves were hidden. The benefit of this [concealment]: All the wealth of the [neighbouring] border[-countries] would be gathered centrally [i.e. in Tibet whereby the Tibetan population] would have [full] enjoyment of gold and silver.[941]

At the place near the pillar with a snake-head-shaped [capital] (*ka ba sbrul mgo can*) [texts containing] powerful mantric formulae and conjurations (*drag sngags mthu*) were hidden. The benefit of this [concealment]: [all neighbouring] border-armies, the *vighna* (*bgegs*)- and *vināyaka* (*log 'dren*)-spirits [thus] refrain from appearing.[942]

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940 **MNKB** E (Cd) 208a5; **KCHKKHM-1** 784.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 259.8-16; **KCHKKHM-3** 465.3-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 270b3-271a1; **GBCHBY** 292.2; **DTHZHG** 46.8: treasuries of human precious jewels. Cf. next note. These sources, being briefer, differ uniformly from **GLR**. **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. VIII (the 4. section entitled: *gter byang mdzod kyi lde mig rgyud las them pa'i 'og dang ka ba bum pa can*) 157.15-159.8: This lengthy description confirms that the treasuries kept under this pillar were precious objects. Only **GLR** and **HBCHBY** (47b5, following it) maintain that religious texts were buried.

941 **MNKB** E (Cd) 208a4; **KCHKKHM-2** 258.14-16, 259.7-8; **KCHKKHM-3**; **CHBYMTNYP** 270a6-b3; **GBCHBY** 291.19-20: the items hidden here were religious troves (*chos kyi gter*) i.e. religious texts; whereas **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. XVIII (6. section entitled: *kha byang mdzod kyi lde mig rgyud las ka ba shing lo can*) 159.23-160.14: *sādhana* to avert hail (*ser ba*) etc.; **KCHKKHM-2** 255.4-13, incidentally, maintains that along the sides of the pillars with leaf-ornamented capitals, Swastika-Bon frescoes (*g.yung drung bon gyi rgyud ris*) were drawn. **GLR** and **HBCHBY** (JA) 47b5-6 concur in maintaining that precious objects were hidden there. dPa'-bo moreover maintains, *op. cit.* 48a3-4, that **Ka-bkol-ma** says that the troves hidden there were religious text-troves. Followed by the Vth Dalai Lama's **DTHZHG** 46.6-7 and **TSLKHKCH** 13a1; cf. previous note.

942 **MNKB** E (Cd) 208a4-5; **KCHKKHM-1** 784.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 258.19-259.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 270b3; **GBCHBY** 291.20; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. XVIII (7. section entitled: *kha byang mdzod kyi lde mig rgyud las ka ba sbrul mgo can*) 160.15-161.5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 47b6; **DTHZHG** 46.6-8; **TSLKHKCH** 13a1-2.

At the place near the pillar with a lion-head-shaped [capital] (*ka ba seng mgo can*) [the king's written] benedictions (*g.yang yig*) were hidden. The benefit of this [concealment]: The dairy breed (*bzhon phyugs*) multiplied and the dairy produce (*dkar thog bcud*) would be ensured.[943]

The precious *ratna deva* was inserted into a small chest of onyx (*gzi*) which was then rolled into five different sorts of silk-brocade and then hidden beneath [the statue of] Dzambha-la.[944] The benefit of this [concealment]: [It ensured] the occurence of all [kinds of] ornaments, cloth, riches and grain etc. *ad libitum* (*gang la ci 'dod*).

The precious *stag-sha deva* was covered with the hide from a snake and hidden in the Nāga-chapel.[945] The benefit of this [concealment]: The harvest and the cattle (*lo* [*thog dang*] *phyugs*) were [to be] bountiful and the rain [to be] timely (*dus su*), [wherefore] the harm [caused by] the spirits of the soil and the *nāga*-s were abolished.

The lapis-lazuli begging-bowl filled with unmeasurable kinds of food was hidden in the Yakṣa-chapel. The benefit of this [concealment]: The occurence of all one could wish for in terms of material comfort of food and drink, securing [for the Tibetans] nutritious food (*zas bcud*).[946]

If demolishment (*zhig ral*) were to threaten the [two] Ra-sa temple[s], then in order to [ensure their] restoration (*gso ba*) [in the future] and [to ensure] lasting offerings, a great kettle was filled with gold, silver, various sorts of precious objects, and [subsequently] hidden underneath a great *maṇḍala* whereafter prayers were offered to karmically favourably fated individuals.[947]

Furthermore, in order to ensure a bright territory, a seasonable rain, the harvest of sundry grains, the abolishment of drought, frost, hail, blight and famine and [in order to ensure] the abolishment of [any] damage [in form] of plague or of military [invasion from neighbouring] border-countries, [in order to ensure] the prosperity [to prevail] at all times and in [all] circumstances, [in order to ensure] the entire country to be permeated by felicity, previous objects, gold and silver etc. were wrapped up in sundry kinds of silk-brocade, inserted into a precious basket and then hidden [along] the inner circumambulation-circuit [in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang around] the *Yakṣa*-chapels, the *nāga*-chapels and the [other] chapels.[948]

These [details given here] are merely a resumé (*zur tsam*), so if you want to know in

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943 **MṆKB** E (Cd) 208a4; **KCHKKHM-1** 784.3-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 259.2-7: **KCHKKHM-3** 465.3-4; **GBCHBY** 291.21-292.1; **DTHZHG** 46.8: Underneath the *ka ba seng ge lag zan ma* treasuries were hidden [containing magic formula to] avert [evil]; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. XVIII (the 5. section entitled *gter byang mdzod kyi lde mig rgyud las ka ba seng ge can*) 159.9-22: Texts and items of *mthu*. **HBCHBY** (JA) 47b6-7 corroborates **GLR**, followed e.g. by **TSLKHKCH** 13a2.

944 **MṆKB** E (Cd) 208a6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 47b7; **TSLKHKCH** 13a2-3.

945 **MṆKB** E (Cd) 208a5-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 784.6-785.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 260.5-9: **HBCHBY** (JA) 47b7; **DTHZHG** 46.6-9; **TSLKHKCH** 13a1-3.

One version has it, that it was hidden in the thumb (*mthe bong*) of the Nāgarāja Buddha Bhagavat, after the precious *stag sha deba* had been covered by a piece of snake-hide and deposited in a small onyx-box.

946 **MṆKB** E (Cd) 208a6-b1; **KCHKKHM-2** 260.10-15; **HBCHBY** (JA) 48a1; **DTHZHG** 46.9-11.

947 I.e. hoping that they would find these treasuries sometimes in the future; **MṆKB** E (Cd) 208a5-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 784.4-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 259.16-260.5; **CHBYMTNYP** 271a1-2; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. XVIII, 156.7-11; **HBCHBY** (JA) 48a1-2; **DTHZHG** 46.9-10.

948 **KCHKKHM-2** 260.14-16, 261.8-262.7; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. XVIII (the 3. section entitled: *gter byang mdzod kyi lde mig rgyud las dkyil 'khor 'og*), 156.6-14; **HBCHBY** (JA) 48a2-3.

[even greater] detail the way how treasuries were concealed (*gter sbas lugs*), [you] may look [it] up in the **rGyal-po bKa'i thang-yig**![949]

Subsequently, the king spoke:[950] "The benefit from concealing these treasuries: The fame and renown of my temple would cover the place reached by the sun and the moon. In the world (*'dzam bu gling*) it is unrivalled. [The number of religious] trainees (*gdul bya*) [arriving here] and the [amount of] religious service will expand fully, all the [neighbouring] border-people will come under [our] dominion and the magnificence [of Tibet] will equal the sky. In the future, when my grandson, [his] queen, ministers and the entire Tibetan subjects [ever should] wish to erect temple[s], then [they] should make a first-offering of earth and stone (*sa phud dang rdo phud bskyal*) here at this Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang temple of mine, and the consecration would be accomplished spontaneously. [These temples] would [then] prosper and be endowed with numerous attributes without being obstructed by Māra or Vināyaka-s."

Then the king placed his hand on the head of the grandson Mang-srong mang-btsan at the plain of lHa-sa and [he] explained accurately the [content and meaning of the **sūtra** of] **sPang-skong phyag-brgya-pa**, **[Saddharma]Puṇḍarīkasūtra (mDo Padma dkar-po)**, **Saddharma Candradīpa (Zla-ba sgron-ma)**, the *sādhana*-cycle-s (*sgrub skor*) and the explanatory **tantra**-s (*bshad rgyud*) of the Avalokita[-cult], [his exposition denoted] the 'Revelation on the Hidden [for] the Future' (*Ma-'ongs-pa Gab-pa mngon-par phyung- ba*),[951] [how] to render service to [the sanctuaries in] lHa-sa, [how] to pay one's respect and [how] to make offerings [to the images inside the temples], [how] to circumambulate [the receptacles] and [he] demonstrated the merit of beholding, listening to, recollecting and of touching [the images], [how] to repair the outer embarkment (*phyi'i rags gso*) [along the sKyid-chu and gTsan-po river to prevent any *klu*-perpetrated inundations], and [finally explained to him] the benefit of rendering service to the images [found] inside [the temples].[952]

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949 This may refer to **rGyal-po bKa'i thang-yig** (also called **rGyal-po'i dkar-chag Thang-yig chen-mo**), *in casu* probably identifiable with **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. XVIII: *Ma-'ongs rgyal-brgyud nor skal sbas-pa dang sngags-'chang bla-mchod man-ngag rgyas btab-pa*, 153.1-208.18: This lengthy chapter consists of 44 minor sections (*le'u*) delineating the items of treasury concealed during the dynastic period at various locations, in the main but not exclusively within the period of Srong-btsan sgam-po. Alternatively, yet less likely, it may refer to an earlier, perhaps more detailed version of this latter text; cf. also **KCHKKHM-1** 785.1-6; whereas in **CHBYMTNYP** 271a2-b1, Nyang-ral states that the many details on the treasury-burying (cf. prev. note) may be looked up in the testament-scroll (*bka' chems shog ril*) [of the King] (but not = **KCHKKHM-2**, as it is equally fairly brief, an indication that **KCHKKHM-2** is probably not the long-sought large-sized proto-**KCHKKHM**, but without further material it is impossible to answer this interesting question properly). Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 48a3: **bKa' yi thang-yig**. Cf. finally note 500 *supra*.

950 Paralleled in **HBCHBY** (JA) 48a5-b3. Only dPa'-bo's version is in metrical form. The allusion in this passage to *sa phud* and *rdo phud* offerings being made here in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang when other temples should be erected naturally refers to king Ral-pa-can's erection of the temple at 'U-shang-rdo (cf. the notes 1445-1448). This suggests that this part of king Srong-btsan sgam-po's Vita, at the earliest, was composed at the time of this king.

951 Cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 276.8-12; **HBCHBY** (JA) 54a7. For the cycles of Avalokita, cf. note 490 *supra*. Both above sources do not mention the last source, i.e. **Gab-pa mngon-phyung**, for which see next Chapter, note 961.

952 Cf. briefer **HBCHBY** (JA) 48b3-5.

Cf. also note 1023ff. *infra*. The *puṇya*-rewarding enterprise of rendering service to Dharma, *in casu* by internally restoring the temple of Ra-sa and externally erecting embarkments etc. is

The son wrote down [the exposition given by the father] which was [then] hidden as a treasury in the Yakṣa-chapel.[953]

Furthermore, [the king] declared:[954] "In the fifth generation from me a king will appear [with the name-elements] *khri* and *lde*. At that time numerous *paṇḍita*-s will come from India and translate all [the books and writings] of Saddharma and [subsequently] put [these writings] in proper order. Many temples will be erected and the Teaching of Buddha will spread and propagate. The ordained [monks] will be fully ornamented by the [mastery of] the three disciplines and many [individuals] wearing the saffron-yellow victory banners (*ngur smrig gi rgyal mtshan gsol ba mang po*; robes, i.e. monks][955] will come into existence. [They shall] function as court chaplain (*dbu'i mchod gnas*) of my [future] grandson[s], their livlihood will be provided by the court (*'tsho ba bla nas sbyor*)[956] [whereby] all [kinds of] benefit and felicity will appear."

Minister mGar immediately wrote down [this prophetic declaration] on a copper tablet (*zangs kyi byang bu*) and subsequently concealed it in a trove at 'Phying-phu.[957]

Furthermore, [the king] propounded uncountable instructions relevant to world[ly affairs] successively to the minister of the exterior and interior and to the men and women of the Tibetan population down to the children and qua the generative [meditative] stage (*bskyed rim*, *utpannakrama*) of Mahākāruṇika [these instructions] were transferred into the

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repeatedly stipulated in the relevant literature. According to the transmission-line of **MNKB** (dKar-chag) 11b4-5, many of the text-holders of the king's Vita were known as embarkment-builders (*ra sa'i chu rags pa*).

953 **MNKB** E dKar-chag, 11a5-12a1 (no mention of the son, only its discovery); **HBCHBY** (JA) 48b5.

954 This is a somewhat contracted rendition (also with a different wording) of a prophetic testamentary proclamation given by the king and foreseeing the arrival of different kings and the development of Buddhism in Tibet during the rest of the dynastic period. The **MNKB** WAM (F + G) is replete with numerous similar, mainly versified, prophetic testaments, see mainly the next chapter, note 1044 *infra*.

The present brief prose-written testamentary manifesto is also found in **BZH** (Stein ed. 1.1-9, Chin. ed. 1.1-9 slightly different in wording); **YLJBCHBY** 54.11-55.1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 48b6-49a1 (metrical), 52b5-6 and 70b7-71a3. A prediction containing similar statements, mostly kept in metrical form, is found in other versions: **MNKB** E (Cd) 209b5-210a3, WAM (G) 21b6-22a3, 25b6-30b3; **KCHKKHM-1** 793.6-794.4; **KCHKKHM-2** 274.18-276.12, 278.13-289.5; **KCHKKHM-3** 469.7-470.6; **CHBYMTNYP** 273b6-284b3; **MBNTH** 76b4-77a3; **GBCHBY** 293.6-14; **DTHMPSM** 22a4-6.

955 Also in **BZH**, the same passage being cited in **HBCHBY** glosses *rgyal mtshan* with *na bza'*. The renunciates or monks (*pravrajyā*), as mentioned in the slightly lengthier version of the prophecy in the other versions, are also defined as *dbu reg* and *zhabs rjen*, i.e. tonsured and unshod. Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 51.5ff., Chin. ed. 59.13); **MBNTH** 120a2ff.

956 Cf. also Nel-pa **NGTMTPH** 10b1-2 (Uebach, 1987, pp. 100-101, nn. 463-464): *dbu'i mchod gnas* = *bla'i mchod gnas*, royal objects of veneration as Uebach translates, but this must be specified: royal or rather court (*bla*)-commissioned chaplains (*mchod gnas*). The same passage also mentions that two types of *mchod gnas* found: *lha* and *mi*, i.e. divine sanctuaries, i.e. idols, books, temples, or objects of Triratna and the human *mchod gnas*, here chaplains or priests. The term *bla*, rather that meaning just the king or even 'higher authorities' (Obrigkeit) more precisely refers to the power-executing court which also included the ministers.

957 **BZH** (Stein ed. 1.1-2, Chin. ed. 1.1-3); **YLJBCHBY** 54.18-55.1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 48b7-49a1, 52b5-6, 70b7-71a1.

Cf. note 1121 *infra*.

teaching of the Six-syllabic [formula].[958]*[959]

Furthermore, even the king's own biography was made in three [versions i.e.] a large, mediocre [and minor], and having made three text-rolls (*shog dril*) and concealed [them] underneath the pillar with the [capital] shaped like a vase (*ka ba bum pa can*).[960] Prayers were offered to karmically favourably fated individuals [to find them at a suitable time].

Then all the activities of the king and the queen were completed. [They] resemble parents providing hope for the population of Tibet, [they] resemble the caravan-leader rescuing the worldlings, [they] resemble a jewel, the origin of [all] wants and wishes and [they] resemble the impartial sun and the moon [shining on all alike]. Being wise in actions and means, no exterior enemy [threatens Tibet], being gracious and good, the domestic population is safeguarded. All the Tibetan subjects under [their] sway thus became wealthy and [lived] in comfort and joy.

The Concealment of Treasuries and the Conversion of all Tibetan Subjects to Buddhism in order to Ensure the Emergence of Benefit and Felicity.

958 Cf. briefly **HBCHBY** (JA) 49a1.

959 **gloss*: *This too had been written down by minister 'Bri Se-ru gong-ston in order to benefit the Tibetan subjects in the future.*

Acc. to **HBCHBY** (JA) 49a1, it was written down by Thon-mi.

960 **HBCHBY** (JA) 49a1-2: no mention of the king's testament; **TSLKHKCH** 13a4-13b1: underneath *ka ba shing lo can.*

XVII

[How] King [Srong-btsan sgam-po] and [his Two] Queens, Father and Mother[s], having fully Accomplished their Mission, were Absorbed into the Heart of [the Statue of] the Self-originated Eleven-faced [Avalokiteśvara]

Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ. Homage to the deity Mahākāruṇika.

The [following] morning (*nang par*),[961] when the sun had risen, prince Gung-srong gung-btsan,[962] [son of] king Srong-btsan sgam-po, the Protector of the Dharma and an incarnation of Mahākāruṇika [Avalokiteśvara], from the upper story of the topmost point [of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang] by using his own garment as a seat for his father, the great king, served [him] numerous dishes of food, paid [him] his respect and circumambulated [him respectfully], whereafter he addressed [him] with the following request:[963]

"Alas!
The karmic activity of all Buddha-s
The compassion of Amitābha
The messenger of Sukhāvatī
The refugium of the entire Tibetan population.

[I,] ordinary [being finally] came to meet [personally] with [you,] the Victor,
[You] who [perpetually] look upon all of us [mortals] with compassion;
Although [the mind of your's] appears to be a deep mind,
The compassion [in] truth [reflecting] Reality (*dharmatā*) (*chos nyid don kyi thugs rje*),
Without hiding [it] in the [profound] mind of the Victor,
[You] [instead] have disclosed the hidden (*gab pa mngon du phyung*) [nature of things and of your profound mind]:
Pray [O king] [therefore], be kind and demonstrate the self-manifestation (*rang snang*) and objectless (*yul med*) [Ultimate Nature of things (*chos, dharma*)];[964]
Pray, be kind and demonstrate the inconceivable (*blo 'das*) [state of things] and [its] [state of sheer] inactivity (*byar med = bya [ba]r med pa*);[965]

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961 The present chapter consists of a lengthy quote from a particular text-cycle which constituted a sort of religious and philosophical manifesto and legacy ascribed to king Srong-btsan sgam-po entitled **Ma-'ongs Gab-pa mngon-phyung** 'Revelation of the Hidden [for] the Future'. Cf. Appendix, note 961 for a fuller discussion. The chapter finally includes a narrative of the king's ritual absorption into the statue of his tutelary deity, the king's last act.

962 **MṆKB** WAṂ 12a3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 49b1-2.

963 The following versified request forwarded by prince Gung-srong gung-btsan is found faithfully embodied in **MṆKB** WAṂ (G) 12a4-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 49b2-4.

All three versions are, aside from minor variants, identical, consisting of sixteen seven-syllabic lines. The scene set here with the exchange of words between father and son is naturally intended to bear a strong resemblence to the exchange between a *bodhisattva* interlocutor and Buddha known from sūtric scriptures.

964 Cf. e.g. also **MṆKB** WAṂ (F) 12a2, **HBCHBY** (JA) 47a7: All the entities or phenomena (*dharma*) of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are self-manifested and non-referential (*var.* baseless; *'khor 'das gyi chos thams cad rang snang yul med* (*var.*: *gzhi med*)). For the term, *gzhi [rtsa] bral = stong ba nyid*, cf. Ehrhard, 1990, pp. 274, 289.

965 Cf. also **MṆKB** WAṂ (F) 12a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 49a7.

And yet even after [you] have demonstrated [this] in a genuine fashion,
Pray, [I] beg [you] to inculcate [this] in our mind (*blo la sbyar*)
Which has risen out of the power of the three bodies,
Residing [itself] in a state of inactivity (*byar med*)."

[I] [Revelation of the Hidden (*Gab-pa mngon-phyung*)]

Thus [he] requested while paying his respect. Then the king responded:[966]

"Great Devaputra, pay heed!
I am the karmic activity emboding all Buddha-s,
Further, [I have] taken my vow in the presence of Amitābha:
Qua [my] mental orientation [towards] Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) welfare to the Tibetan population will come about;
I and the Victor (Jina; Buddha) are non-dual;
[All] the worldlings are my trainees (*gdul bya, v[a]ineya*);
All ye are the blessing of Ārya [Avalokiteśvara];
The [following advices (*gdams pa*) of the] profound mental intent (*dgongs rgyud*) of the Victors
Are the vehicle (*lam steg[s]*) [leading anyone] to the paradise (*zhing khams*) of] Ārya[-Avalokiteśvara], but
The [instructions (*man ngag*) anent the] compassion which [in] truth (*don*) [reflects] Reality (*dharmatā*),[967]
Although it is improper to demonstrate [these precepts] to those [following] the Lesser Vehicle,
Out of a loving disposition, [I shall propound] the [following] Revelation of the Hidden [Nature] (*gab pa mngon phyung*) [of Buddha's intent]:

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966 This very lengthy versified exposé offered by the king and couched in a religious-philosophical diction of indubitable rDzogs-chen provenience is found almost uniformly transmitted in the other versions. The *locus classicus* is **MṆKB** WAM (G) 12a6-14a6, but it is also, parallel to **GLR**, repeated **HBCHBY** (JA) 49b4-51a1. Both **MṆKB** and **GLR** have one hundred and fifty-three lines (**GLR**: of which the initial three lines are nine-syllabic, the rest seven-syllabic; **MṆKB**: the sixteen first are nine-syllabic, the rest seven-syllabic) whereas dPa'-bo's version has one hundred and forty-seven lines (of which the three initial lines are nine-syllabic, the rest seven-syllabic; lacking six lines due to contraction). The versions are, aside from minor variants, totally identical. In the subjoined notes all essential variant readings have duly been registered. To note also is that we have occasionally included words and phrases into the text (and then always inserted within square brackets) being culled from the parallel **MṆKB**, added to our text in order to clarify a specific point in question.

967 For a lengthy *sādhana* on Great Compassion, cf. **MṆKB** E (D) 1b3-36a6, Mahākārunika or *mahākarunā* (*thugs rje chen po*) is found in two forms: As truly manifesting Reality itself (*chos nyid don kyi thugs rje chen po*) and as the emanationally manifested (i.e. active aspect) compassion (*thugs rje sprul pa'i thugs rje chen po*). These forms are then again further divided and discussed in details, pursuing tenets and using a diction in vogue in rNying-ma scriptures.

The paradise alludes to bDe-ba-can or the Sukhāvatī of Amitābha. The term *lam steg[s]* may in fact allude both to a resting-place and a vehicle or carrier.

Non-comprehension (*ma rtogs*) is the basis of [irreal] superimposition (*sgro* [*'dogs*], *samarōpa*) and [irreal] denigration (*skur* [*'debs*], *apavāda*);
For the shelterless ones (*skyabs med*) keep it ever secret (*ye gsang chod*)![968]
Retain the mind (*citta*) in the middle of the heart!
The [precepts (*gdams pa*) propounding the perfect] exhaustive state (*zad par* [= *sar*] *skyel*) of Reality (*dharmatā*), as well,
I shall demonstrate it accurately [to you], so pay heed!

The multifariousness [of phenomena] (*sna tshogs dag*) is [nothing but] sheer self-manifestation (*rang snang*);
The non-referential (*yul med*) [state] is transcendent (*blo las 'das*, **acintya*),
The transcendent [state] is [sheer] inactivity (*byar med*),
It rests in a state of conventional appearance (*ji bzhin pa*) [which ultimately reflects Reality];
Remaining [totally] non-fixed (*gnas pa med pa*) is the acme of leisure (*lhod pa'i mchog*);
[For] individuals comprehending accordingly:
To cut the discursive expansion (*spros pa*, *prapañca*)
[of] the endless [flow of concepts and imaginations]
Is [what] by name [is] called a view (*lta ba*).
To loose (*stor*)[969] the grasping of self-effulgence
Is [what] by name [is] called meditative cultivation (*sgom pa*).
To be without (*med pa*) absence of object[ives] (*don*)
Is [what] is by name called conduct (*spyod pa*);
To demolish the grasping of [what is to] be renounced (*spang* [*bar bya bar*]) and [what is to] be accepted (*blang* [*bar bya bar*])
Is [what] by name [is] called [true] fruit[ion] (*'bras bu*);[970]
To promote the welfare of the living beings effortlessly
Is [what] by name [is] called compassion (*thugs rje*);
Not to feel [any] weariness concerning that
Is [what] by name [is] called great[ness];
Working for the welfare of the sentient beings, without being defiled by [any] vice
Is [what] by name [is] called the Noble One (Ārya);
To exercise [full] control over compassion
Is [what] by name [is] called 'the Victorious One' (i.e. king (*rgyal po*);
To govern the world[lings] justly,

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968 **MṆKB** and **HBCHBY** read in lieu of *skyabs med* the karmic ill-fated ones (*skal med* [*las 'phro*] *rnams*), which perhaps is a better reading altogether. The phrase *ye gsang chod* is enigmatic, my tentative translation is a *pis-aller*.

969 **GLR** A/B: to empty (*stong*).

970 This fourfold division into *lta ba* (*darśana*), *bsgom pa* (*bhāvana*), *spyod pa* (*cārya*) and *'bras bu* (*phala*) is common-place within the rNying-ma and rDzogs-chen literature. Cf. e.g. **MṆKB WAM** (F) 5b5-6 and 8a5-9a5 and generally, Ehrhard, 1990, p. 74 *et passim*.

Is [what] by name [is] called 'rightous-mighty' (*srong btsan*);
Explaining whatever beneficial of the mind
Is [what] by name [is] called instruction (*gdams ngag*);
Leaving behind a memorandum (*brjed tho*)
Is [what] by name [is] called 'transmission of word' (*bka' brgyud*);
Guiding pious (*dang ba*) people
Is [what] by name [is] called 'science' (*gtsug lag*);
Releasing conceptualization (*rnam rtog*) spontaneously (*rang sar*)
Is [what] by name [is] called Buddha;
Conducting the sentient beings unto the path
Is [what] by name [is] called Saddharma;
To apply oneself without any activity (*byar med*)
Is [what] by name [is] called a monk (*dge slong, bhikṣu*)
To rest [in one's] own [natural] condition effortlessly
Is [what] by name [is] called inactivity;
To transform the conception of the ordinary [people] (*tha mal rtog pa bsgyur ba*)
Is [what] by name [is] called the generative stage (*utpannakrama, bskyed rim*) [in meditation];
The various forms of mental guidance
Is [what] by name [is] called to practise the *dharma*;
To cognize internally [what] is without basis (*rtsa bral nang du shes pa*)[971]
Is [what] by name [is] called understanding;
Having no more than one object[ive] and understanding
Is [what] by name [is] called single[ness].
[That which] is the unique own-nature (*ngo bo gcig pa*) [behind] the manifold[ness] [of phenonema]
Is [what] by name [is] called the Absolute Body (*dharmakāya*).
Pure vision (*dag snang*) assuming [the form of] deities,[972]
Is [what] by name [is] called the Enjoyment Body (*saṃbhogakāya*).
To guide [people] by sundry means
Is [what] by name [is] called the Emanational Body (*nirmāṇakāya*).
Apprehending naturally (*rang sa zin*) the non-discursive (*nirkalpanā*) [cognition of phenonema]
Is [what] by name [is] called immediate manifestation (*mngon 'gyur*).
As all appellations are [merely] name[-giving]
Abandon altogether the clinging to names!
As all thoughts are [merely the product of] the mind
Renounce altogether the *modus operandi* (*byed pa*) of the mind!
The so-called [expression]: 'Renounce!' [too] is [merely] a word,

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971 Translation and sense uncertain. Should *rtsa bral* be construed as *rtsal/rtsol bral*? or as *rtsa 'grel* (i.e. root (text) and commentary)? Or retain *rtsa bral* and conceive it as a contraction of *gzhi rtsa bral*, for which cf. e.g. Ehrhard, 1990, pp. 54, 274, 289.

972 **MṆKB**: *dag snang lha ru gsal ba la*; but **HBCHBY**: *rang snang lha ru shar ba la*. For the term *dag snang*, cf. Prats, 1982, p. 77; Ehrhard, 1990, p. 85.

So abandon altogether the clinging to words!
The so-called [concept]: 'Abandon!' [also] is [merely] mind [at work];
[So] conceal the workings of mind in the [ultimate] sphere (*dbyings*; i.e. [*dharma*]*dhātu*)!
The activity of concealment [itself] is an idea of [something of] good [use]:
[The unaffected state of mind] remains (*khad de ba*) without any [difference between] good and bad;
[Remains] distinct (*lha*[*ng*] *nge ba*) without any [actual] hiding and concealing;
Remains clear (*gsal le ba*) without [any actual] going and coming;
Remains plentiful present (*lhug ge ba*) without [anything] being rejected or accepted;
Dazzling (*phyam me ba* = *lcam me ba*) without [any spacial] partiality (*phyogs ris*);
Flowing together (*khyil le ba*) without giving or receiving [anything];
Being [spontaneously] distinct (*lhang nge ba*) beyond any [apparent] clarity or obscuration (*gsal 'grib med pa*);
Being alert (*tur re ba*/*cha le ba*) without any [recourse to mental] forgetful[ness] or diversion (*brjed yengs med pa*);
Remaining clear (*val le ba*) without any rejection or abandoning;

Regard the object which surpasses the mind!
Regard the word which surpasses the meaning!
Regard the object[ive] (*yul*)[973] which surpasses good and bad!
Regard the mind which is without [distinctions such as] outer or inner!
Regard the mind (*sems*) which is bereft of [distinctions such as] female and male gender!
Regard the mind which is devoid of grasping duality!
The so-called 'meaning' (*don*) is inconceivable (*blo las 'das*);
Without pursuing the track of [what has already been] passed (*'das pa*),
Regard the nature (*ngang*) devoid of intellect and word (*blo tshig*);[974]
[What in reality] is bereft of an object of regarding,
See Reality (*chos nyid*, *dharmatā*) by remaining [in a state] of non-regarding,
Let mind itself (*sems nyid*) establish [itself] by remaining [in a state] of non-realization!
[Letting the Absolute Nature] liberate itself spontaneously without grasping or giving [anthing] (*ma glod*)![975]

For an individual perceiving like that:
[He can say:] By me the duality of the cycle of transmigration (*saṃsāra*) and extinction (*nirvāṇa*) is not seen!

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973 *Var. lect.*: the cause/substance and sphere (*rgyu*, *dbyings*).

974 *Var. lect.*: *brjod tshig*.

975 *Var. lect.*: *glod pas*.

By me the duality of [being either] virtuous [or] sinful is not seen!
By me the duality of [being either] good [or] bad is not seen!
By me the duality of lasting and transitory is not seen!
By me the duality of happi[ness] and sorrow is not seen!
By me the duality of being [or] non-being is not seen!
By me the duality of close[ness] [or] remote[ness] is not seen!
By me the duality of [being] high [or] low is not seen!
By me the duality of [being] lucid or defiled is not seen!
From the very state (*ngang nyid nas*) of not seeing
The occurance of multifariousness [of phenomena] is the [ultimate] nature [itself] (*rang bzhin*),[976]
Leave the multifariousness [of phenomena] [as it is] without [attempting to] obstruct [it]!
Leave the multifariousness [of phenomena] [as it is] without [attempting to] grasp [it]!
Leave the multifariousness [of phenomena] [as it is] without [attempting to] reject or take [it]!
The multifariousness [of phenomena] being ungrasped is the Absolute Body (*dharmakāya*) [itself].
Un-obstructed transparency is the Enjoyment Body (*sambhogakāya*) [itself].
The absence (*bral ba*)[977] of the multifariousness [of phenomena] is the Emanational Body (*nirmāṇakāya*) [itself].
Devoid of the conceptualization of ordinary people (*tha mal rtog med*) is the Absolute Body (*dharmakāya*).[978]
To accept (*'dod pa*) the Reality (*dharmatā*) constitutes [what is being] ordinary.[979]
The transcendent (*blo las 'das*) [nature] is Reality (*de nyid = de kho na nyid, tattva*) [itself].
If [one] is bereft of craving (*'dod dang bral*), [one] meet with the object[ives] (*don dang phrad*).[980]
If [one] is liberated from grasping the duality [of phenomena], [one has] penetrated [to] the place [of Reality] (*gnas su brtol*).[981]
If [one] is bereft of rejecting and appropriating, one has attained the [paranormal] perfections (*siddhi*).
If [one] works for the welfare of beings, [one] has accomplished one's karmic [tasks].
If [one] is determined, [one] attains one's ends.
If no place to proceed to, that is penetration (*rtol ba*).

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976 **GLR** reads: *rang nyid*.

977 *Var. lect.*: liberation (*grol ba*).

978 *Var. lect.*: *chos nyid* (*dharmatā*).

979 Text, sense and translation here highly tentative.

980 **GLR**: *don dang bral*.

981 **GLR** B: *gnas su rtogs*.

For an individual [realizing] accordingly,
All cognition (*rig pa*) is self-cognition (*rang rig*);
All knowledge (*shes pa*) is self-knowledge (*rang shes*);
All liberation (*grol*) is self-liberation (*rang grol*);
All effulgence (*gsal ba*) is self-effulgence (*rang gsal*);
All emptiness (*stong*) is self-emptiness (*rang stong*);
All being (*'dug pa*) is self-being (*rang 'dug*);
All sojourning (*gnas pa*) is self-sojourning (*rang gnas*);
All happiness (*bde ba*) is self-happiness (*rang bde*);
All suffering (*sdug bsngal*) is self-suffering (*rang sdug*);
Everything is self-cognition (*rang rig*) and self-manifestation (*rang snang*) [of itself];
As there is nothing to be [mentally] cultivated, there is nothing to be thought over;
In the stream [of consciousness] there is nothing to be activated,[982] nothing to be diverted;
Nothing to be left behind, nothing to be abandoned;
Nothing to be forgotten, nothing to [cause] deranging;
The gnosis (*ye shes*) is uninterrupted;
In contemplation (*samādhi*) there is no intervals (*thun mtshams*);
[One will] find neither rejection and appropriating in objectification (*dmigs pa*);
Nor in conceptualization any [real] good or bad;
[One will] find no outer or inner in mental object[ive]s;
Nor [any] outer or inner in [what] is without any substance;
If one has given up [all] hope and fear, one is without error.
When [one] is without any craving, [one] shall not gain [anything];
By being effortless, one [can] cleanse [one's] faults;

When there is no person with [any] hope (*re mkhan*) for a fruit, that constitutes the very intent (*dgongs pa zhig*) of the Buddha.[983]

Since the thought and utterance [of Buddha] are inconceivable, it is beyond [the range of our] speech of expression. Consequently, when [one] attains self-dependency (*rang dbang thob*) [i.e. is totally free], the transmission [lineage] (*brgyud pa*) is [up]held by itself. The share of liberation (*grol cha*) [within one's own person] must be found from within [i.e. the heart].

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982 *Var. lect.*: *sbyar med*. Nothing to be applied.

983 The following lengthy passage - pursuing the king's religious manifesto denoted **Gab-pa mngon-phyung** - is couched in prose, but most likely in some earlier form, we have good reasons to assume that at least parts of it were formulated in verse. Reminiscences of this are retained in **GLR** A, which has rendered the lines by way of metrical *nyi shad*-s throughout, and rendered the passage in sets with different metrum. Its present form and its language moreover appear corrupt, which occasionally makes the argumentation or picture gained from this philosophical exposé unclear, and certainly the translation offered here most tentative. It is found faithfully preserved, with minor variants, in what must be assumed to be its original version in **MNKB** WAM (G) 14a6-15b3 but also rendered in dPa'-bo's **HBCHBY** (JA) 51a1-b6 (who, at places, have a slightly different punctuation).

Var. lect.: *re mkhan*: *re ba*; *dgongs pa*: *'dod pa*.

The mark of [dichotomy, i.e.] object and subject (*gzung 'dzin, grahya-grahaka*) [is] to be abolished. The manifested [world of] phenomena (*snang srid*) is to be known as the transmission of words (*bka' brgyud*). Practical behaviour [must] become a religious behaviour. [All] seeing and hearing belong to [the range of] the three bodies. Gnosis [shall] protrude from within. All afflictions (*nyon mongs, kleśa*) [shall] be expurgated [all] by itself (*rang sar dag*). Faith and devotion [must] enter itself (*rang la tshud*) [i.e. grow forth naturally]. The root of the cycle of transmigration (*saṃsāra*) and extinction (*nirvāṇa*) [should] be recognized as self-cognition (*rang rig*). Happiness and sorrow should be known as distinct recollections (*gsal 'debs*). The clinging to the self (*bdag 'dzin, atmagraha*) [finds] liberation in the Absolute Body (*dharmakāya*). By seeing the basis (*gzhi*) [properly], there is nothing [anymore] to [hold] views about (*lta ba*). By inquiring (*rtsad chod*) [properly], there remains nothing to be mentally cultivated. By retaining one's own place [i.e. leave everything in its own place], there remains nothing to be realized. By recognizing [the true nature of] one's own mind there is no Buddha[hood] [to be attained]. When analytic insight (*prajñā*) [itself] arrived self-manifested (*rang brdol du byon*), [the primeval nature of mind] remains transparently (*val po*) present with no trace (*rjes med du*).[984] Liberating (*grol ba = grol bas*) the multifariousness [of phenomena] unobstructedly, the perception (*tshor ba*) shall be cleansed (*sangs pas = sangs pa*) completely. When the cognition has assumed a state of [natural] bareness (*glan sar chags pa*),[985] liberation [consists in] beholding nakedly (*gcer mthong*) the Absolute Body. By pursuing cognition (*rig pa*) singularly (*rkyang ded du*), the non-dual body (*gnyis su med pa'i sku*) is left [behind] in a state of great self-manifestation (*rang snang chen po'i ngang la lus so*).[986] Since [the cognition] is self-originated, it is spontaneously manifested. Since [it] is transparent *per se* (*rang gsal*),[987] it has emerged in-depth transparent (*gting gsal*). Since [it] is self-manifested, [it] appears clear in light. Since [it] is self-cognition, [it] appears as Absolute Body. Since [it] is self-liberated, [it] appears promptly unobstructed (*zang thal du byung*).[988]

Moreover, while [the ultimate nature of things] is not self-made, is it [then] made [by] others? [No!]

While oneself cannot conceive [it], can [one then] find [it] [by] demonstrating (*mtshon*; or = *'tshol*, i.e. seeking it among others?) [it] to someone else? [No!]

When [you] do not know [it] [yourself], [how then] can [you] convert [other] sentient beings? [No!]

While [it] is beyond gathering and dispersion (*'du 'bral*), [then shall one] find it when one search for [it]? [No!]

Since there is no forth-going (*phyin pa*), [then can it be] grasped by staying (*bsdad pas zin*)?[989] [No!]

Since [it] is unsubstantial (*dngos po med par*), [then can it] be taken by hand? [No!]

As [it] is not beyond description, [then can it] be seen by the eyes? [No!]

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984 *Var. lect.*: **GLR** A/B: *brjed med du*.

985 *Var. lect.*: *brling bar chags, bslan sar chags*. Text, meaning and translation not transparent. On [g]*cer mthong*, a popular idiom also in rDzogs-chen, cf. Ehrhard, 1990, pp. 123-124.

986 **MNKB** has *gnyis med gnyis su med pa'i sku* and finally *'dus so* in lieu of *lus so*.

987 *Var. lect.*: *rang dangs*.

988 For the term *zang thal*, cf. also Ehrhard, 1990, pp. 257-258.

989 *Var. lect.*: *bdas*.

As oneself [already] possesses [it], in addition (*rang la yod pa'i steng la*)[990] [should it] be searched [for] among [others]? [No!]

Being transparent, [should it] in addition be regarded? [No!]

[Or] in addition to [already being] liberated, [should] it [undergo] decay? [No!]

In addition to [already] being [intrinsically] pure, should [it be] washed? [No!]

While [already] filling [one's] thirst (*ngoms pa*),in addition [need it] be drunk? [No!]

While [already] satiating [one's hunger], in addition [need it] be partaken of? [No!]

While [already] warming, in addition [need it] be taken on (*g[y]on*)?[991] [No!]

While [already] being known, in addition [need it] [to make] dim (*'thoms*)?[992] [No!]

Thus, since mind (*sems*) is [intrinsically] bereft of causes and conditions, [it] is devoid of an intellect [preoccupied with] perseverence and acquisition (*rtsol sgrub kyi blo*), so can unsubstantiality be restored by its antidote [i.e. substantiality] (*dngos med la gnyen pos bcos su 'dug gam*)? [No!]

By not seeing the manifestations of being and non-being (*yod med kyi snang ba ma mthong bas*),[993] the manifestations (*snang ba*)[994] of eternalness and nihilism are spontaneously purified.

Having been liberated [from] the grasping of duality, the extremities of hope and fear are given up [altogether].[995]

[Any] clinging to attachment (*zhen 'dzin*) having been librated from [deep] within (*nang nas*),[996] the unoriginatedness [of the mind and entities] is apprehended spontaneously [all by itself] and the non-conceptualization (*rtog med*)[997] [of the ultimate nature] being seen (*mthong*)[998] from within, the fiendish obstructions [of mind] are tamed spontaneously.

Now accordingly, a cognition (*rig pa*) being vast (*rgya yan*) [in extent] and being without [any need of] an antidote (*gnyen po med pa*) is said [to refer to] the activity of the self-manifestation of gnosis.

Non-conceptualization resting in its own [true] state (*rtog med rang lugs gnas pa*) is said to [mean] being without any[thing] to give up or any[thing] to accept.

A gnosis emering from [deep] within [spontaneously] is said [to mean] the self-liberation of conceptualization (*rnam rtog rang grol*).

The inconceivable [state beyond] affirmation and negation (*yin min*) is said to [mean] being bereft of refuting and proving (*dgag sgrub bral ba*).

To identify (*ngos zin pa*) [one's] endeavour (*'bad rtsol*) is said to [mean] the wave[-like] gushing forth of the ultimate Reality (*chos nyid klong rdol*).[999]

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990 *Var. lect.*: *rting* [*la*] throughout.

991 **GLR**: *sreg*. Also feasible.

992 *Var. lect.*: *thos*; **GLR**: *'thams*, i.e. to grasp (mentally). Equally feasible?

993 **MNKB**: *yod med kyi snang ba ma mthong bas*; **HBCHBY**: *yong med kyi blo dang bral bas*; **GLR**: *long med kyi snang ba ma thos pas*. The graphemes *la* and *ya* are commonly confounded in *dbu med* Mss, which probably account for these variants.

994 *Var. lect.*: *zug rngu* or grief.

995 *Var. lect.*: *sangs*.

996 *Var. lect.*: *rang sar* [*grol*].

997 *Var. lect.*: *rtog 'dzin*.

998 *Var. lect.*: *thengs*.

999 **HBCHBY** adds: *med par zin pa*. For *klong* [*brdol*], cf. Ehrhard, 1990, pp. 258-59.

The unoriginated[ness] of the spontaneity is said [to mean] the self-emergence of fruition [i.e. Buddhahood].

Now accordingly,[1000] [at this point] [mundane] understanding (*go ba*) and [yogic] comprehension (*rtogs pa*) [become in fact] simultaneous.

Cognition and liberation [become] simultaneous. Transparency and seeing [become] simultaneous.

Adhersion (*'byar*) and (*reg pa*) touching [become] simultaneous.

Moistening (*brlan pa*) and wetness (*gsher ba*) [become] coincident.

Now, an individual cognizing accordingly,[1001]

> Be clothed in the [garb of the] sky by being impartial in question of dogmatism (*lta ba*)!
> Lift up the sun by being without transparency or obscuration in terms of mental cultivation (*sgom pa*)!
> Ride the wind by being unimpeded (*thogs brdug med*) in terms of conduct (*spyod pa*)!
> Behold the golden continent by [having an attitude] bereft of accepting or rejecting fruition (*'bras bu*)!

[In reality, however,] for an individual (*gang zag*)[1002] comprehending [the ultimate nature] accordingly:[1003]

> View-points are never to be nurtured (*lta ba la bltas rgyu gda' ye*)!
> Comtemplation is never to be cultivated (*bsgom pa la bsgom rgyu gda' ye*)!
> Conduct is never to be exercised (*spyod pa la spyod rgyu gda' ye*)!
> Fruits are never to be realized (*'bras bu la bsgrub rgyu gda' ye*)!

Consequently: Let cognition fall [back] upon [its own] nature (*rig pa gshis thog du sgyel*)![1004] Dismiss the marks [of duality] into self-liberation! Destroy the grasping of external and internal [things]! Renounce the acceptance and rejection of good and bad [altogether]! Release the clinging to passion! Give up (*thong*) self-pride [which is conducive

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1000 The following set of collateral sentences may well, similar to the previous passage, originally have been metrical, resp. seven-syllabic and ten-syllabic. This may be adduced from **GLR** A where each line is framed by *nyi shad*. It is retained in prose in both **MNKB**, **HBCHBY** and in **GLR** B also, wherefore we have refrained here from conducting any editorial reshuffling.

1001 Cf. previous note. In this ten-syllabic quatrain the topic is the fourfold division into *lta ba*, *sgom pa*, *spyod pa* and *'bras bu*.

1002 **GLR** A/B: yogin (*rnal 'byor*).

1003 Cf. the previous notes. I construe it as a seven-syllabic quatrain. Noteworthy is also the genuine classical diction.

1004 The following sentences were also originally conceived to be in metrical form, but a some point in the transmission of this segment of the king's manifesto, it was converted into prose. Cf. also previous notes. **GLR** A/B read: *sgyel*, *var. lect.*: *skyol*. Equally possible.

to] self-complacency![1005] Release (*khrol*) jealousy [which is conducive to] a competitative spirit![1006] Extinguish the great fire of hatred (*dveṣa*)! Cleanse away the un-knowing (*ma rig pa sangs*)[1007] [conducive to] nescience (*gti mug*, *moha*)! Remain undistractedly [present] in a state of [utter] inactivity! [Make sure to] seal away in the heavenly dimension (*nam mkha'i dbyings su rgyas thob*; i.e. do away with) the mind that clings to duality! Leave [the ultimate nature of] things in [its] own place without [taking recourse to] cultivation!

Now, an individual [comprehending] accordingly:[1008]

If [you] cultivate (*bsgom*) [mentally] the [visionary] generative stage (*utpannakrama*, *bskyed rim*) transform [yourself] into [the form of] the personal tutelary deity (*yi dam lha*)![1009]
If [you] recollect the perfecting stage (*niṣpannakrama*, *rdzogs rim*) eliminate the mark of object-subject (*gzung 'dzin mtshan ma zhig*) [dichotomy]!
If [you] seek a unity [in this dichotomy], behold the rainbow [of] the intermediate sphere (*bar snang 'ja' tshon*)!
If [you] observe the meaning and understanding (*don go mthong*), remain without worldly concern (*tha mal chos med sdod*)![1010]
Until [you] see [Reality properly], rely on the teacher transmitting the word (*bka' brgyud bla ma*)!
If [you] practise Dharma, renounce [thereby] attachment to one's own wishes!
If [you] seek the armour of intrepidity (*mi 'jigs go cha*), transform the three doors [of communications] into deities!
If [you want to] promote the welfare of other [people], generate a benevolent attitude towards the worldlings!
If [you] realize [your] own objective, renounce the bustle and diversions [of worldly affairs]!
If [you] tame foes and obstructions (i.e. devils, *vighna*), generate limitless (*rtsa bral*) compassion![1011]

1005 *Var. lect.*: Cut off (*chog*)!

1006 *Var. lect.*: Postpone (*bshol*)!

1007 *Var. lect.*: Remove the darkness (*mun pa sol*)...!

1008 Like the previous passages, the following metrical segment is found almost identically (aside from minor variants, duly noted) transmitted and embodied in the two other witnesses. **MNKB WAM** (G) 15b4-16a1 holds nineteen lines (the two penultimate lines being seven-syllabic, ten nine-syllabic and seven eleven-syllabic lines); **GLR** has eighteen lines (the penultimate line being seven-syllabic, the rest nine-syllabic) and **HBCHBY** (JA) 51b6-52a2, where dPa'-bo in his version has eighteen lines of which ten are nine-syllabic and seven eleven-syllabic.

1009 *Var. lect.*: *snang srid lha* in lieu of *thugs dam lha*. The difference is notable, while the alternative would mean: Transform the visible world [of phenomena] into the god. In the next verse *var. lect.*: the grasping of duality (*gnyis 'dzin*) instead of *gzung 'dzin*.

1010 **GLR** reads: *tha mal chos mi ltos*, i.e. Do not behold worldly concerns!

1011 The phrase *rtsa bral thugs rje* is not entirely clear. The equation rootless = limitless (*tshad med*, *mtha' bral*) i.e. compassion is tempting, but at best doubtful. Possibly it alludes to the compassion,

If [you] seek the fruit of happiness [of] the subsequent [existences], then practice austerities in the present [existence]!
If [you] want to embrace [the entire] world, [then] act more lovingly against others than towards yourself!
If [you] show indifference (*snyoms las dran*)[1012] [towards the world], [then as an antidote] reflect on the transitoriness [and] mortality [of existence]!
If [you] cling to passion and attachment, [then as an antidote] contemplate (*bsgom*)[1013] on [the world of phenomena as mere reflections of] a dream and an illusion!
If [you] become frightened of the devil [Māra] [causing] obstruction, [then] set [your] own mind in order (*gtan la phob*) [i.e. hold it]!
If [you] act in accordance with Dharma, give up all immoral [i.e. non-religious things] (*chos min*)!
Not only is there nothing aside from joining me![1014]
But also nothing [superior (*lhag pa*)][1015] than meeting with other Buddhas."

[Thus] the king,[1016] the Dharmapāla having disclosed the intent (*dgongs pa mngon du phyungs pa*) [of the Victors][1017] at the very same time liberated everybody, [i.e.] the devaputra,[1018] the ruler and [his] subjects unto the continent (*gling du*)[1019] of great self-liberation, the self-manifestation of Reality (*dharmatā*) without [needing to demonstrate any] exertion or labour.

Simultaneously, just like people perceive one another [in everyday life], [the persons present] [clearly] envisaged the countenances of the Noble Ones [i.e. the Buddhas], without there [really] being any object being seen or subject seeing (*mthong bya mthong byed med par*), without there being any counsel [given] for the present or the subsequent [existences], without there being [any choice of] good or bad concerning the cycle of transmigration (*saṃsāra*) or extinction (*nirvāṇa*), nor any rejection or acceptance concerning happiness versus misery.

Thus, [the king thereby] secured [i.e. manifested] all the people [present] in the thought of self-liberation and self-manifestation of cognition[1020] without there [actually] being any

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seen as the active aspect of *gzhi* (and *gzhi rtsa bral*), the basis = ultimate nature of all phenomena. Cf. e.g. Ehrhard, 1990, pp. 128, 244, 289.

1012 *Var. lect.*: *sgyid soms ngang la las*.

1013 *Var. lect.*: *ltos* or *sbyongs*.

1014 **HBCHBY** adds *yun tu*. The additional line in **MNKB** reads: *nga dang bral yang de las med*.

1015 **GLR** A adds: *lhag pa*.

1016 For the following prose-passages: **MNKB** WAM (G) 16a1-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 52a2-5. Aside from the usual minor variants, the passages, like other narrative segments, are verbatim congruous.

1017 As we have seen at the inception of this chapter, the king evinces the intent of the Jina, and thereby of himself. **HBCHBY** renders *thugs brnag* instead of *dgongs pa*.

1018 Interestingly, the version of **MNKB** here leaves out *lha sras*, whereas dPa'-bo has *dbon sras*, grandson, which in this context is a better reading altogether.

1019 *Var. lect.*: *klong* (*glong*, sic) *du*, i.e. into the expanse or dimension of. Possiby a better, at least feasible, reading.

1020 *Var. lect.*: *rig pa rang gsal ba*.

[object] to be settled or [any] subject settling (*dgongs pa la gzhag bya dang bzhag byed med par*).

Next, all [present], the Devaputra[-prince],[1021] the ruler and [his] subjects rejoiced and showed [their] grateful[ness] by pleasing the father, the king [Srong-btsan sgam-po] with an extensive [range of] outer and inner offerings.[1022]

Then again, for a moment the father, the king himself was absorbed in thoughts (*dgongs pa la bzhugs*), and refraining [initially] from uttering anything, [his] eyes [kept] gazing into the intermediate space (*spyan bar snang la khrol khrol mdzad*). He then spoke accordingly:[1023]

> Alas! (*a sam*)[1024] Jinaputra,[1025] pay heed!
> Once, at the end of time,[1026]
> lHa-sa, this my place of residence [i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang],
> [Topographically] even resembling a fish, a frog, a tadpole and a monkey:[1027]
> Will gradually be cut off [i.e. flooded and destroyed] by water.[1028]
> When [it is configured] like a fish, it is the own-nature of the Mother of the Victor:[1029]

1021 **HBCHBY** has *dbon sras*, grandson, i.e. Mang-srong mang-btsan.

1022 **MṆKB** and **HBCHBY** add: [*bla mar khur*] *yang 'dzin pa* [*ci yang*] *mi mnga'*.

1023 The following metrical segment is found identically transmitted, aside from minor variants, in the distinct versions: **MṆKB** WAM (G) 16a5-17a1, which holds forty-two almost exclusively nine-syllabic lines; **HBCHBY** (JA) 52a5-b4, where dPa'-bo has forty-one lines again dominantly nine-syllabic with a few seven-syllabic verse-lines interspersed. **GLR** has forty-three almost excl. nine-syllabic lines.

Cf. Appendix, note 1023 for a fuller discussion of this interesting narrative tradition.

1024 Interj. *a*[*g*] *sam*, = *a tsa* [*ma*];

1025 **MṆKB**: Devaputra.

1026 Lacking in **HBCHBY**. Possibly alluding to the Kaliyuga.

1027 **MṆKB** and **HBCHBY**: *pir* in lieu of *sprel*. The symbolic configuration through these animals were doubtless to be taken at *face value* as seen below.

1028 Cf. Appendix, note 790 and 952 *supra* and 1517 *infra*, where the *bstan snubs* or the elimination of Buddha's Teaching by Glang-dar-ma in some sources is depicted to cause the ensuing acquatic destruction of Lhasa.

1029 Here is reference to the Mother (*yum*), the female counterpart of the Victor, here the Tathāgata Buddha Akṣobhya (Mi-'khrugs-pa/Mi-skyod-pa), called (Prajñā) Locanā or Sangs-rgyas sPyan-ma. She is the Goddess (lHa-mo) of the water element (*chu'i khams*), and as such, as here, synonymous with this element.

The following line which in **GLR** reads: *ras ris phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dngos dang 'dra*, displays the following *var. lect.*: *ras bris* and *rang ri*[*g*]*s*. To be preferred is *rang rigs*, perhaps better emended to *rang gis*. The third line reads in **GLR**: *nya 'dra kha ru de dag su yod pa*. *Var. lect.* for the last four words: *sems can sus 'ongs*.

These ensuing cryptic lines are possibly to be understood accordingly: The merit acquired by people building dykes or, alternatively?, partaking of? the water during the site's fish-resembling, i.e. its pisciform or ichthyoid configurative stage, for them this is (in merit) tantamount to meeting the Buddhas in person. The Jina or Buddha rendering service to the Jina may allude to the above rapport between Mi-bskyod-pa, or here even Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, the principal image, moreover, of

It is tantamount to meeting oneself the actual Buddha[s] of the ten directions;
The Victor (Jina) rendering service to the Victor;
Whoever arrives atop the fish-resembling [site] (*nya 'dra kha ru de dag sus 'ongs*);
[For them] there [will] be no difference to touching [i.e. partaking of] the Mother of the Victor [i.e. the water];
[Being karmically disposed to] this too, [is due to] having cultivated [merits through studying and listing to the above teachings] in previous times (*de yang sngon du sbyangs pa song ba yin*), [so]
[For him] the miseries[1030] of the cycle of migration have reached [their] end;
[So] [you among my] Tibetan subjects who are [endowed] with purposeful efforts (*'bad pa don can*),
[Gather] [any] stone (*rdo*, small pebbles (*gseg ma*)) [or] clay about [the size of] a bird's egg,[1031]
[He who] piles up [these small items as dyke-material] in the direction of this [i.e. gTsang-po river],
[Shall] secure benefit (*sman pa byas pa*) [i.e. contribute to protect] the Buddhas [i.e. the idols inside the temple];
The one [displaying such a meritious conduct], [he shall be] entering the path [leading] to happiness;
At the time those of [noble] descent [such as] me (*nga'i rigs can*) who have been exhorted by me;[1032]
When [lHa-sa is configured] like a fish, [the site] [shall] be bedecked (*sgron*) like [being installed] with a fin (*gshog*)
When resembling a frog, [the embarkment] [shall] be put on (*b[s]kon*) like [being dressed with] a hat;[1033]

'Phrul-snang (cf. note 879 *supra*) and his female counterpart (*yum*) sPyan-ma in union. For any individual that arrives at the site, for him there would be no difference from touching the Goddess of the element water, i.e. drinking it.

1030 *Var. lect.*: *du kha.*

1031 **GLR**: *rdo am gseg ma 'jim pa*; *Var. lect.* better: *sa'am rdo'am' 'jim pa.* I.e. by erecting a rideau from stones and alluvium.

1032 **GLR** reads *nga yi rigs/rig can rnams kyis b[s]kur ba'i tshe. Var. lect.*: *nga yis rigs can rnams bskul ba'i tshe.*

Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 152a5, 152b6-7: When the right arm of the gTsang-po is stretching out, the water between the two lHa-sa [temples] will expand, then the dry-land resembles a fish or the core part of a sling (*'ur thog* [= *rdo*] *gi mthil*) being oblong in form. This is the Klu-rgyal (Nāgarāja) Dung-mgrin at play. [The statement that]: "When lHa-sa resembles a fish dressed (*sbron* = *sgron*?) with a fin (*gshog*)" means that the right arm [of the river] must be blocked by an embankment, [and the Nāgarāja causing any inundation shall be suppressed by] building an auspicious multi-portal (*bkra shis sgo mangs*) *caitya.*

1033 *Var. lect. krog* in lieu of **GLR**: *gshog* and *sbron* instead of **GLR**: *bsgron*. Preferred reading and translation optional and hence tentative.

Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 152b7-153a1: When the gTsang-po river has been divided into halves [into two branches, gTsang-chu and sKyid-chu?], [the lHa-sa site shall] have three dry areas. [The

When [the lHa-sa site] resembles a tadpole, [the embarkment] [resembles] a seat spread out;[1034]
At the time [when the embarkment-system] has assumed the form of a monkey (*sprel*),[1035]
Prepare grand-scale offerings, while
It is preciously [important] [to show] devotion and to offer up prayers (*mos gus gsol 'debs gces pa yin*).
If acting accordingly, [the place of lHa-sa] will remain for a little while;[1036]
If you restore the statues [installed] inside [the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang], it will prove beneficial for the outer embankment (*phyi yi rags*) [protecting the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang from inundation];
If you restore the outer embankments, it will [eventually] expand the statues [installed] inside [in number];
If you prepare offerings and offer up prayers
All the aspirations of the Tibetan population will come true;
Although much evil practice may take place at the end of time;
The people who behold, listen to and touch [the statues and sanctuaries] of my lHa-sa [temples],
Will to a large extent be freed from the places [of] the cycle of migration;
Moreover, this is the compassion of the Noble Ones [i.e. the Victors];
And be the merit [accumulated] by my Tibetan population;
Therefore, [all] my patrons (*skyabs gnas*), male or female,
May [you all] generate [true] courage effortlessly!
May you [be blessed] to behold, listen to and touch [the receptacle and sanctuaries] of my lHa-sa![1037]
This moreover will be [tantamount to] entering the path [leading] to

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statement that]: "At the point when lHa-sa resembles a tadpole [*sic*, not frog] [the embarkments must] be put over [the area] like a hat" means that [this batrachoid site] shall be enclosed from the neck in three corners. Etc.

1034 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 153a1-2 for details on this batrachoid stage in the topographical evolution of the lHa-sa site.

1035 *Var. lect*: *pa rit* and *pir* instead of *sprel*. Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 153a2-3 for details on the simiad phase.

1036 As is further delineated by dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 153a1-154a4, basing himself upon an exposition conserved in an early (*snga ma*, original?) **Yer-pa'i dkar-chag**, it is declared how lHa-sa ('Phrul-snang) is the life-tree of Tibet (accounting for the fact why service and restoration must be rendered to the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang/Jo-khang at any cost), Yer-pa, in turn, is the life-tree of lHa-sa, wherefore to render service and practice meditation in Yer-pa will ensure that Buddhism will be present in lHa-sa (= Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang) for a long time and that the site will be safeguarded from any harass or peril caused by the nature of the elements etc. The overall picture is not entirely clear, but it appears, as already detailed *ad* Appendix, note 790, that the lHa-sa Yer-pa or Brag Yer-pa district, similar to the abutting Mal-gro district, lying further upstream the sKyid-chu river, was depicted to play a vital role in connection with the duration and preservation of the central lHa-sa site. Cf. Appendix, note 1036 for further details.

1037 **MṆKB** and **HBCHBY** read Ra-sa, which possibly documents the antiquity of the text of **Gab-pa mngon-phyung**.

liberation;
[Anyone] who takes pleasure in rendering service to my [sanctuaries and receptacles of] lHa-sa,[1038]
While wanting to realize whatever accomplishments
And wanting to remove all misfortunes,
[For him] all intentions shall be fulfilled *ad libitum*;
Pray, ask the Victors for whatever [you may] wish for."

[With these] words, the father, the great king addressed the devaputra-prince. [Further]:[1039] "Great Devaputra! Once [upon a time] when lHa-sa is endangered by water, repair will be found to be necessary. Therefore, as means (*theb* = *thabs*)[1040] for its [future] restauration (*zhig gsos*), bury precious treasuries [full of] gold, silver etc.!" Consequently, the devaputra-prince too treasury-buried simultaneously a [great] amount of riches such as precious treasuries, gold and silver and [provident] means [usable] for rendering service to [the receptacles and sanctuaries of] lHa-sa under the lower part of a silk-dress (*dar sham*) [swept around] the right thigh (*brla g.yas*) [of the statue] of Yakṣa Nāga-Kubera [in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang].[1041] [He] then offered up extensive prayers directed towards karmically blessed individuals (*las dang skal dang ldan pa*).[1042] This [prince] moreover worked for the welfare of the beings [living] in the southern and western directions.

[Thus] king Srong-btsan sgam-po [offered] his advices (*gdams pa*) in [form of] a "Revelation of the Hidden" (**Gab-pa mngon-phyung**).[1043]

[II] [The Ritual Apotheosis of the King and his Two Consorts]

Now,[1044] the Dharmarāja [Srong-btsan sgam-po] held the throne for seventy years in all,[1045]

1038 Cf. previous note.

1039 The last part is also retained in **MṆKB** WAṂ (G) 17a1-2 and **HBCHBY** (JA) 52b4-6.

1040 **HBCHBY**: *cha rkyen*.

1041 Cf. **MṆKB** E (dKar-chag), 11a5-b1; **MṆKB** WAṂ (G) 17a1, but esp. (somewhat out of context), 11a4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 149a6-b1; Vth Dalai Lama's **gSan-yig**, III, 131.1-5, 150.1 (= 66a1-5, 75b1). For Kubera, the Protector of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, cf. note 896.

It is maintained that this cycle (*skor*) of advices or instructions, incl. the **Gab-pa mngon-phyung**, was unearthed from this place by rJe-btsun Shākya bzang-po and then handed over to lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum. **Gab-pa mngon-phyung**, like other parts of king's teachings (*chos skor*), was concealed in Ra-sa. Padmasambhava then found them in the IXth century, disclosing them to King Khri-srong lde-btsan. Later, this cycle was revealed from its present hiding-place by Shākya 'od (or Shākya bzang-po).

1042 Hoping that they in the future will find these hidden treasuries. Cf. also previous note.

1043 Cf. note 961 *supra*.

1044 The last deed of the king, the ritual departure or 'apotheosis' of king Srong-btsan sgam-po and his two principal consorts by way of absorption into the personal tutelary Eleven-headed image (for this idol cf. note 801 *supra*) is reproduced in a number of sources. It is found in numerous versions of the King's Vita as seen below, and as explicitly stated by dPa'-bo, aside from the **KCHKKHM** and **Gab-pa mngon-phyung** (cf. note 961) also in the non-extant **Thang-yig** (cf. note 949) as well as to be gleaned from a source denoted **Mya-ngan-'das chung**, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 54a7ff. In **MṆKB**

ruling the [entire] kingdom. [He] had ensured that the Teaching of Buddha had risen like the sun, had ensured that a rain of sensual objects and material comfort had fallen and [thus] established the entire Tibetan population [firmly] in [a state of] happiness. [Having then reached] an age of eighty-two, in the iron-male-dog year,[1046] on the tenth day of the month *kārtika* (*smin drug*), in the northern chapel of [Ra-sa] 'Phrul-snang, in front of [the statue] of Ārya Avalokita, the emanantional king Srong-btsan sgam-po [took up position],[1047] having on his right the Nepalese queen (Bal-mo-bza') and to the left the Chinese queen (rGya-mo-bza'), behind [him] the queen Mong-bza' Khri-lcam, at the feet [his] grandson (*dbon sras*) Mang-srong mang-btsan, in front the ministers Thon-mi and mGar, the two, and as door-keepers to the exterior of the temple Zhang-blon sNa-chen-po and sBas lCang-dpal gyi legs-bzang,[1048] the two, [functioned] as door-guards, [all] carrying numerous items of worship. [Then] the king in the presence of [the statue of] his personal tutelary deity presented [his] offerings and offered up prayers.

The king then addressed his grandson:[1049] "Son of Noble Family! I have ruled [my] kingdom in accordance with the religious law, and propagated the Buddhist Teaching, whereby the Tibetan population has been brought to [a state of] happiness. You too must uncorruptedly safeguard this realm of mine in accordance with Dharma! You must render [ample] service to these my two temples [located here in lHa-sa] and enlarge [them]! Take over this palace of mine which resembles the abode of the gods and protect it! [In your deportment] act like parents [do towards their children] upon whom the queens of mine, the ministers and the entire Tibetan population can look in hope and embrace [them] with welfare and happiness!

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yab-yum thugs-khar thim-lugs.

MNKB WAM (G) 17a5ff. delineates three modes of departure (*sku gshegs pa'i tshul*) for the passing of the royal couple: According to those of the highest comprehension, the royal couple's passing was tantamount to an invitation to the Me-tog Padma'i gling by the *dākinī*-s. To those of mediocre intellect, the father and his consorts departed into the heart of the image, as delineated here describing the background and circumstances prior and during his ritual absorption (*thim pa*) into his image. To the individuals of inferior comprehension, they disappeared or passed away in 'Phan-yul, cf. note 1086.

1045 **HBCHBY** (JA) 53b7 also mentions that Srong-btsan sgam-po took over the reins of rule when thirteen and that he ruled for seventy year. Cf. next note.

1046 This entry corresponds to 650 A.D. which fits neatly with historic facts, such as Dunhuang and T'ang *Annals*, he died in 649, but 650 A.D. is often conceived as the actual year of his passing due to the fact that it was the year it was publicly announced or recorded according to Chinese sources. This date is probably taken over by Bla-ma dam-pa from Rin-chen-grags' **rGya'i deb-ther** (cf. note 1467). Reaching the age of eighty-two would place his birth in 569 A.D. (earth-ox year). But Bla-ma dam-pa is in conflict with his own notes, while he states (cf. note 449 *supra*) that the king was born in a fire-ox year (557 or even 617 A.D.), which in this light arguably should be rectified to the above earth-ox year. Cf. Appendix, note 1046 for further discussions.

1047 **MNKB** E (Cd) 209a6-b2, WAM (G) 17a6-b1; **KCHKKHM-2** 272.11-273.8; **CHBYMTNYP** 273b2-5; **MBNTH** 76a1-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 54b2-4 (citing and following **KCHKKHM**); **GBCHBY** 293.3-6.

In a number of the above Vita-narratives the present absorption of the king and his consorts follows right after the invitation of the the king to make a sightseeing of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang offered by Khri-btsun (cf. note 871). For the statue, cf. note 801 *supra*.

1048 Cf. the notes 502 and 507 *supra*. **KCHKKHM-2** and **HBCHBY** only mention minister sNa-chen.

1049 **HBCHBY** (JA) 54a1-2; verbatim totally identical.

In the fifth generation after me,[1050]
A emanational embodiment of Mañjuśrī,
A king named *lde* will appear;[1051]
He too will spread Saddharma.
From him in the second generation,
An emanational embodiment of Vajrapāṇi
A king named *khri* will appear;[1052]
He too will spread Saddharma.
After him an emanational embodiment of Māra,
A king carrying the name of an animal will appear[1053]
His heart having been obsessed by a devil (*graha*)
[He] will overthrow [our] temples and annihilate Saddharma,
Besides taking the lifes of Basket-holders (*piṭakadhara*-s, i.e. learned Buddhist);
Subduing and eliminating everyone practicing the Dharma;
Burning all [religious] books
By this twirling-stick (*dkrugs shing*; i.e. disturber) of the Teaching of Buddha
The *guru*-s and the teachers (*ācārya*) [shall] be enslaved;
The renunciates (*pravrajyā*; i.e. monks) and the revered ones (*bhadanta*) deprived of the Dharma;
The spiritual friends (*kalyāṇamitra*) [will] be committed to butchery (*shan pa bcol*);
The dress of a Buddhist thrown into the water;
Religious objects of the three receptacles (*rten gsum*; i.e. Triratna) crushed to pieces by stones;
[Thus] eliminating even the name of Dharma;
Then, in the rocky cave of Yer-pa,
An emanational embodiment of Vajrapāṇi,
A *bhikṣu* called dPal [will appear][1054]

1050 Cf. also note 954 *supra*. The following celebrated testamentary proclamation-cum-advice (*lung bstan gdams pa*) comprising *ex eventu* prophecies is found faithfully embodied in numerous places, all varying in length and wording. **GLR** holds forty-one seven-syllabic lines, whereas **MNKB** E (Cd) 209b5-210a3 (brief and prose-verse mixture), WAM (G) 21b6-22a3 (ninteen lines, diff. metrum), WAM (G) 25b6-30b3 (highly detailed prophesizing up to Atiśa, around three hundred mainly nine-syll. metrical verse-lines = **KCHKKHM-2** 276.13-289.5 = **CHBYMTNYP** 273b6-284a3 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 58b6-63a1); **KCHKKHM-1** 793.6-794.4 (brief, seventeen seven-syll. lines); **KCHKKHM-2** 274.18-276.12 (forty-six seven-syll. incl. prophecies up to Atiśa, 276.13-289.5 prophezising up to Atiśa); **KCHKKHM-3** 469.7-470.6 (twenty-two seven-syll. lines); **MBNTH** 76b4-77a3 (twenty-two seven-syll. lines); **GBCHBY** 293.6-14 (prose and thirteen seven-syll. metrical lines); **HBCHBY** (JA) 54a2-6 (thirty-three seven-syll. lines). As is seen, the provenance for the at least the lengthy prophetical passage must is found in the *phyi-dar* period, in the milieu around Atiśa. Fragments of these prophecies are found in a countless number of later histories.

1051 I.e. Khri-lde btsug-brt[s]an alias Mes-Ag-tshom[s], cf. note 1122.

1052 I.e. Khri-lde srong-btsan alias Ral-pa-can, cf. note 1419 *infra*.

1053 I.e. Khri 'U-dum-btsan, alias Glang-dar-ma, cf. note 1506 *infra*.

1054 I.e. lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje, cf. note 1534 *infra*.

Who liberated the wicked king.
Then [for] a period of eight [twelve-]year-cycles[1055]
The Teaching of Buddha was ousted;
Alas! Sentient beings are to be pitied!
These my tutelary deities too
[Must] be buried in this temple like treasuries;
Thereafter, at the end of five hundred years,
An extinguished flame of the Teaching of Buddha
Will be revived from mDo-khams-sgang;[1056]
For the sentient beings of the Snow-clad [country]
Like a lamp that illuminates at the point of death,
The Teaching will be spread and progagated;
The pious ones will present offerings [again]
And pay [their] respect and circumambulate [sanctuaries];
Many ordained ones and holy persons [will multiply],
But [also] the Teaching of Buddha will diffuse."

[Having spoken accordingly, he] entered the contemplation of benevolence (*maitrī*).

These [above extracts] are merely an abbreviated [outline], [if you wish to know] in [further] details [the king's] personal advices for the future, it is elucidated in the Great Testament (**Ka-khol-ma che-ba**) [of Srong-btsan sgam-po] uncovered from a [hidden] treasury [in Jo-khang] by Jo-bo-rje [Atiśa].[1057]

Then, after a little while, the king [turned his face and] spoke:[1058] "Those [among] my ministers of the exterior or the interior [or of] my subjects who are coming to request for an interview with me, king Srong-btsan sgam-po, if they [really] wish to meet me, [they] should request for [meeting instead] Avalokita! Because there is no difference [whatsoever between meeting him or] meeting me."

Again, the Nepalese spouse, Khri-btsun too, turning her head, [spoke:][1059] "Those [among] the loyal Tibetan subjects who are coming to request for an interview with me, Nepalese spouse Khri-btsun, if they [really] wish to meet me, [they] should request for [meeting instead] Jo-mo Bhṛkutī! Because there is no difference [whatsoever between meeting her or] meeting me."

The Chinese Kong-jo, too, turned her head [and spoke:][1060] "Those [among] the Tibetan subjects who are greatly devoted to [me] and have a liking for me, coming to request for an interview with me, if they [really] wish to meet me, [they] should request for [meeting instead] rJe-btsun Tārā! Because there is no difference [whatsoever between meeting her or] meeting me."

1055 I.e. ninty-six years. Cf. note 1601 *infra*.

1056 Cf. note 297 *supra* and note 1600 *infra*.

1057 Cf. the introduction note 39ff.

1058 **MNKB** WAM (G) 16b1-4 (versified, and slightly different); **KCHKKHM-3** 470.7-471.1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 54b4-5.

1059 **MNKB** WAM (G) 17b4-18a3 (versified, and slightly different); **KCHKKHM-2** 273.8-13; **KCHKKHM-3** 471.1-2; **MBNTH** 76b2-4 (slightly different); **HBCHBY** (JA) 54b5-6.

1060 **MNKB** WAM (G) 18a3-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 273.13-274.11; **KCHKKHM-3** 471.2-3; **MBNTH** 76a3-b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 54b6-7.
Cf. also Appendix, note 1094.

Then minister mGar asked:[1061] "Where, O great King, are the father and mother going, the three [of you] who have been uttering instructions as much as these?" and [the king answered]: "The three of us are not going far away!" whereafter the king rose (*yar la bzhengs*) and touching[1062] his Nepalese spouse Khri-btsun with his right hand, Khri-btsun turned into a white Utpala-lotus which then was absorbed into the right shoulder on the king's body. With his left hand he touched the Chinese Kong-jo, who then turned into a blue-green Utpala-lotus which was absorbed into the left shoulder on the king's body.

Thereupon the king went into the presence of the [image of] the Eleven-headed self-originated [Avalokiteśvara],[1063] [where he proffered] the [following] eulogy:[1064]

"Out of the very state of emptiness, the Dharma Body,
The image raised in order to work for the welfare of the living beings;
[Endowed with] four peaceful countenances and seven wrathful ones
To the Eleven-headed One [we] pay respect.

The three white peaceful countenances [at] the basis
Being beautiful and very smiling;
[Bringing] to pacification (*zhi*, **śāntika*) karmic acts and affliction
To the countenances of the Dharmakāya-medium [we] pay respect.

Above [these] with a colour of purified gold
Three angry (*rngams pa*) countenances with laughing splendour;
Life, merit and wealth, [these] three
[They execute the rites of] amplification (*rgyas pa*, **puṣṭika*), to [them we] pay respect.

Above [these again, with] a red [colour] resembling a coral,
The two countenances executing the [ritual] acts of domination (*dbang*, **vaśīkaraṇa*);
Endowed with an angry frown, displaying fully the teeth
To the countenances of the Saṃbhogakāya-medium [we] pay respect.

Above [these,] demonstrating the [ritual] acts of violence (*drag*, **abhicāruka*)

1061 Lacking from the other versions.

1062 **MNKB** WAM (G) 18a6-2; **KCHKKHM-2** 289.6-16; **KCHKKHM-3** 471.3-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 284b4-285a4; **MBNTH** 77a5-b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 55a1-2.

1063 Here the Ekādaśamukha Avalokiteśvara in the form Sahasrabhuja-sahasracakṣuḥ.

1064 The following eulogy which consists of ninety-two seven-syllabic metrical lines (or rather of twenty-three quatrains) is fully congruous transmitted in **HBCHBY** (JA) 55a2-56a1. Avalokiteśvara is here addressed in one of its more rare forms, a gestalt with the epithet King of Space (*Ākāśarāja), a figure much cherished in the **MNKB**-cycle where a section is found titled **Nam-mkha'i rgyal-po mngon-rtogs**, cf. **MNKB** WAM (G) 1a1ff. Here in fact we find a non-metrical description (2b4-6a1) of 'Phags-pa Nam-mkha'i rgyal-po being eleven-headed, with twelve basic hands of the Dharmakāya-aspect, thirty-eight hands of the Saṃbhogakāya-aspect and thousand minor limbs of the Nirmāṇakāya-aspect in full accordance with the one offered in the present eulogy. Cf. also parallel note 803 *supra*.

The two countenances resembling the colour of a cloud of smoke;
[Endowed with] three starring eyes [frown with] anger and terror;
To the countenances of the Nirmāṇakāya-medium [we] pay respect.

Above [these], the Emanational Body (*nirmāṇakāya*) of the guru
The epitome of all (*kun 'dus*) Buddha-s, vermilion-coloured (*li khri'i mdog*);
Amitābha, the Protector (*nātha*)
To the one endowed with crown-ornament of the Victor [we] pay respect.

Resembling the leaves of the lotus, the first
Two hands having been folded (*añjali*) in front of the breast
The compassions of all the Buddha-s
For bringing [these] about [we] pay respect.

The four right hands in succession
A rosary (*bgrang phreng*, *japamālā*, *akṣamālā*), a wheel (*'khor lo*, *cakra*), the [*mudrā*] of granting (*mchog sbyin*, *varada*)
And [an image of] Amitābha, the Buddha of the Three Times,
Were properly held, to [this we] pay respect.

The four left hands in succession
A white lotus (*puṇḍarīka*), an anointing vessel (*spyi blugs*, *kuṇḍikā*), a jewel (*rin po che*, *maṇi*)
[In the fourth] an arrow and bow (*mda' gzhu*, *śara cāpa*) [symbolizing] the union of Method and Wisdom (*thabs shes*, *upāya*, *prajñā*)
Were properly held, to [this we] pay respect.

In the nineteen limbs [i.e. hands] to the right
A jewel (*rin chen*, *maṇi*), a lasso (*zhags pa*, *pāśa*), a begging-bowl (*lhung bzed*, *pātra*) and a dagger ([*ral*] *gri*, *khaḍga*),
A thunderbolt (*rdo rje*, *vajra*), the 'sun-stone' (*me shel*, *sūryakāntamaṇi*), the 'moon-stone' (*chu shel*, *candrakāntamaṇi*), a bow (*gzhu*, *cāpa*)
And a rod (*lcug ma*, *latavallī*) were held, to [this we] pay respect.

A [ceremonial] *g.yag*-tail (*rnga yab*, *cāmara*), a shield (*phub*, *phara*), and a good bottle (*bum pa*, *ghaṭa*),
An enemy-hachet (*dgra sta*, *paraśu*), a rosary (*phreng ba*, *mālā*), a blue lotus (*padma sngo*, *nīlapadma*),
An [anointing] vessel (*spyi blugs*, *kuṇḍikā*), a sun (*nyi ma*, *sūrya*), a white 'water-born' [*puṇḍarīka*]-lotus (*chu skyes dkar po*),
A [corn-]ear (*snye ma*, *mañjarī*) were held, to [this we] pay respect.

In the nineteen limbs to the left,
A white cloud (*sprin dkar*, *śuklamegha*), an [anointing] vessel (*spyi blugs*, *kuṇḍikā*), a lotus, a dagger ([*ral*] *gri*, *khaḍga*),

A conch (*dung*, *śaṅkha*), a skull (*thod* [*pa*], *kapāla*), a rosary, a bell (*dril bu*, *ghaṇṭā*),
A sceptre (*rdo rje*, *vajra*) were held, to [this we] pay respect.

An iron-hook (*lcags kyu*, *aṅkuśa*), a staff (*'khar gsil*, *khakhara*), [a statue of Buddha in the] *nirmāṇakāya*-medium,
A [miniature] palace (*khang bzang*, *vimāna*), a book (*glegs bam*, *pustaka*), a wheel (*'khor lo*, *cakra*),
A statue (*sku gzugs*, *kāya*) [of Buddha], a fruit (*shing thog*), a pistil (*ge sar*, *keśara*),
And a sceptre were held, to [this we] pay respect.

The ten basic hands of its Dharmakāya-medium
The thirty-eight limbs [*yan lag*, *aṅga*, i.e. hands] of its Saṃbhogakāya-medium
And thousand minor limbs (*nying lag*, *pratyaṅga*) of its Nirmāṇakāya-medium, [in all] possessing
King of Space (*Nam mkha'i rgyal po*, **Ākāśarāja*), to you [we] bow.

In the palm[s] of the [thousand] hand[s] resembling a lotus,
The [thousand] eye[s] [of Wisdom] resembling an Utpala-lotus
Fully glittering (*rnam bkra ba*) like the stars [in space]
King of Space, to you [we] bow.

Carrying the crown-ornament of Jina on the head
Hands and feets golden bracelets (*gdu bu*, *valaya*) ringing,
The body with an [exuding] sweet scent of perfume (*spos ngad ldan*)
King of Space, to you [we] bow.

Wearing sundry sorts of silk dresses
Bedecked with ornaments [embossed with] numerous jewels;
An attractive body, by seeing [it, one] never [becomes] satisfied,
King of Space, to you [we] bow.

The skin of an antilope, just covering the [left] nipple,
The four kinds of limbs (*yan lag rigs bzhi*; i.e. hands and feet) being embellished with snakes,
A body sparkling with the splendour of the [thirty-two] marks and [eighty] features [of a Mahāpuruṣa],
King of Space, to you [we] bow.

Beautiful like the slopes on the glacial mountain
With a little ruddy pigmentation
A body emitting the white light of compassion,
King of Space to you [we] bow.

[You] the Crown-jewel (*maṇicūḍa*) [among] the gods and the Victors [alike],

[With] the two feet [of yours] standing elegant (*legs par bzhengs*),
A body stretching high (*'gying ba*) upon a [cushion with embossed] lotuses and moon [designs];
King of Space to you [we] bow.

Of all the Buddhas of the Three Times,
Spiritual precious emanational being,
You, endowed with skillfulness in means and compassion
Pray, [be kind and] consider the sentient beings!

You, the refugium of all worldlings,
Being tormented by numerous sufferings,
The sentient beings exhausted and dejected, [upon them]
Pray, [be kind and] look with [your] eyes of compassion!

The sentient beings, ignorant and erring
Having attained a bad body qua accumulating bad *karman*,
Having fallen into the three lower states [of existence],
Pray, [be kind and] seize [them] with [your] hook of compassion!"

Taking off the turban, [the king] touched [with his head] the breast of [the image of] the tutelary deity and [then] shed tears out of an ardour of faith. [He] uttered: "O Noble One! Pray, [be considerate and] look [in mercy] upon the dejected sentient beings roaming about in the three spheres!" In a state of intense prayers, the king was dissolved into [pure] light and [then] absorbed into the heart of the self-originated Eleven-headed [image].[1065]*[1066]

Although everyone [attending] experienced [a marvel] like that directly, they could not help standing back and look into the face of one another with staring eyes (*mig hu re lus*).

[The consort] Mong-bza' Khri-lcam thereafter inquired:[1067] "When the king, father and mother, the three are no [more] present [among us] after they have accomplished [their departure] like that, what do [we] do now? In whom do we place hope? Be kind and seize [us] with [your] compassion!" The king peeped out of the breast of the self-originated [image] and addressed [those present] accordingly: "Ye [all] listen! Firstly, having been born, death is certain. Secondly, the characteristic mark of [all] composite is that [it is] transient. Thirdly, life is precious short [lit. 'there is no time in life'] (*tshe la long med pa*),

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1065 **MNKB** WAM (G) 18b1-2; **KCHKKHM-2** 289.17-290.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 284b4; **GBCHBY** 379.9-10; **CHBY** 139a4 (Szerb, p. 14); **DTHMP** 17a4; **GBYTSH** 121a6-b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 56a1-2; **DTHZHG** 46.16-18, 47.15-49.4.

For the statue, cf. the notes 544, 801 *supra*.

1066 **gloss*: *The hands that were folded in front of the breast of the Noble One, were [now] even found kept apart. This happened at that very time.*

This statement, added as a gloss (by an anonymous scribe?), is as yet unattested. When not gleaned from a literary source, it may most likely be taken as an oral commentary originated in the XIV-XVth century, added to the convenience of the readers of **GLR**.

1067 **MNKB** WAM (G) 18b2-4 and **KCHKKHM-2** 290.2-11 (both almost identical, and both differ in wording from **GLR**); **CHBYMTNYP** 284a3-5; **MBNTH** 76b1-2: Here it is the loyal ministers headed by sNa-chen who inquired. In **MNKB** both sNa-chen and Mong-bza', so also **HBCHBY** (JA) 56a2-4. Cf. also **DTHZHG** 46.18-20.

it is [in reality] like dew[-drops] on the grass. Pray, realize that [all] the present actions [of ours] are but a dream and an illusion!"

The Nepalese consort Khri-btsun too peeped out from the right nipple [of the image] and addressed [those present] accordingly:[1068] "Firstly, life is without certainty, like a rainbow in space. Secondly, speech is without certainty, like a thunder (*'brug sgra*) in the intermediate space. Thirdly, body is without certainty, like a flower in the blooming spring (*sos ka, grīṣma*). Pray, realize that this present action [of ours] is [but] like a reflection in the mirror!"

The Chinese consort Kong-jo peeped out of the left nipple [of the image] and addressed [those present] accordingly:[1069] "Firstly, the impermanence of the corporeal is like the rotten roots of an old trunk. Secondly, the impermanence of life is like a thunder-cloud (*glog sprin*) in the sky. Thirdly, the impermanence of wealth is like the bee's honey. Pray, realize that this present action [of ours] is but a water-bubble!", whereafter [she] disappeared [again].

Then the two ministers [i.e. sNa chen-po and sBas-lcang dPal kyi legs-bzang] inquired:[1070] "Great King! When [you] are no [more] present [among us] after [you] have made [your departure] like that, [then] what shall we ministers of the exterior and interior and [your] Tibetan subjects [left behind then] do? Pray, be kind and embrace [us] with [your] compassion!"

Again the king pepped out [of the image's breast] and declared accordingly:[1071]

> "Listen carefully! Attendants and subjects of mine!
> This life [of ours] is impermanent, like dew-drops on grass;
> Do not show [any] unconcern or lethargy about that!
> The devilish Lord of Death (*'chi bdag bdud*) is like a cataract (*ri gzar chu*)
> Do not regard [it] as lasting or [that] it allows time [enough]!
> The constituent[s] (*phung po, skandha*) and the illusory body [of ours] are [but] like a [blossoming] flower of spring;
> It is uncertain when the flower will be destroyed by frost;
> Renounce worldly activities and practice [instead] Saddharma!
> Remember the impermanent and mortal [nature of life] and strive diligently!
> I and you, [we shall] always remain inseparably united!"

[Having said so, he] disappeared [again].

They remained looking at one another, saying: "The father and mother[s], the three,

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1068 **MNKB** WAM (G) 18b4-6; **KCHKKHM-2** 290.11-17 (slightly different wording); also 292.2-8; **CHBYMTNYP** 284a5-b1; **MBNTH** 76b2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 56a4-5; **DTHZHG** 46.20-22.

1069 **MNKB** WAM (G) 18b6-19a1; **KCHKKHM-2** 290.17-291.3 (slightly different wording); also 292.8-13; **CHBYMTNYP** 284b1-4; **MBNTH** 76b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 56a5-6.

1070 The following dialogue (with minor variants), cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 291.3-5; **KCHKKHM-3** 473.1-474.3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 56a6-7.

1071 **MNKB** WAM (G) 19a3-5 and **KCHKKHM-2** 291.5-15 (prose and different in wording, with a reference to the six *pāramitā*-s). **MNKB** WAM (G) 19b4-5: metrical six- and eight-lines, somewhat different; the same text, *op. cit.* 19b6-20a3, continues with corresponding answers given by Khri-btsun and Kong-jo. Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 56a7-b2 (different).

are [really] emanational creations, whom [we], while [they] were [still] alive, have paid [too] little respect."

Zhang-blon sNa-chen-po and sBas-lcang dPal kyi legs-bzang,[1072] the two, [now] made their appearance and to [their] question being asked three times: "Whither have the king, father and mother[s], the three departed?", [the other] thought that even when being explained how the father and mother[s], the three had demonstrated [their departure] like that and how they had been absorbed into [the heart of the image of] the tutelary deity, then [these two ministers] would not believable it. So unable to explain [the wonder further] [they just] stood back looking into the face of one another with staring eyes. The two [ministers] [now] got furious and said: "Three times have [we] asked where the king, father and mother have departed without getting [any] explanation, so [we are now] going to kill you two wicked persons", whereafter they pulled out their sword. But Mong-bza' weepingly said: "The king, father and mother are [real] emanational created beings who departed by being absorbed into the heart of the self-originated Eleven-headed [image]", yet [the two ministers] would still not believe it, wherefore [they] asked the grandson [Mang-srong mang-btsan] who in great detail explained [them] [how the king] at first had offered lengthy instructive expositions (*zhal gdams*), [how] then the two queen-consorts had been absorbed into the king and [how] [finally] the grand-father, the king too had become absorbed into the heart of the [image of] the tutelary [deity] etc. Now the two [ministers] too gained faith [in the story].

Minister Thon-mi explained the reason[s] why the king could be [regarded] as an emanational being:[1073]

[1] At Khra-'brug [the king] had demonstrated [his] Amideva [i.e. Amitābha]-countenance to an [old] beggar-priest.

[2] He had displayed [his] Amideva-countenance to the two novice-monks from Li-yul.

[3] At the time when lHa-sa [i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang] was inaugurated the king offered up prayers and in an instant Buddha-s and Bodhisattva-s made [their] arrival manifestedly in space [above] etc.

So everyone gained confidence that [the king] in reality was Ārya Avalokita. It was said that at the time when the father and mother[s], the three were [still] alive the respect [displayed towards them] was little, [now] it was said that Dharmarāja [in reality] was an emanational body[1074] and everyone tumbled to the ground from grief. The gods too send

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1072 For this dialogue, cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 295.12-296.19; **KCHKKHM-3** 473.1-474.4; **CHBYMTNYP** 286a2-b6; **MBNTH** 78a4-b4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 63b1-6: Here it is minister 'Bri Se-gu-ston who inquires and minister sNa-chen who is unable to answer and then threatened to be killed by dBas [s]Kyi[d]-stag sna-ring-mo (for these figures, cf. notes 502, 507, 517 *supra*). And Jo-mo Khri-lod (i.e. Mong-bza') expresses the fear that if minister sNa-chen-po is put to death, Tibet would be thrown into chaos. It is further mentioned that the only direct witness (*dpang po mngon [g]sum*) to the miraculous absorption was the king's black cloak (*ber nag po*), a number of the consorts' *phyag rten* and as only person Jo-mo Mong-bza' Khri-lcam.

1073 Cf. **GLR** Chap. XIV, note 866, but also note 450. **MNKB** E (Ca) 139b4-5, E (Cd) 205a2-6, WAM (G) 32a4-33b3; **KCHKKHM-1** 763.1-765.3, 798.3-799.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 296.17-298.13, 299.4-301.17; **KCHKKHM-3** 474.7-476.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 287a1-b4; **MBNTH** 78b4-79b4; **GBCHBY** 294.16-295.7; **HBCHBY** (JA) 39a6-b4, 63b6-64a1; **PMKTH** (Chap. 92, 555.9-10); **DTHZHG** 47.9-10.

Especially on the third point **GLR** differs from the above versions.

1074 Only retained in **HBCHBY** (JA) 64a1-2. dPa'-bo offers a lengthy versified seven-syllabic farewell-prayer dedicated the king, allegedly offered by minister Thon-mi, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 64a2-67b7.

down a rain of flowers and the earth shook in six directions.

Then eight multi-coloured rays of light were emitted from the heart of the self-originated Eleven-headed [image],[1075] one ray of light was aborbed into the heart of [the image of] Jo-bo Akṣobhyavajra (Mi-bskyod rdo-rje)*[1076] [in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang]; one ray of light was absorbed into the heart of [the image of] Maitreya (Byams-pa) Chos kyi 'khor-lo;*[1077] One ray of light was absorbed into the heart of [the image of] Buddha Amitābha ('Od-dpag-med);[1078] One ray of light was absorbed into the heart of [the image of] Buddha Akṣobhya (Mi-'khrugs-pa);[1079] one ray of light was absorbed into the heart of [the image of] Krodha Bhurkuṃkūṭa (Khro-rgyal sMe[-ba] brtsegs[-pa]);[1080] one ray of light was absorbed into the heart of [the image of] the Medicinal Buddha King;*[1081]one ray of light was absorbed into the heart of [the image of] the white Hayagrīva (rTa-mgrin);*[1082] one ray of light was absorbed into the heart of [the image of] rJe-btsun Tārā (sGrol-ma);*[1083] These are [known as] the eight light-emanating images.[1084]

Again, from the heart of these images rays of light emanated which struck all the statues found inside the [Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang] temple whereby [they] were connected by a net of light. This manifested spontaneously the secret consecration (*gsang ba'i rab gnas*) of 'Phrul-snang.[1085]

Thereby all present such as the grandson, the queens and ministers etc. had the[ir] grieving sorrow allayed and were established in exhaustless happiness (*zag med kyi bde ba*).

Subsequently the ministers held counsel. Prince Gung-ri gung-btsan had passed away before his father. As the grandson was an infant it was necessary to erect a tomb. The absorption of the father and mother[s], the three into the heart of the Eleven-headed [Image] was an esoteric [departure]. [In reality,] 'They had passed away at Zal-mo-sgang [in] 'Phan-

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1075 For this secret light-consecration of the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, cf. **MNKB** WAM (G) 20a4-b5; **KCHKKHM-1** 798.3-799.1; **KCHKKHM-2** 293.17-295.11; **KCHKKHM-3** 472.1-473.1; **CHBYMTNYP** 285a4-286a1; **MBNTH** 77b1-3; and most detailed **HBCHBY** (JA) 63a1-b1; **DTHZHG** 46.23-47.6.

1076 **gloss*: [*A*] *metal-cast* (*li ma*) [*statue*].
So also **HBCHBY** (JA) 63a2. Cf. note 883 *supra*.

1077 **gloss*: [*A*] *metal-cast* [*statue*].
So also **HBCHBY** (JA) 63a2. Cf. note 882 *supra*.

1078 Instead of Amitābha (cf. note 880), **HBCHBY** (JA) 63a2-3 has Dipaṃkāra or Mar-me-mdzad, a clay-effigy image (*dar sku*), cf. note 879.

1079 Cf. note 879 *supra*. It was a *dar sku* (clay effigy), see **HBCHBY** (JA) 63a2-3.

1080 Cf. note 881 *supra*. A clay-effigy (*dar sku*), see **HBCHBY** (JA) 63a2-3.

1081 **gloss*: [*It is*] *a painted image* (*bris sku*) *found in the south-eastern svastika-niche on the ground-floor*.
Corroborated by **HBCHBY** (JA) 63a3. Cf. *ad* note 891 *supra*.

1082 **gloss*: [*It is*] *a painted image* (*bris sku*) *located in the middle room* (*bar khang*) [*i.e. upper floor*].
On the western wall, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 63a3. Cf. note 891 *supra*.

1083 **gloss*: [*It is*] *a painted image* (*bris sku*) *located in the middle room* (*bar khang*) [*i.e. upper floor*].
On the western side, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 63a3. Cf. note 891 *supra*.

1084 **YLJBCHBY** 55.13-56.3; **DTHZHG** 47.5-6.

1085 Cf. ref. *ad* note 1075.

yul',[1086] [thus] it was proclaimed in the ten directions. In the [district] of 'Chong-po [= 'Phyongs-po][1087] [in the] Yar-lung [Valley] the peerless tombs of [these] three were erected.

[How] King [Srong-btsan sgam-po] and [his Two] Queens, Father and Mother[s], having fully Accomplished their Mission, were Absorbed into the Heart of [the Statue] the Self-originated Eleven-faced [Avalokiteśvara].

1086 Cf. note 1040 *supra*. **MNKB** WAM (G) 20b5: 'Phan-yul Za-mo-ra; **KCHKKHM-2** 308.18-309.6: The king resided in the Dam-pa sgra'i gtsug-lag-khang in 'Bum-pa-sgang Zam-bu'i tshal of 'Phan-yul. Khri-btsun resided in gTsang-'bring *gtsug lag khang* of g.Yas-ru and Kong-jo in 'Bum-thang *gtsug lag khang*. It was [officially] proclaimed that the king and his two consorts after one month were ill-stroken. Later again, they grew fatally ill, whereafter it was proclaimed that they had finally succumbed to illness; **KCHKKHM-3** 478.3: 'Phan-yul Za-mo-'or; **CHBYMTNYP** 290a3-5: Za-mo-ra of Li-yul (*sic*, not 'Phan-yul); **MBNTH** 81a5: 'Phan-yul Za-mo-dar; **BGR** 198a3-4 and **NGTMTPH** 5b5 (Uebach, p. 76-77): 'Phan-yul Zal-mo sgang; **DCHBY** 117.20-118.1: 'Phan-yul Zab-mo'i tshal; **GBYTSH** 121b4-5; **DTHMPSM** 22b3-5; dPa'-bo similarly is fairly detailed, **HBCHBY** (JA) 67b7-68a4: The royal couple resided in 'Od-zer dam-pa'i *pho brang* in Zal-mo'i sgang in 'Phan-yul. The king there contracted a throat-catarrh (*mgur cham*) and was fever-caught. The two consorts of his were eventually also struck with illness and their death was finally proclaimed. Their corpses were dressed in *sku bcos na bza'* and effigies or figures (*sku 'bag*) of the royal couple were deposited upon a piece of tiger-skin and [these bodies/figures] were then transported to and later installed in the king's tomb at Yar-lungs 'Phyong-po; **DTHZHG** 47.10-14: According to the notions of ordinary people, a maid-servant of Khri-btsun contaminated her with an epidemic disease and she again contaminated the king and Kong-jo. They passed away in 'Phan-yul Zal-mo'i sgang and the corpses of the three were brought to and installed in a tomb in Yar-klung 'Phyongs-rgyas. Zal-mo'i sgang of 'Phan-yul is not the central Tibetan 'Phan-yul, but refers to an eastern Tibetan location, adjacent to sDe-dge (cf. Stein, 1959, p. 129, 210; Yamaguchi, *Acta Asiatica*, 19, p. 118) and note 297 above.

Aside from this 'ritual' death of the Chinese consort in actual fact she survived Srong-btsan sgam-po by about thirty years, as she first passed away in 680 A.D.

1087 **MNKB** WAM (G) 20b6-21a1; **KCHKKHM-2** 309.5-14; **GBCHBY** 377.21-378.2; **DCHBY** 118.1-6; **YLJBCHBY** 56.4-7; **GBYTSH** 121b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 53b5-6, 68a3.

The statement that tombs for the three royal figures were erected simultaneously cannot be taken literally while e.g. the Chinese queen lived until 680 A.D. and was first buried in 683. It cannot exclude, however, that tombs were formally *prepared* for their subsequent burial.

XVIII

"Thus, the great emanational Dharmarāja
Held the throne for seventy years;
Erecting temples and diffusing Saddharma,
[Rendering] service to [Tri]ratna and administering the secular law according to religion (*bka' khrims chos la sgyur*).
Reaching the age of eighty-two
In order to generate energy [among] the lazy ones,
[In order to] bring the indolent ones to Dharma
And to create weariness [among] those clinging to eternal[istic views] (*rtag par 'dzin pa, nityagraha*),
In the northern chapel (*btsan = gtsang khang*) inside the [Ra-sa] 'Phrul-snang [temple]
The king [and consorts], father and mother[s], were fully dissolved into light
And [then] absorbed into the heart of the [image of the king's] personal deity.
A Buddha emanationally transformed into a human being dedicated the welfare of the world[lings],
A [divine] son not different from Avalokita,
Endowed with the compassion bringing the sinful ones to Dharma,
The unique Protector (*mgon po gcig po*) of the endless [number of] sentient beings,
To the emanational body (*nirmāṇakāya*) of the Dharmarāja [we] seek refuge.
Grant [us] the blessing of the Compassionate Lord!
His tomb was established in 'Chong-po [= 'Phyong[s]-po][1088]
Its size is approximately one *yojana*,
The tomb is quadrangular, the interior being made in a chess-board[-chambered] pattern (*re'u mig*),
From mud mixed with silk and paper
An image of the great Dharmarāja [Srong-btsan sgam-po] was erected,
Transported upon a waggon, and accompanied by music,
The image was installed inside the tomb.
Inside, all the [chamber-]sections (*re mig*) were filled with [sundry] riches,
Making the tomb known as the 'Interior-ornamented One' (*nang rgyan*

1088 Cf. previous note *supra*. For a detailed description of the king's tomb, cf. **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. XIII, 145.9-147.7. Most interesting is the testimony in **KCHKKHM-2** 309.6-16, which partly corresponds with the present description of the tomb, but adds that it was raised by the A-ya Bon-pos and that the interior was embellished with frescoes displaying the king's testament, i.e. the **bKa'-chems mTho-mthong-ma** and **Ka-khol-ma**, cf. Intro. note 57 above. For a rather late Buddhist devotional ode and description of the king being installed in the tomb see dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 68a5-69a5; **MNKB** WAM (G) 35a2-38a5 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 65a5-67b5 contain a lengthy ode to the king offered by minister mGar, who, these texts relate, at the point when the king passed away was active safeguarding the border territories towards China (*rgya'i so kha srung ba*), and hearing the news of the king's passing, he hurried back to Tibet only to find that the king had already passed away, whereafter he composed the ode.

can).
It was even said that inside five chapels (*lha khang*) were found,[1089]
The construction of square tombs originated from then on;
As for [its] name too, it was said to be sKu-ri smug-po.[1090]
The Buddha-s of the ten directions, the Śrāvaka-s
The Bodhisattva-s and Protectors of Saddharma
Convened at that place, whereafter
[They] performed the [ritual] act of [expressing their] blessing and [conferring their] consecration (*bkra shis rab tu gnas*) to the tomb.
[Headed by the] grandson Mang-srong mang-btsan etc.
Tibetan ministers, along with subjects and retinue,
Carrying along inconceivably [many] items of worship,
Paid [their] respect and presented offerings at the site.
Thus, the peerless tomb of the king
The tutelary deities (*lha srung*) of the place were commissioned to work [for protection],
After prayers had been presented, [they] made [their] appearance in the site [again]
Pervading the ten directions [around the tomb] with the light of welfare and happiness."

[Thus it] is said.

[I] [King Mang-srong mang-btsan]

Having then reached the age of thirteen, the grandson Mang-srong mang-btsan took over the power.[1091] He married the consort called 'Bro-bza' Khri-ma-lod[1092] and ruled the [entire]

1089 **DCHBY** 118.4: four chapels; **GBYTSH** 121b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 69b4-5 maintains that the tomb with its five chapels outwardly resembled a mountain.

1090 **MNKB** E (Cd) 221a1; **DCHBY** 118.3-4; **GBYTSH** 121b6-122a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 53b5; **DTHZHG** 47.13-14.

Panglung reads sMu-ri smug-po when reading **GLR**'s text, but **GLR** has sKu-ri smug-po.

1091 **BGR** 197b2; **CHBYMTNYP** 292a3: (confusing Mang-srong mang-btsan with Gung-ri gung-btsan); **NGTMTPH** 5b6; **YLJBCHBY** 57.1-3; **GBYTSH** 122b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 69b5.

Cf. note 935, according to which he was born in 626 A.D. This king is first mentioned in the Dunhuang *Annals* under the year 650 A.D. and his passing in Tshang Bar-sna (cf. note 1093 *infra*) is situated in the year 676 A.D. The chronological data of the Dunhuang material and the data offered by the later Tibetan tradition are not compatible as shown most recently by Uebach, p. 79, note 284. Cf. also note 1469 *infra*. For his various names, cf. Haarh, p. 54. See also Reb-gong rDo-rje-mkhar, 1987.

1092 **BGR** 197b2; Dunhuang Ms 249 (Bacot, 1940, p. 82.27): 'Bro-za Khri-ma-lod Khri-steng. For this powerful figure, cf. *inter alia* Beckwith, 1983 and 1987, pp. 69, 73, 78. She died in 712 A.D. as recorded in the Dunhuang *Annals*. For her various names, cf. Haarh, p. 54. She adhered to the 'Bro or Mo-lu clan (the Yang-dong people) of Western China. For more details on her role during the throne-succession 704-705 A.D., cf. Appendix, note 1137.

kingdom. During his [reign] the Chinese emperor got to know that king Srong-btsan sgam-po was no more alive. [King Mang-srong mang-btsan] got terrified [when] reports turned up saying, among [other things], [how the Chinese emperor still vividly] remembered the calamities (*phung bar byas pa rnams*) brought on China by minister mGar[1093] and [how he therefore had] dispatched a Chinese army [counting up to] five hundred thousand [soldiers towards Tibet], [with the aim] to subdue Tibet and [forcibly] take [back] the [idol of] Jo-bo Shākya[-muni]. The Jo-bo [idol] was [in all haste consequently] brought from Ra-mo-che to lHa-sa [i.e. Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang], where it was installed in a mirrored southern door[-frame] [i.e. in a hidden door in the southern chapel] (*sgo me long can*). The door was [then] plastered over and an [image] of Mañjughoṣa ('Jam-dbyangs) was erected [i.e. being drawn on the walled door].[1094] [This king] held the power for fifteen years, and at the age of twenty-seven he passed away in Bar-snang-sgang in gTsang.[1095]

The tomb of Mang-srong [mang-btsan] was located to the left of the one
[of his grand-father, Srong-btsan sgam-po];
This tomb too was filled with precious treasuries;
[Its] name was said to be 'sNgo-gzhe hral-po'.[1096]

1093 Cf. Chapter XIII *supra*.

1094 Cf. **MNKB** WAM (G) 19a1-2; **KCHKKHM-2** 273.19-274.11, 312.9-313.5; **KCHKKHM-3** 478.5-479.6; **CHBYMTNYP** 291a1-b3; **MBNTH** 76a3-b2, 81a6-82a3; **CHBY** 139a3-4; **DTHMP** 9b4-6; post-**GLR**: **HBCHBY** (JA) 69b5-6, 75b2-5; **DTHZHG** 49.5-14; **TSLKHKCH** 9b3-5.

The transmission and unfolding of this popular narrative describing the shifting of site (*bzhugs sa spo ba*, [*b*]*rje ba*) of the two dowry-statues (Jo-bo Shākya-muni and Jo-bo Mi-bskyod rdo-rje respectively) in connection with an alleged Chinese invasion are far from easy to disentangle because the set of circumstances which gradually has invaded this story or legend from its initial formulation and its labyrinthine journey through Tibetan historiographical tradition is equally nebulous. Since we have already at greater length (cf. **GLR** Chap. II-III and Chap. XIII *supra*), dealt with the origin-myths and subsequent fate of these two most holy idols and national palladia in Tibet, we shall also here attempt to unravel the threads of their subsequent fate in Tibet, cf. Appendix, note 1094 for a fuller discussion.

1095 **BGR** 198a6; **GBCHBY** 299.6-7; **DCHBY** 118.12-14: he ruled fourteen years; **NGTMTHP** 5b7 (Uebach, pp. 78-79); post-**GLR**: **YLJBCHBY** 57.3-4; **GBYTSH** 122a6-b1: gTsang gi Bar-snang (gloss: Shangs kyi pho brang sgang); **HBCHBY** (JA) 69b6-7; **DTHZHG** 49.13-14.

In the *Annals*: Bang-sna of Tshang. Unidentified, cf. Uebach, p. 79, note 284. Worthy of note is the gloss in **GBYTSH**, that Bar-snang refers to a place situated in the region of Shangs. Shangs is located in the gTsang province, around Shangs-chu running into gTsang-po east of gZhis-kha-rtse. Cf. also Petech, 1967, *Glosse* (repr. *Selected Papers*, p. 268).

1096 **GBCHBY** 378.5-6; **DCHBY** 118.17-119.1: sNgo-bzher hral-po; **YLJBCHBY** 57.5-6; **GBYTSH** 122b1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 69b7-70a1; **DTHZHG** 49.15: to the left of the tomb of Gung-srong.

The basic source for the metrical exposition of the tumuli is presumably the one denoted **gSang-ba Yang-chung**, cf. Chapter VIII, Appendix, note 359; Panglung, 1988, pp. 336-337.

[II] [King 'Dus-srong mang-po-rje]

The son of [king] Mang-srong mang-btsan was king 'Dus-srong Mang-po-rje Rlung-Nam-'phrul.[1097] Seven days after the passing of [his] father, [he] was born in sGrags-phu,[1098] in the water-male-rat year.[1099] The son of [minister] called mGar gNya'-btsan ldem-bu[1100] and sTag-[sg]ra khong-lod,[1101] the two, acted as [his] ministers and exerted [on his behalf] the

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1097 **BGR** 197b2-3, 198a6; **CHBYMTNYP** 292a4; **GBCHBY** 299.10-11; **DCHBY** 119.2-4; **NGTMTPH** 6a1 (Uebach, pp. 78-79); **CHBY** 139a4-5; **DTHMP** 17a6; post-**GLR**: **YLJBCHBY** 57.6-7; **GBYTSH** 122b1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70a5-6; **DTHZHG** 49.14-16.

According to Dunhuang Ms 249 (Bacot, 1940, p. 82.27-28) he was son of Mang-srong mang-btsan and consort 'Bro-za Khri-ma-lod khri-steng. Cf. also the *Chronicle* (p. 112.18-33) for his regency. For his various names, cf. Haarh, pp. 54-55. He lived 676-704 A.D. Cf. also 'Phur-bu tshe-ring, 1987.

1098 **BGR** 198a6; **GBCHBY** 299.10-11; **DCHBY** 119.3-4: sGrags kyi[s] lHa lung; **NGTMTPH** 6a1 (Uebach, pp. 78-79); **YLJBCHBY** 57.8-9; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70a6.

lDe'u Jo-sras' **DCHBY** has the correct birth-place lHa-lung of the district sGregs, as indicated in the *Annals*. Cf. also Petech, 1967, *Glosse* (repr. *Selected Papers*, 1988, p. 263); Beckwith, 1987, p. 43. sGregs/sGrags is the district located along the northern bank of gTsang-po, westward from bSam-yas. Cf. Ferrari, Map.

1099 **BGR** 198a6; **GBCHBY** 299.10-11; **DCHBY** 119.3; **NGTMTPH** 6a1 (Uebach, pp. 78-79); **DTHMP** 17a6: The water-female-bird year; **YLJBCHBY** 57.8-9; **GBYTSH** 121b2.

The entry in **GLR** following here **BGR** corresponds to 652 A.D., whereas the other texts have the water-fermale-bird year (confusing *byi* with *bya*) or 673 A.D. According to the *Annals* 'Dus-srong was born in the year of the fire-rat, alias 676 A.D and passed away in the dragon year, 704/705 A.D.

1100 **GBCHBY** 299.20, **DCHBY** 119.11-12: 'Gar bTsan-snye ldom/ldem-bu; **YLJBCHBY** 57.9-10; **HBCHBY** 70a6; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 436.19: [mGar] bTsan-snya sdom-bu.

Cf. Dunhuang *Annals*, entry 673 A.D. and Chronicle p. 102.3. His *floruit* should be situated around 670-700. He was both minister and general. Cf. also Beckwith, 1987, pp. 42, 50, 56-57 and note 1470 *infra*.

1101 **GBCHBY** 299.20 and **DCHBY** 119.12 both mention instead 'Gar Khri-'bring btsan-rgod and further add that these two were active as ministers for a spell of ten years; **YLJBCHBY** 57.10: dBas sTag-ra khong-lod; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70a6. He is mentioned in the Dunhuang *Chronicle* (Bacot *et al.*, pp 102.11, 113.2-3): sTag-sgra Khong-lod of dBa's.

Now the identification of minister sTag-[sg]ra Khong-lod (of the s/'Bal clan or the sBas-clan, prob. not id. with **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 436.11-12: [sBas] rGyal rTa-ra stag-snang) must be differentiated from the more prominent minister and member of the Ngan-lam clan: sTag-sgra klu-gong, cf. note 1181 *infra*.

As briefly alluded to by **GBCHBY** 300.16-17 and **DCHBY** 120.3-4 the minister Khu Mang-po-rje lHa-bzungs (who very well may be a contraction of [sTag-sgra] Khu [[= Kho]ng-lod] *and* minister Cog-ro Mang-po-rje!] became victims of slandery (*snyan phra bcug*) and minister Khu was accused of disloyalty (later disgraced and executed). This happened in the years around 728-729 A.D. So sTag-[sg]ra Khong-lod was not minister under this but the following king. See also Beckwith, 1987, pp. 100-106. The above note in the two lDe'u versions indicating that Mang-po-rje was calumniated must be further examined while he is recorded to have been active as a Tibetan general at least ten years later, cf. Beckwith, 1987, pp. 114-118.

rule over the [entire] kingdom. [He] married [a queen] called mChims-bza' bTsun-mo-tog.[1102]

During [the reign] of this king, seven athletic ministers (*blon po rtsal po che mi bdun*) appeared:[1103] rNgog-ring-po-la-nag-po [was capable] of lifting [high] an elephant.[1104] rNgog-gling-khams was [capable of] lifting up a three-years old (*grus po che*) *g.yag*-ox.[1105] sNon rgyal-mtshan was [capable of] cutting the waist of a falcon [in flight] with a arrow endued with a rounded head (*mda' ste'u kha ma*).[1106] dBas 'Dong-sgong was [capable of shooting] an arrow the length of three 'distances of an eye-sight' (*mig rgyang*).[1107] 'Gos g.Yag-chung was capable of filling a whole skin (*rlud phu = rlid bu*) of a stag with sand and circle it around the head.[1108] Co[g]-ro 'Brong-sher was capable of galloping a wild *'brong*-Yak downwards [a mountain-side] and [then] pull it upwards [again] (*mthur* [= *thur*] *la rgyugs pa gyen la 'then*).[1109] sNon Khri-bdun g.Yu-[s]byin was capable [while riding] on a [wild and indocile] horse to leap into an abyss and [then] drag it up again (*rta g.yang la mchong ba gyen la 'phen*).[1110]

The power (*mnga' thang*) and [material] prosperity (*dpal 'byor*) [during his regency] were equal to the gods, with strength and [military] force [this king] was victorious in the four [cardinal] directions. He instituted offerings for the [funeral] memorial of the passing (*dgongs dus kyi mchod pa btsug*) of the grandfather Srong-btsan sgam-po in lHa-sa. [Tibet] even came [to such power] that [this king] could also hold sway over [neighbouring] border-king[s] (*mtha'i rgyal po yang dbang du 'dus pa tsam byung*) [so] [this king] was more

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1102 **BGR** 197b3; **NGTMTPH** 3a1: mChims-bza' mTshams me-tog and mTshan-mo-stong; **HBCHBY** 70a6; **DTHZHG** 50.1-2.

Cf. Dunhuang Ms 249 (102.28-29): mChims bza' bTsan-ma-thog Thog-steng. For her various names, cf. Haarh, p. 55.

1103 **DCHBY** 119.4-11; **GBCHBY** 299.1-2, 299.12-20: During the kings Gung-srong, Mang-srong and especially 'Dus-srong seven astonishing (*ya mtshan che ba*) ministers occured; also called the seven great athletic men; **DTHMP** 17a6; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. 7, 116.13-14 (not listed); **YLJBCHBY** 57.13-58.1; **GBYTSH** 122b3-123a3; **DTHMPSM** 23a6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70a7-b2; **DTHZHG** 49.17-23.

In a number of the above sources, it is related how their occurence is seen as a foreboding that (in the future) a large amount of different types of tea and musicians (*ja dang rol mo ba'i rnam grangs*) would appear in Tibet. This occasioned Śrībhutibhadra, **GBYTSH** 123a3-126b1, to intercalate a small valuable essay on the origin of tea and porcelain in Tibet; cf. also Chab-spel, 1989(b), p. 255.

1104 **GBCHBY**, **DCHBY**, **YLJBCHBY**: carrying a baby-elephant (all the way from Nepal).

1105 **DCHBY**: rNgegs gling-khams.

1106 Herewith is meant an arrow (*mda'*) with a head, not being sharp and blunt (*rtse*, *rno*) as usual is the case, but axe-rounded and saber-formed edge (*ste'u kha ma = ste'u ka ma li*).

1107 I.e. three times the distance one can see with the bare eyes. **GBCHBY**, **DCHBY**, **YLJBCHBY**, **DTHZHG**: sBas (or Ca) rgod ldong/mdongs-btsan. The two versions of lDe'u instead maintain that he was able to catch a lion.

1108 **DCHBY**: 'Gos sTag-chung.

1109 All other versions: Cog-ro 'Brong-shor. **DCHBY** and **GBCHBY**: He was capable of catching/holding a wild *'brong*-Yak running full speed downwards and cast with it (*'brong thur la dkyus pa bzung nas 'phen*).

1110 Also s/gNon khri-gdas/lde yus/yul-sbyin.

powerful than [any of] the former Tibetan kings that have emerged in [direct] succession.[1111] For a [period] of twenty-nine years, [he] was in control of the royal power, whereafter he passed away in the country of Nanzhao (lJang).[1112]

> The tomb of 'Phrul-rgyal [i.e. 'Dus-srong] was located to the left of [the tomb of] Mang-srong [mang-btsan];
> The tomb being known as the one 'endowed with a divine mountain (*lha ri can*)';[1113]
> It was raised by a group of Hor-craftsmen (*hor gyi mi sde*);
> [Its] name was said to be the 'Lion-held One' (Seng-ge brtsigs-pa).[1114]

[III] [King Khri-lde gtsug-brt[s]an]

The son of king 'Dur [= 'Dus]-srong Mang-po-btsan was Khri-lde gtsug-brtan, [also] known as Mes Ag-tshom[s].[1115] In the iron-male-dragon year [he] was born in the [royal] palace of

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1111 For a brief mention of the expansion of the territory during this king, cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 292a4; **GBCHBY** 299.22-300.1; **DCHBY** 119.12-13; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70b1-3. For a brief survey of the military successes under this king, cf. Beckwith, 1987, Chap. 2-3, pp. 37-83.

1112 **BGR** 196b1; **GBCHBY** 299.20-300.2; **DCHBY** 119.13-16; **YLJBCHBY** 57.11-12; **GBYTSH** 126b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70b4.

Annals: In the hare and dragon year (703/04-704/05 A.D.) Cf. also Petech, 1967, *Glosse* (repr. *Selected Papers*, 1988, p. 258); Uebach, p. 79, n. 286. The indication of his age fits neatly, as he was born in 676 A.D. lDe'u Jo-sras especially mentions that this king was put to death (*skrongs* = *bkrongs*) by Hor (which here probably refers to the Turks). The country of lJang/'Jang previously indicated the country of Mo-so i.e. Lijiang. But during Tang, as here during a Tibetan military campaign where the king was killed, the area was known as the country or rather the Yunnanese dynasty of Nanzhao (653-902 A.D., also known under the Tibetan ethnonym La-Myva), cf. also note 155 *supra* and Beckwith, 1983, p. 5; 1987, pp. 64-65, nn. 64-67.

1113 Cf. Panglung, pp. 338-339, n. 43.

1114 **GBCHBY** 378.6-7; **DCHBY** 119.16-17; **YLJBCHBY** 58.3-5; **GBYTSH** 126b2-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70b4-5; **DTHZHG** 49.23 (last four follow **GLR**).

Cf. Panglung, 1988, pp. 338-339.

1115 Also Khri-lde gtsug-brtan/btsan. **BGR** 197b3; **CHBYMTNYP** 292a5; **BGR** 197b3, 198b2; **GBCHBY** 300.3-4; **DCHBY** 119.19.20; **NGTMTPH** 3b1, 6a2 (Uebach, pp. 58-59, 78-79); **CHBY** 139a5 (Szerb, p. 15); **DTHMP** 17a7; **YLJBCHBY** 58.6-7; **GBYTSH** 126b4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70b5; **DTHZHG** 50.1-2.

He was enthroned 712 A.D. according to the *Annals*. Dunhuang Ms 249 (82.29-30): He was son of 'Dus-srong Mang-mo-rje and consort mChims-za bTsan-ma-thog thog-steng. Cf. also *Chronicle* (p. 113.1-114.9) for details on his regency. For his various names, cf. Haarh, p. 55. He lived 704-754/755 A.D. For the complicated succession to the throne and the take-over by Mes Ag-tshom, who, due to a political mis-en-scène by the dowager queen-mother Khri-ma-lod, usurped the throne from the *heir-apparent* and rightful claimant, his elder brother lHa Bal-p[h]o, who only managed to rule for a short period, cf. Appendix, note 1137.

For an interesting note on the actual aggrandizement of his realm during his rulership, cf. **DCHBY** 120.2-18.

lDan-dkar.[1116] Minister ['Bal/sBal] sKyi-bzang stong-btsan,[1117] mChims rGyal[-gzigs] Shugs-steng[1118] and 'Bro Chu[ng]-bzang 'Or[-mang][1119], the three functioned as ministers. He married a consort named lJang-mo Khri-btsun.[1120] This king discovered in 'Phying-phu [= mChims-phu] the [prophetic] testament of the grandfather Srong-btsan sgam-po written on a copper-plate [by minister mGar][1121] and when he read [the prophetic proclamation stating]: "In the time of 'the fifth generation from me [i.e. Srong-btsan sgam-po], a king [with the name-elements] *khri* and *lde* [will emerge]', the Saddharma will spread and many *pandita*-s

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1116 **BGR** 198b2; **GBCHBY** 300.14-15; **DCHBY** 119.19.20: *pho-brang* Lan-dkar; **NGTMTPH** 6a2 (Uebach, pp. 78-79); **DTHMP** 17a7; **YLJBCHBY** 58.6-7; **GBYTSH** 126b4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70b5; **DTHZHG** 50.1-2.

The year-indication, again, is partly wrong. According to the *Annals*, rGyal-gtsug-ru [i.e. Khri-lde gtsug-brtan] was born in the [wood-]dragon year, i.e. in the winter of 704 A.D. in the place of Kho-brang-tsal (= ? *pho brang tshal*, the palace-garden [of lDan-dkar?]). Not identified. lDan/lHan-dkar is mentioned repeatedly in the ancient Tibetan documents, cf. Uebach, p. 79, n. 288.

According to the chronological data given by the Tibetan historians, he was born in 680 A.D. and, according to most of these later sources, he was sixty-two or -three years old when he passed away, which would correspond to 742 A.D, cf. note 1168 *infra*.

1117 Better 'Bal sKye-bzang ldong-ts[h]ab. **MBNTH** 88a3-5; **GBCHBY** 300.18-19; **DCHBY** 120.6-7: sBal sKyer-bzang Sra-chab (also rendered dBal sKyas-bzang Lo-tshab mtshan-zhang), who, together with minister La[ng]-bu mTho/mTha' la-[b]tsan were calumniated (*skyon phab*), although being innocent; **YLJBCHBY** 58.8-9; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 437.12: 'Bro [*sic*] sKye-bzang ldong-btsan; **GBYTSH** 126b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70b6 sBas sKye-bzang stong-btsan.

As documented in the *Annals* (pp. 56/62 and 102/132), the Zhol Inscription (South) (Richardson, 1985, pp. 6-7) and **BZH** (Chin. ed. 8.20-9.9 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 75b2-4) it is portrayed how the ministers 'Bal sKye-bzang ldong-tshab and Lang Myes-[g]zigs, both described as pro-Buddhist (perhaps by later tradition), made revolt (around 754-755 A.D.), a rebellion which had serious implications for the ensuing decades of internal development in Tibet (**BZH**: Tibet turned black (*bod nag por btang*), or became dominated by Bon). They were (made?) responsible for the murdering of Mes Ag-tshom[s]. For some cogent speculations on the complex situation, cf. Beckwith, 1983, p. 2ff.

s/'Bal sKye-bzang had been active since 729 A.D. and he succeeded 'Bro Cung-bzang (cf. note 1119) after 747 A.D. See Beckwith, 1987, pp. 141-42.

1118 Also Zhang mChims-rGyal rGyal-zigs Shu-theng. **YLJBCHBY** 58.9; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 437.1: [mChims] rGyal-gzigs Shud-thong; **GBYTSH** 126b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70b6: mChims rGyal-gzigs shu-ting.

The Dunhuang *Chronicle* (p. 102.15-16): mChims Zhang rGyal-zigs Shu-teng. He hardly could have been minister during Mes Ag-tshoms. He is mentioned in the Zhol-Inscription, South, l. 57. As Chief Minister he is listed as a sworn-in minister of king Khri-srong lde-btsan's *bKa'-gtsigs* (of 780 A.D.), cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 109b4-5. According to the Tang-Annals he was dismissed 782 A.D.

1119 Or 'Bro Chung-bzang 'Or-mang. **GBCHBY** 300.17-18: 'Gro Cung-za 'Or-ma functioned as minister for twenty years; **DCHBY** 120.6-7: 'Bro Cung-za Bar-ma served twenty-one years. **YLJBCHBY** 58.9-10; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 436.12: 'Bro Chung-bzang Ngo-ram; **GBYTSH** 126b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70b6-7.

He was appointed Great Minister in the dragon year (728)-729 A.D. serving at least until (747)-748 A.D., cf. the *Annals* (entry years: 728-32), *Chronicle* (p. 82.12) and Beckwith, p. 106.

1120 **BZH** (Chin. ed. 2.4); **YLJBCHBY** 59.4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70b5; **DTHZHG** 50.13-14.

From the petty (Yunnanese) dynasty of Nanzhao/La-Myva (653-902 A.D.), cf. note 1112.

1121 Cf. notes 954-957 *supra*.

will arrive [in Tibet] whereafter the Teaching of Buddha will diffuse", the king [immediately] thought that it referred to himself.[1122]

He dispatched Bran-ka Mu-le[1123] and gNyags sNya-nam [= Dznā-na] Ku-ma-ra,[1124] the two, as envoys, being sent off to the snowy mountain Ti-se [i.e. Kailash] [in order] to invite the *paṇḍita*-s Sangs-rgyas gsang-ba [i.e. Buddhaguhya][1125] and Sangs-rgyas zhi-ba [i.e. Buddhaśānta],[1126] but [they] declined the invitation, wherefore [the for former ones] returned [to Tibet]. Having learned five **Mahāyāna-sūtra**-s[1127] by heart and having put [them] to writing, five books were made (*bzhengs*) thereof. [He then] built five chapels for their depository (*bzhugs sa*), erecting Brag-dmar Ka-ru (= Kva-chu),[1128] Kha-che 'Grin-

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1122 Cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 1.1-3, Chin. ed. 1.1-3); **MBNTH** 82a6-b4; **NGTMTPH** 9b3 (Uebach, pp. 94-95); **YLJBCHBY** 54.18-55.1; **GBYTSH** 127a1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 48b7-49a1, 52b5-6, 70b7-71a1; **DTHZHG** 50.3-5. Cf. note 1051 *supra*, the previous note and Uebach, n. 425.

1123 I.e. Bran-ka Mūla-kośa (i.e. *rTsa-ba'i mdzod); **BZH** (Chin. ed. 1.11); **MBNTH** 82b4; **CHBY** 139a6, 157b1 (Szerb, pp. 16, 112); **YLJBCHBY** 58.13: Mū-le ko[-śa]; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71a3.

According to Bu-ston, Bran-ka and gNyags are listed as some of the first *lotsā-ba*-s in Tibet.

1124 I.e. gNyags/gNyegs Jñāna Kumāra (or Ye-shes gzhon-nu!); **BZH** (Chin. ed. 1.11); **MBNTH** 82b4; further, Nyang-ral, **KTHZGM**, Chap. VII, 35.17-38.3, also his **CHBYMTNYP** 299a3-4, 358a2, 359b5: sNyags Dzāna Ku-ma-ra [also called] Dri-med Zla/mDa'-shar; **PMKTH**, Chap. 57, 348.1-350.15, registers him as a bi-lingual *lotsāba* who was sent to India in order to invite Bodhisattva Śāntarakṣita to Tibet during king Khri-srong lde-btsan; **GBCHBY** 318.9-10, 321.11, 322.6-9, 335.20ff. *et passim*; **DCHBY** 123.2; **CHBY** 139a6, 157b1 (Szerb, pp. 16-17, 112); **KTHDNG** (NGA) 404.5; **YLJBCHBY** 58.13: **HBCHBY** (JA) 71a3. Cf. also note 1354.

His *floruit* uncertain while he is registered during several rulers. He is recorded to have been a prolific *lotsāva*, being foremost celebrated as a translator of rDzogs-chen and Tantric treatises. mKhas-pa lDe'u and lDe'u Jo-sras situate gNyags sNya-nam Ku-ma-ra among the three mediocre (or second wave of) translators that came to Tibet and were active during the period of king Ral-pa-can. Cf. de Jong, 1972, no. 115. For ref. to new biographical material on this active translator, cf. Ehrhard, 1990, p. 84.

1125 **BZH** (Chin. ed. 1.12): dPal Sangs-rgyas gsang-ba, or Śrī Buddhaguhya; **MBNTH** 82b5; **GBCHBY** 304.3-13; **CHBY** 141b6, 156b4 (Szerb, pp. 31, 107); **YLJBCHBY** 58.14-15; **GBYTSH** 127a1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 7a13-4.

mKhas-pa lDe'u attaches the translation-activity of Sangs-rgyas gsang-ba, the third stage in the translation of Buddhist texts in Tibet, to a much later period close to the erection of bSam-yas, where this *lotsāva*, together with dBas The-len, Bran-ka Mu-ru-ti (cf. **CHBY** 141b1-3) and 'Jam-dpal go-cha, made eight translations. On Buddhaguhya, cf. Tucci, 1949, pp. 87, 257, 381; Dargyay, 1979, pp. 30, 180.

1126 **BZH** (Chin. ed. 1.12-13). Identical with Sangs-rgyas dPal zhi-ba or Buddhaśrīśānta?, cf. **MBNTH** 82b5; **CHBY** 156b6 (by Bu-ston listed among the Paṇḍita-s that came to Tibet); **YLJBCHBY** 58.14-15; **GBYTSH** 127a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71a3-4.

1127 **BZH** (Stein. ed. 1.9-11; Chin. ed. 1.14-16): **Las rNam-par 'byed-pa** [= **Karmavibhanga**], TTPE no. 1005, cf. Nishioka, 1980, no. 103; **gSer-'od dam-pa'i mdo** [= **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra**] cf. TTPE nos. 174-76, Lalou, 1953, nos. 87, 251, 256; **Kriya** and **Upa-ya sha-tsam** [= **Kriya & Upāya-śāstra**-s?]; **CHBY** 139a6 (Szerb, p. 17): only two **sūtra**-s: **Las brgya-pa**, [**Karmaśataka**], cf. Nishioka, no. 74, TTPE no. 107 and the above **Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra**; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71a3-4; **DTHZHG** 50.5-7.

1128 The K[v]a-chu temple in the Brag-dmar [or Brag-mar] district. **BZH** (Stein ed. 1.13, Chin. ed. 1.18); **CHBYMTNYP** 292a5, 293b4: bSam-yas Ka-chu, first denoted a *gtsug lag khang* then a *lha khang*; in fact, Nyang-ral surprisingly contends that these temples were erected by Chinese *hva sang*-s functioning as court-chaplains; **GBCHBY** 296.16, 300.12; **DCHBY** 120.1, 121.8-9;

bzang[s],[1129] lHa-sa [m]Kha[r]-brag,[1130] 'Phying-phu [= mChims-phu] Nam-ral[1131] and Mang-gong gi lha-khang,[1132] five [in all]. From the Chinese [Capital] (Kem-shi)[1133] the

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NGTMTPH 21a7 (Uebach, pp. 142-143); **CHBY** 139a5 (Szerb, p. 16): sGa-chu Shar-sgo in Brag-dmar; **YLJBCHBY** 58.17-18; **GBCHBY** 127a2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b5, 110a5; **DTHZHG** 50.7.

For Kva-chu erected ca. 728-739 A.D., cf. the valuable discussion in Vitali, 1990, pp. 2-35. For K[v]a-chu of Brag-[d]mar, cf. the sKar-c[h]ung Inscription, l. 10-11 (Richardson, 1985, p. 75) and further ref. Uebach, 1987, p. 143, n. 906. Brag-dmar, Red Cliff or perhaps better Brag-mar (cf. the bSam-yas and the sKar-chung *rdo ring*-s, Richardson, 1985, pp. 28-29, 74-75) is, in a narrow sense, the area in which bSam-yas is situated. Brag-[d]mar functioned as regular royal winter residence at least from 695 A.D., cf. e.g. Petech, 1967, *Glosse* (repr. *Selected Papers*, 1988, p. 265).

1129 mGrin-bzang, similarly situated in Brag-dmar (not Kha-che, Kashmir?): **BZH** (Stein ed. 1.13, 22.2-3, Chin. ed. 1.17-18, 28.17); **CHBYMTNYP** 292b1, 293b4: Brag-dmar 'Gran-bzang; **MBNTH** 83a1; **GBCHBY** 296.16, 300.13; **DCHBY** 120.1: Brag-dmar 'Gran-bzang; **NGTMTPH** 9b3 (Uebach, pp. 94-95); **CHBY** 139a5 (Szerb, p. 16): 'Brin-bzang in Brag-dmar; **YLJBCHBY** 58.17; **GBYTSH** 127a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b5, 74b4-7, 76a2, 85b6; **DTHZHG** 50.7.

A certain amount of vacillation between the name mGrin-bzang and 'Brin/'Gran/m-bzang prevails. mGrin-bzang is to be prefered. It was destroyed in the wake of the defeat of the Buddhist faction in the struggle for power around 754-56 A.D., cf. e.g. **BZH** (Chin. ed. 8.5). Cf. Hoffmann, 1950, p. 294; Ferrari, pp. 44, 113, n. 123. For treasuries hidden there during the royal period, cf. **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. 8, sect. 11, 166.2-16: Brag-dmar 'Gram-bzang. Cf. also next note.

1130 **BZH** (Stein ed. 1.14, Chin. ed. 1.18, 9.9-10); **CHBYMTNYP** 272a4, 292b1, 293b4: first lHa-sa dKar-chu, then lHa-sa mKhar-brag; **MBNTH** 82b6-83a1; **GBCHBY** 296.16-17, 300.13: dBu-ru mKhar-phug; **DCHBY** 121.8-9: lDe'u Jo-sras does not mention this temple among the temples in this list, but registers its (written 'Khar-phrag) destruction by the anti-Buddhist ministers; **NGTMTPH** 9a3 (Uebach, pp. 94-95); **CHBY** 139a5 (Szerb, p. 15); **YLJBCHBY** 58.18; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b4, 76a2; **DTHZHG** 50.8-9: gSang mKhar-brag.

Cf. the notes 911 *supra* and 1173 *infra*. A mKhar-phrag is registered in the *Annals*, s.v. year 730 A.D. mKhar-brag (but also mGrin-bzang and K[v]a-chu) having barely been erected, were destroyed in the wake of the abortive Buddhist revolt around 754 A.D. against the ruling Bon-ministers surrounding the court and which led to the murder of Mes Ag-tshoms, cf. **BZH**, **DCHBY**, **HBCHBY** above and the note 1117.

1131 gNam-ral of mChims-phu. **BZH** (Stein ed. 1.14, Chin. ed. 1.19); **CHBYMTNYP** 292b1, 293b4; **GBCHBY** 300.12; **DCHBY** 120.1; **NGTMTPH** 9a3 (Uebach, pp. 94-95): Na-ral; **CHBY** 139a5 (Szerb, p. 15): gNam-sral; **YLJBCHBY** 58.18; **GBYTSH** 127a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b5; **DTHZHG** 50.8-9: sNa-ral.

Probably we shall make an equation between mChims-phu and [g]Nam-ral in the sense that the mChims-phu temple recorded in the sKar-c[h]ung Inscription, l. 11 (Richardson, 1985, p. 75) refers to the gNam-ral temple; cf. also Tucci, 1950, pp. 83-84; Ferrari, pp. 45, 115, n. 145. For treasuries hidden there, cf. **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. VIII (sect. 10) 165.12-166.1.

1132 Ma-sa-gong. **BZH** (Stein ed. 1.14, Chin. ed. 1.19-2.1): bSam-yas Ma-sa-gong; **CHBYMTNYP** 292b1; **GBCHBY** 347.6: Ma-sa gong gi *pho brang* (different context!); **NGTMTPH** 9a4 (Uebach, pp. 96-97): in a gloss it is said to have been located at the foot of lDal-po-ri (which Uebach, *op. cit.*, n. 431, locates close to bSam-yas); **YLJBCHBY** 58.18-19: Mal-gong; **GBYTSH** 127a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b5: Mas-gong; **DTHZHG** 50.8-9.

Otherwise unknown.

1133 **YLJBCHBY** 58.19-59.1; **GBYTSH** 127a3: Ker shi bas; **DTHZHG** 50.10-11: King-shi, i.e. Keng-shi or Ch. *jingshi*, 'capital', Ch'ang-an (cf. notes 123, 562 *infra*).

Keng-shi also registered in the Dunhuang *Chronicle* (Bacot, 1940, p. 114.29) and in the Inscriptions, such as Zhol (South, ll. 56, 59, 62-63), cf. Richardson, 1985, pp. 12-15.

Suvarṇa-prabhāsomottama-sūtra [mDo gSer-'od dam-pa] and the **Vinaya ['Dul-ba]** [and?] **Karmavibhaṅga [Las rNam-par 'byed-pa]** were translated. Pi-tsi Tsan-dra-śri [i.e. *Biji Candraśrī] translated also many [treatises] on [divination-astrology and] medical science.[1134]

By way of such[like] auspicious conditions (*yon tan*) [prevailing during the reign of this king], a son was born to [his] consort lJang-mo Khri-btsun, [being endowed] with a very handsome [body] that resembled a divine bodily stature, [a son] called lJang-tsha lha-dBon.[1135]

As [they] could not find any worthy spouse for him in Tibet [proper], [they] said that the manner [how] the [great] grandfather Srong-btsan sgam-po [himself had a foreign consort] should [also] be followed [in this case]. [Consequently] [an envoy], having been given precious [items] and [sundry] gifts, was dispatched in order to acquire the daughter of the Chinese emperor Dzung-dzung [i.e. Zong-zong],[1136] Gyam-shing Kong-

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The above sources apparently all follow **GLR**, and a certain confusion prevails here. The two texts mentioned were already brought along and translated by Bran-ka and sNyags, cf. the notes 1123-24, 1127. But from India. In fact, the reading in **GLR** *rGya yul Kem shi nas* could also be seen as a distortion of Ku-ma ra, i.e. gNyags Dzā-na Ku-ma-ra (note 1124), who, according to **BZH** (Stein. 1.9-11), **CHBY** 139a6, brought these two texts to Tibet. The stray **'Dul-ba** in our text is misplaced. **BZH** reads ***Karmavibhanga**, = P 1005, cf. Szerb, 1990, p. 17, n. 4, whereas **YLJBCHBY** has **Vinayavibhanga**. Our Text has apparently attempted to combine these readings.

1134 **CHBYMTNYP** 362b4-5: During the reign of (the father) king Khri-srong lde-btsan two physicians were active: rGya'i sman pa Ha-shang Te-sha and bla sman pa Myang Tsan-pa-shi; **DCHBY** 120.7-8: Ha-shang translated [treatises] on *rtsis* [from Chinese into Tibetan] and Phrom [= Khrom?] btsan-pa Shi-la-ha [similarly] translated [treatises] on *sman dpyad*; **GBCHBY** 300.4 and 300.20: [during Khri-srong lde-btsan] Be-ci btsan-pa Ha-la; **CHBY** 139a6 (Szerb, p. 17); **DTHMP** 17a8; **PMKTH** Chap. 54, 341.7; Chap. 55, 345.3-4: rGya-nag mkhas-pa Bi-rje btsan-pa or Bla-mkhyen Bi-rje btsan-pa; **YLJBCHBY** 59.1-2; **GBYTSH** 127a3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70b6; **DTHZHG** 50.10-11.

As first documented by Beckwith, 1979, and corroborated by the above sources, the corrupted Pi-tsi Candraśrī refers to the activity of a Khrom/Phrom (Roman) physician (*biji*, Sogdian: 'physician') pertaining to the Greek school, and a personal doctor to the Tibetan king, a representative of the Middle-East physician-*cum*-scholar type that were active at the Tibetan court already from the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po. The present scholar is to be identified with Tsanpaśilaha, also known as the *rgya nag mkhas pa*, the Chinese scholar, which probably indicates that he knew the Chinese language and lore, rather than he himself was a Chinese.

1135 I.e. The Divine (also Royal) Nephew (lHa-dbon) of Nan-zhao-progeny (lJang-tsha). **BZH** (Stein ed. 2.3-15, Chin. ed. 2.2-10) gives an account of his naming and appearance; **CHBYMTNYP** 292b3-293a1; **MBNTH** 83a2-6; **GBCHBY** 300.4-5; **DCHBY** 120.21-121.2: the oldest son of Mes Ag-tshom; **DTHMP** 17a8; **YLJBCHBY** 59.3-5; **GBYTSH** 127a5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71a6-b1; **DTHZHG** 50.13-14.

For his different names, cf. Haarh, p. 56. According to the *Annals*: lHas bon died 739 A.D. But see here Appendix, note 1137 and the ref. given there, for identifying the brother of Mes Ag-tshom[s], lHa Bal-p[h]o with lHas bon and thus with [lJang-tsha] lHa-dbon. Cf. also 'Jigs-med rnam-rgyal, 1987.

1136 **BZH** (Chin. ed. 2.17-18): Emperor Li (clan name) Khri-bzher Lang-mig-ser; **BGR** 197b4: Emperor Yag-'byam; **MBNTH** 83a6-b4: Khri-zheng dmigs (mainly following **BZH**); **NGTMTPH** 3b1 (Uebach, pp. 58-59): in a gloss, Emperor Yag-'dzum; **DTHMP** (Gangtok ed. 10b7, 17b8, Dung-dkar ed. 21.5-11): not Zong-zong (rg. 705-710 A.D.), but a brother (*nu bo*) of his, named Vi-dbang (or Vi[ng]-dzung) i.e. Rui-zong, rl. 710-712, was the father of Kim-sheng Kong-jo; **GBYTSH** 127a6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b2: Li Khri-bzher Mang-ma; **DTHZHG** 50.16: Yag-'jam Li Khri-bzher

jo [i.e. Jincheng Gongzhu].[1137] There [i.e. at Zim-shing khri-sgo, i.e. Chang-an] the Tibetan minister[1138] handed over the precious objects and gifts and when next the Chinese emperor inquired whether [his] daughter [wanted to] go or not, Kong-jo invoked (*dmod bor*) a mirror in [her] possession which showed [her prognostically what was] good and bad.[1139] After she had wiped it thoroughly [clean], she looked [into it] and [came to] realize that [her] destined mate (*grogs skal*) for this life was to be found in Tibet. Since she saw that this prince moreover was [both] beautiful and charming, she took delight in going to Tibet.

The emperor not only handed over [to her] an endless [amount] of dowries, but, while [he] was affectionately attached to [his daughter], he, in company of a large coterie [of attendants], even escorted [her] for a short distance until a territory which was equipped with a huge walled fortification (*mkhar rtsig*) named Zhing-Pheng-h[v]en [i.e. Shibing xian).[1140] A large tent was pitched in the place, whereafter a grand banquet was prepared [in honour

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lang-ma. Cf. the notes 165-166 *supra* and next note.

1137 **BZH** (Stein ed. 2.15-17, Chin. ed. 2.11-13, 2.17-3.3): Gyim-shing Kong-jo; **BGR** 197b4: Gyim-phya Gong-ju; **CHBYMTNYP** 292b1-3, 294b1-2, 295a2: Gyim-shing Kong-jo; **MBNTH** 83b4: Gyim-shang Ong-co; **GBCHBY** 297.4, 300.3-4: Mentioning that she erected a *dam pa'i lha khang* based upon Indian pattern!; **DCHBY** 120.7-8: Ong-chung; **NGTMTPH** 3b1 (Uebach, pp. 58-59): Gyim-cha Gang-ju; **CHBY** 139a6-b1 (Szerb, p. 17); **DTHMP** 10b4, 17a8; **YLJBCHBY** 31.17-19, 59.6-8; **GBYTSH** 127a6-b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b1-3; **DTHZHG** 50.13-19.

For her descent and lineage, cf. Demiéville, 1952, pp. 1-9, 356; Uray, 1978, pp. 568-70; Beckwith, 1983 (where details on her journey to Lhasa are delineated); Beckwith, 1987, pp. 70, 76.

She arrived in Lhasa 710 A.D. and she passed away 739 A.D. (*Annals*, p. 25), having stayed in Tibet for twenty-nine years; **DTHMP** 9b9: She died in 740 A.D. having stayed in Tibet for forty years (acc. to the Dung-dkar ed. of **DTHMP** 21.13-14: Thirty-one years in Tibet, foll. by **YLJBCHBY** 31.19). For a fuller discussion as to whom she married, cf. Appendix, note 1137. For her different names, cf. also Haarh, 1969, pp. 55-56. Cf. also the notes 167, 831 *supra* and 1474 *infra*.

1138 According to **BZH** (Stein ed. 2.12, Chin. ed. 2.20-21): The Tibetan envoy was minister gNyags Khri-bzang yang-ston; so also **MBNTH** 83b4-5 and **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b2-3: gNyags went to China as envoy with an retinue of thirty men; for the possible identification of this figure, cf. note 518 *supra*.

At variance we find **YLJBCHBY** 59.7-9, **GBYTSH** 127b1-2 and **DTHZHG** 50.19-20: Since the daughter of the gNyags-clan was not accepted (as consort for) lJang-tsha lHa-dBon, gNyags Khri-bzang yang-ston (feeling disgraced), expressed his dissatisfaction or anger by killing the heir lJang-tsha. Cf. also **GBCHBY** 375.21-376.1, where this minister is listed as one of the ten culprits who during the royal period committed regicide, the reason here being that this misdeed was perpetrated because the power was given to Khri-srong lde-btsan. The source for this is *gSang-ba Phyag-rgya-can*, cf. Appendix, note 359.

1139 **BZH** (Stein ed. 2.15-16, Chin. ed. 2.21-3.3): The mirror of *'phrul*, i.e. divination, by which one can see [into] the three spheres of existence (*srid gsum*), so also **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b3; **CHBYMTNYP** 292b3-4; **MBNTH** 83b5; **GBCHBY** 347.18-21, 300.5-6: The argentic (*dngul dkar*) mirror about the size of a litte shield; **DTHZHG** 50. 17-19. **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 23, 497.1-498.22 delineates the *modus operandi* of this divinational mirror of human existence (*srid pa'i gtsug lag dngul dkar me long*) according to Chinese lore.

1140 Only shared by **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b3-5, where dPa'-bo also reveals the source for these passages: **rGya'i deb-ther**, cf. note 135 *supra*.

Cf. Beckwith, 1983, p. 6. She left Shibing on March 5, 710 A.D. and arrived in Tibet later the same year. Cf. also Pelliot, 1961, pp. 96-97.

of] the Tibetan envoys carrying a golden letter (*gser yig pa*) [of matrimonial petition]. Even the emperor [couldn't help] shedding many tears and gave the daughter many [practical] instructions [pertaining to correct social deportment]. All criminals (*nyes pa can*) belonging to this fortified [city] were granted amnesty. The Chinese army [was kept from raiding] and [tax-collection for] harvest and cattle (*'dab nor*) were [all] cancelled for one [full] year [as a good-will gesture]. This fortified [city] was [hereafter] [re]named Kim-shing-h[v]en [i.e. Jincheng-xian].[1141]

Thereupon, a [Chinese] military escort was given [her party] [headed] by two great ministers whereafter [they] proceeded towards Tibet. Arriving at the border between China and Tibet, the [heir,] prince [lJang-tsha lHa-dbon] had [already] been invited from Tibet by the [escorting Tibetan] ministers [in order to receive her]. [Once] while they all one evening participated in a horse racing [made possible by] the light of the [full]moon, the prince too took part, but was killed by being thrown from [his] horse. [Anticipating] the imminent arrival of [his] consort [Kong-jo], everyone present were overcome with grief that the prince [now] had passed away.[1142]

> The tomb of lJang-tsha lHa-dBon [was installed] in front of [the tomb of] the grandfather.[1143]
> It was erected in a circular [form] (*zlum po*), and it [should] also contain treasuries. So it is said.

When subsequently Kong-jo, master and servants, arrived at the border between Tibet and China, Kong-jo, [having received the sad news,] was struck [by] sorrow as if suddenly hit by an arrow in [the middle of] the heart. She immediately wiped [her divinational] mirror [clean] and looked [into it], whereby she, instead of the prince [seen] previously [shimmering] with a beautiful bodily appearance, [now] found an old man [reflected], having

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1141 Cf. analogously **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b5, except the last information lacking in all other versions. See also Beckwith, 1983, p. 6; Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 267-268.

1142 Different versions of lJang-sras lHa-dbon's passing is transmitted in the later Tibetan historical sources: **BZH** (Chin. ed. 3.3-4), aside from corroborating the accident with the horse, states that at 'Phang-thang dGe-ra [in the Yar-klungs Valley] he was exorcistically killed by being hit with an arrow (*sngags pas zor mda' 'phangs pa*); **CHBYMTNYP** 293a1 tersely corroborates the horse-accident; **GBCHBY** (cf. Appendix, note 1137) records that he proved to be insane (or obtuse) and retired; **DCHBY** 20.22-121.2 merely states that he died; **CHBY** 139b1 (Szerb, p. 17) and **DTHMP** 17b8: he was killed by ministers; **YLJBCHBY** 59.7-9, **GBYTSH** 127b1-2 & **DTHZHG** 50.19-20: He was killed by the Tibetan minister gNyags (who in some versions also escorted her from China to Tibet), allegedly while his own daughter was not chosen as prospective consort for lJang-tsha, cf. note 1138; **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b3-5 quotes two versions: the one in **BZH** and the one reflected in **YLJBCHBY**.

1143 **BZH** (Stein ed. 2.15, Chin. ed. 3.5): *bang so* [*s*]*k*[*y*]*e'u* [or: *bu*] *rtsig pa*; **YLJBCHBY** 59.9-10; **GBYTSH** 127b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 70b7; **DTHZHG** 50.21.

The latter four sources follow **GLR**. With *mes* we would logically expect his grand-father 'Dus-srong, but it could equally refer to Mes Ag-tshom. Cf. Panglung, 1988, pp. 340-41.

an ugle countenance filled with hair.[1144] [This sight] made [her] very gloomy and [she] spoke as follows:[1145]

> "When [she] saw the symbolic message (*brda* [']*chad*) of the mirror,
> The girl's heart was overcome by melancholy (*gcong*);
> [She] shall return to [her] own country, [although] the way is long (*shul thag ring*);
> Longing for (*snying ring po*) the paternal relatives (*pha ming*) of the girl,
> The hope for going to Tibet has been given up;
> The Tibetan ministers are very evil,
> In a country unknown [she] has been wandering [around] unacquainted with [the localities],
> The mirror of *karman* is [certainly] a deluder (*bslu ba mkhan*)!"

Saying [so], [she] crushed the mirror and wept [bitterly].

Thereupon the Tibetan king sent an envoy, [who handed over] a letter addressed to the Chinese [Kong-jo], master and servants, [stating]: "[My] son, worthy in birth to you and equal to the gods [in beauty], has passed away due to fatal circumstances. Now, are you returning to your own country? Or [would you perhaps] come for my sake (*nged la bltas nas 'ongs*)!" The Chinese [Kong-jo] answered: "The state of being a bride (*'dun ma*) is unique, so whatever the fate has in store (*skyid sdug ci byung kyang*) [for me], I shall go to Tibet", and [so she] went [to Tibet].[1146]

When she next arrived in Tibet, the Chinese [Kong-jo] declared:[1147] "I [want] to see my aunt's chapel (*a ne'i lha khang*)", whereafter [she] went to Ra-mo-che, but having found out that the Jo-bo [Shākya-muni] was not there, [she] proceeded to 'Phrul-snang [where she] discovered that the Jo-bo [image] [had] been installed in a southern mirrored door. [She] therefore [had] the door opened and took out the Jo-bo [image] from its [hide-out] and requested to have [it] installed [properly] in the Central Chapel (*gtsang khang dbus ma*) [of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang]. [She then] instituted the [ceremony of] 'offerings [through] beholding the countenance of the statue' (*lha zhal mthong gi mchod*). As the Jo-bo [statue] had been installed for three generations in a dark room (*mun khang*), the Chinese [consort] [personally] initiated [the custom of tendering] offerings [to the statue].

1144 Aside from **GLR**, only retained in **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b7-72a2.

On the story as to why he was nicknamed Mes Ag-tshom[s], cf. also Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 292b1-293b1; cf. tersely dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 70b6 and **DTHZHG** 50.21-22.

1145 Lacking from all other versions aside from **HBCHBY** (JA) 72a2-3. But reminiscences of this song of sorrow (*sdug glu len*), although with different wording and with more details partly in verse partly in prose, are given in **BZH** (Stein ed. 3.1-5, Chin. ed. 3.6-18) also cited **MBNTH** 84a1-4.

1146 Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 293a4-b3: The old king Mes Ag-tshom offers her three alternatives (*'dam ka gsum*) to choose between; cf. also **HBCHBY** 72a1-2 being closer to **GLR**.

1147 **BZH** (Stein ed. 3.8-13, Chin. ed. 3.18-23) more detailed; **MBNTH** 84a6-b4; **CHBY** 139b1 (Szerb, p. 17-18); **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b6, 72b4-6; **DTHZHG** 50.23-51.2; **TSLKHKCH** 11a4-5, 17b1-2.

Cf. also note 1094 *supra*.

Then [Gyim-shing Kong-jo] went to 'Phyin-phu [i.e. mChims-phu] [where] she was [officially] coronated as the queen of king Mes [Ag-tshoms].[1148]

[IV] [King Khri-srong lde-btsan]

Then, one year having elapsed (*lo dus 'khor*), as a prince[-child] was carried in [Kong-jo's] body, the senior queen called sNa-nam bza' bZhi-stengs[1149] grew jealous and untruthfully declared: "I too am carrying in my body the king's progeny."

When in the iron-male-horse year king Khri-srong lde-btsan[1150] was born to the Chinese [consort] in the [royal palace of] Brag-dmar,[1151] sNa-nam bza' then approached the Chinese consort and affecting very amicable, she abducted the child of the Chinese [consort] and declared falsely (*snyon byas*): "[The child] has been born to me!"[1152]

1148 Cf. also **DTHZHG** 51.2.

It is conspicuous to note the persistence with which some sources claim that Jincheng was consort of Mes Ag-tshoms. Cf. the discussions *ad* Appendix, note 1137.

1149 sNa-nam bza' Mang-mo-rje bZhi-steng. Confirmed Ms 249 (Bacot, 1940, p. 82.30). For her different names, cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 56; Beckwith, 1983, p. 8. On the family, cf. Aris, 1979, pp. 83-91. According to the *Annals*, she passed away in the horse year 742 A.D. presumably she died in childbirth after bringing this prince to life. Cf. next note and 1171.

1150 **BZH** (Stein ed. 3.16, 4.1, Chin. ed. 4.8-10): a hare-year; **BGR** 197b4, 198b2; **MBNTH** 84b6-85a2 (foll. **BZH**); **CHBYMTNYP** 294b2-3, 295a2-b6 = **KTHZGM** Chap. VI, 33.10-34.12; **GBCHBY** 300.9, 301.2-3; **DCHBY** 121.2-3; **NGTMTPH** 6a3 (Uebach, pp. 78-79); **CHBY** 139b1 (Szerb, p. 18): earth-male-horse; **DTHMP** 17a9; **PMKTH** Chap. 54, 339.1-342.8; **YLJBCHBY** 59.15-16; **GBYTSH** 127b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 72a6-b4; **DTHZHG** 51.20-22.

The later Tibetan historiographical tradition presents contradictory data. The year iron-horse, i.e. 730 A.D., or just horse-year, is maintained by the majority of later Tibetan historiographies, and it would fit with the dates of Kong-jo's *floruit*, so also the version in **BZH**: hare year, e.g. 739 A.D., the year Kong-jo passed away. But the *Annals* (p. 26) has [water-]horse year: 742 A.D., only then Khri-srong lde-btsan cannot be of Chinese extraction (*rgya tsha*), while Kim-sheng Kong-jo passed away in 739 A.D. (cf. note 1137 above). The mother of Khri-srong lde-btsan was in fact Mang-mo-rje bZhi-steng of the sNa-nam clan (cf. previous note). While Buddhist tradition evidently has turned the tables and reversed the roles so that Kong-jo, by later tradition always painted as an ardent Buddhist e.g. by offering shelter to Khotanese monks, was ascribed the royal mothership, the information offered in the notes 1152 and 1171 *infra*, where Ma-zhang (also Zhang-blon) Grom-pa-skyes of the sNa-nam clan was in charge of the regency during a part of the heir Khri-srong lde-btsan's minority (from ca. 750 until 755, when he reached the age of thirteen years) underpins further the assumption that Khri-srong lde-btsan was of sNa-nam descent. Cf. also Rig-'grol, 1986; lCang-ra, 1986; Chab-'gag rTa-mgrin, 1990(a).

1151 **BZH** (Stein ed. 3.16, Chin. ed. 4.9): *pho brang* Brag-dmar 'Om-bu'i tshal; **BGR** 198b2; **MBNTH** 85a1; **CHBYMTNYP** 295a3, b4; **KTHZGM** Chap. VI, 33.13, 34.8; **DCHBY** 121.2-3; **NGTMTPH** 6a3; **PMKTH** Chap. 54, 339.1-342.8; **YLJBCHBY** 59.16; **GBYTSH** 127b3; **DTHZHG** 51.-20-22.

He was born in the royal palace of Brag-[d]mar 'Om-bu'i tshal. Brag-dmar is formerly the district (*yul*) where e.g. bSam-yas is located, cf. e.g. **BZH** (Chin. ed. 12.5).

1152 **BZH** (Stein ed. 4.5-10., Chin. ed. 4.16-5.2); **GBCHBY** 301.4-6: sNa-nam mo sByi-stengs kidnapped the child; **CHBY** 139b1-2; **DTHMPSM** 24a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 72b5; **DTHZHG** 51.22-52.1.

The Chinese [consort] bared her own breast and lamented (*smre sngas bton*) [loudly the loss], while [the child] squalled (*cho nges bos*) [for its mother], but the child was not turned over. The ministers were therefore summoned (*sbran*), [whereafter] the king was [duly] informed. [Fearing] therefore [exposure], sNa-nam bza' too [quickly] rubbed her own breasts with an ointment which [made them] sink down [all] by themselves (*rang gi nu ma la rang babs kyi rdzas byug*) [as if brimming with milk]. [She moreover] let [some] mother-milk trickle out (*nu zho 'ongs pa byas*) and showed it [demonstratively] to the ministers so that they too [now] were [full of] doubt and at a loss [what to mean].[1153]

As the child of the Chinese [consort] had been stolen by the senior queen (*btsun che ba*) [sNa-nam bza'], she [i.e. the Chinese consort] could be no match [to her in terms] of power (*dbang shed*) [and so] any means of [counter-]action came to a naught (*byed thabs med par song*). The Chinese [consort] thought [to herself]: 'This child now hardly can be of any benefit for me [any more]', so [she] wanted [out of revenge] to perpetrate act[s] that were to be detriment to this [cruel] Tibet (*bod 'di phung pa'i las cig byed dgos*):

In order [to attempt to] discontinue the king's lineage, she [therefore] painted a *cakra* with [her] menstrual blood on the top of the king's life-spirit mountain (*bla ri*), which resembles a lion jumping towards the sky.[1154] [It subsequently entailed its] suppression by [the installment of] a *caitya*.

In order [to prevent] wise minister[s] to appear [in the future], [she] cut the 'nose' [i.e. spur] of the minister's life-spirit mountain by means of liquid bronze.[1155]

The following passages in **GLR** delineating the strife between the two contestants as well as the geomantic probe and exposition derive, as mentioned by dPa'-bo, *op. cit.* 73a1, from **[bKa'i] Thang-yig [chen-mo]**, from which both authors quote lengthy extracts *verbatim*. This text may arguably be a currently no more extant version of **Pad-ma bKa'i Thang-yig chen-mo** (albeit different from **PMKTH**, but see e.g. note 1154 below, where reminiscences may have been retained in this text). Identifying therefore this text as the basic source for this kidnapping-myth, we may equally assume a fairly early date for this narrative recast. Nyang-ral's **CHBYMTNYP** 296a1-6 has retained a reverted version of the story, being closer to the truth we may add. Here it is stated that when the heir (i.e. Khri-srong lde'u-btsan) reached the age of five, Minister sNa-nam-zhang Khrom-pa skyes (cf. note 1171) and the sNa-nam clan claimed that the heir was of sNa-nam descent, but as the Chinese Kong-jo was very powerful, the child was kidnapped (by Kong-jo?). That is, in this version the tables are turned.

1153 Also **HBCHBY** (JA) 73b1-2. Cf. previous note.

1154 Cf. parallel **BZH** (Stein ed. 78.13-15) = **CHBYMTNYP** 465b2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 73a2-3.

Some confusion prevails while part of this geomantic or topographical description in **BZH** and in Nyang-ral's version is part of a libellous characterization offered by Glang-dar-ma, depicting the divinatory probe of the first Kong-jo (i.e. Wencheng), cf. Appendix, note 770 and 1512 *infra*. As further discussed at greater length *ad* the notes 455 and 765 *supra*, this geomantic depiction is ancient and possibly its *locus classicus* is **Thang-yig chen-mo**, an hitherto untraced or lost Vita-scroll dedicated to/composed by Padmasambhava and possibly originating from the dynastic period.

Most probably the mountain in question is lCags-kha-ri. Later in the Buddhist tradition, lCags-kha-ri (from around the XVth century: lCags-pho-ri) became the *bla ri* of Vajrapani as part of a triad of holy mountains towering in the nearest vicinity of Lhasa. For a similar geomantic description involving the suppression of various ill-boding configurations by way of the installation of Buddhist sanctuaries, cf. Chap. XIV, note 726 *supra*. For further discussion, cf. Appendix, note 1154.

1155 Cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 78.15-16, 79.3-5) = **CHBYMTNYP** 465b4, 466a1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 73a2.

The reading by dPa'-bo is perhaps better, as it has retained the simile: The minister's *bla ri*

[In order to instigate internal upheaval in Tibet],[1156] [she] even cut the tied-up tail[s] of the Tiger-mountain [i.e. dMar-po-ri] and the Lion-mountain [i.e. lCags-kha-ri].[1157]

In order to have famine (*mu ge*) break out [in Tibet], [she] cut the 'basis' (*rtsa ba*) of the mountain of the Yar-lung Me-sna, resembling rice seedlings (*'bras kyi ljang pa*).[1158]

In order to have leprocy break out in Tibet, [she] cut the 'lips' (*mchu*) of the mountain of Mang-mkhar,[1159] which resembles a great Garuḍa-bird soaring in the air.[1160]

These [two ladies] were [then] apprehended and when the child had completed one year [of age], the relatives of the two consorts were summoned from China and sNa-nam [respectively, in order] to [attend] the feast [celebrating] the [first] steps taken [by the child] (*zhabs 'dzugs kyi kyi dga' ston*). The [guests of the] sNa-nam [clan] came bringing along toys (*yo byad*) [intended] to amuse the little infant, ornaments, cloth and flower-rosaries. Thus the paternal relatives of two consorts, from China and from sNa-nam arrived in Tibet.[1161]

The king [Khri-lde gtsug-btsan] then took [his] seat on the golden throne in the royal palace, [himself being seated] in the middle (*gung la*), to the right the representatives of sNa-nam took their seat, to the left the Chinese [party]. After having filled a golden goblet (*gser skyogs*) with rice-wine (*'bras chang*), and [his] son having being [profusely] adorned with numerous ornaments, the king now handed [the goblet] into the hand of [his] son, whereafter the father declared:[1162]

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resembles a furious Mongol (*blon po'i bla ri sog po khros pa 'dra ba'i sna bcad*). A overt allusion to the China-fiendish resourceful activities of mGar (cf. Chap. XIII above). Contrarily and possibly reflecting a slightly different narrative, **PMKTH** Chap. 56, 347.2-4: A mountain [securing] that many wise ministers will come (in the future) (*blon po rig pa can mang 'ong ba'i ri*) is the mountain of 'Phying-bar stag-rtse. Cf. previous and next note.

1156 Cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 78.15-16, 79.3-5) = **CHBYMTNYP** 465b4-5, 466a1-2 and **HBCHBY** (JA): *bod nang 'khrung 'byung ba'i phyir.*

GLR, at places, has a corrupt rendering of these passages from the **Thang-yig**. In the geomatic-topographical description in **PMKTH** 347.5-6, a combined description is given: The mountain [which symbolically indicates] that wars ocassionally will break out in Tibet (*bod la skabs su 'khrug pa 'ong ba'i ri*) is a black mountain resembling a furious Mongol (*ri nag sog po khros pa 'dra ba*). Cf. previous note.

1157 Ref. previous note, and for details cf. the notes 455 and 726. **HBCHBY** (JA) 73b3 adds that Kong-jo, in a later attempt to repair these geomantic destructions perpetrated by her here, managed to connect the 'tails' [or life-line] existing between these two hills prior to her death.

1158 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 73a2-3.

The mountain is otherwise unattested. dPa'-bo, *op. cit.* 73b3, mentions that Kong-jo, after having caused this geomantic destruction, was capable, prior to her death, to restore the foundation (*rtsa ba*) of this mountain to some extent.

1159 Could it refer to mDangs-mkhar? cf. note 756 *supra*. Otherwise unidentified.

1160 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 73a4.

Instead of leprocy, dPa'-bo renders the occurence of damage (caused by) the Nāga-s (*klu'i gnod pa 'byung ba*), creatures to be true also causing leprocy.

1161 Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 72a4 (abbreviated); **DTHZHG** 52.4-6. Slightly different **BZH** (Stein ed. 4.8-10, 4.21-23) so also **MBNTH** 85a4-5.

1162 For the preceding prose passage, cf. similarly only slightly abbreviated, **HBCHBY** (JA) 73a4-5. The following metrical declaration is similarly retained in **HBCHBY** (JA) 73a5-6, whereas **DTHZHG** 52.7-10 has retained the last three lines. **BZH** (Chin. ed. 4.18-23) differs, so also **CHBYMTNYP** 296a3-4.

"[My] only child (*bu gcig po*) born to two mothers,
Although [his] body is small, it is [nevertheless] endowed with the supernatural [noetic] powers (*rnam 'phrul*) of the gods;[1163]
This golden goblet brimming with wine,
Son! Hand it over to the [legitimate] maternal uncle (*zhang*) of yours,
Have faith in who [really] is [your] mother!"

Having sworn [accordingly], the son, walking [falteringly] as best [he] could, [slowly] approached [the Chinese mother by] taking his [first tiny] steps,[1164] while the representatives of sNa-nam called upon him by showing him [their presents] such as silk-brocade, ornaments and [colourful] flower-rosaries etc. [Unimpressed,] the [child] refused to go [to their side], and [instead] went to the place [where] the Chinese [were seated], [where he] delivered the golden goblet to the Chinese and declared as follows:[1165]

"I, Khri-srong lde-btsan, am of Chinese extraction (*rgya tsha*),
[I] want no dealings (*don mi 'tshal*) with the maternal uncle of sNa-nam!"

- whereafter he climbed the lap of [his] Chinese maternal uncle.

The mother, the Chinese [consort] being overjoyed, uttered as follows:[1166]

"Released by (*'phen pa yis*) [my] *karman* [accumulated] in bygone existences (*tshe sngon ma*),
To me, the girl arriving from China,
A royal prince, [a son of a] peerless (*'gran med*) ruler, was born;
With a scornful social [behaviour] (*srid pa'i rngan can*) by whatever *karman* [accumulated],
A son born to me was kidnapped by another;
Without listing to [my] truthful words,
And although baring my breast, [my son] was not delivered [back].
[It] has deeply seared (*gzhob tu thal*) the body and mind of mine, the Chinese [consort],

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1163 For the difficult term *'phrul*, which had more connotations throughout the dynastic period, cf. note 642.

1164 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 73a6 with a slightly different order of the sentences. Here is an allusion to the celebrated first [seven] steps taken by Buddha or a world-monarch, cf. *ad* note 65.

1165 Cf. **DTHZHG** 52.12-13; but **BZH** (Stein ed. 4.9-10, Chin. ed. 4.23-5.1), **CHBYMTNYP** 296a5-6, **MBNTH** 85a5-6 and **GBCHBY** 301.5-6 slightly different, e.g. the last line reads: *sNa nam zhang gis ci zhig bgyi/ci byar yod/ci bgyis mchi[s]/ci bgyi 'tshal*. Rephrased in **DTHMPSM** 24a6-b1 with *dgos med*.

1166 The following song of joy is similarly retained in **HBCHBY** (JA) 73a6-b2; **DTHZHG** 52.15-17 (the three first lines).

In the third verse-line, **GLR** reads *'dren med*, but correct *'gran med* is corroborated by the above sources. In line four, **GLR** reads: *srid pa'i sngon/sngan chan/chad la*, where it is tempting to retain *sngon chad*, but this is grammatical impossible, even m.c. The reading in **HBCHBY**: *rngan chen* = *rngan can*, disdain or scorn, is therefore to be prefered. In line seven **GLR** reads *ma gtang bas*, whereas dPa'-bo reads *ma phan bas*, equally feasible.

Unable to withstand the disease of wrath in [my] mind,
[I felt] compelled to deteriorate (*nyams su bcug*) the [auspicious] mountainous [geo-]mantic configuration (*ri dpyad*) of the Tibetan country;
But [this] time, today the sun of the gods has [risen],
Son, you have recognized [your] maternal uncle.
The body and mind of mine, the mother can [now] safely lie down;
This deteriorated mountainous [geo-]mantic configuration of the Tibetan country:
These [deconsecrated] mountains are [by me] unerringly to be repaired."

Having [now] been [positively] identified as the son of the Chinese [consort], a grand feast of joy was prepared [in celebration].

When the son had reached the age of five, the mother died.[1167] The father Mes Ag-tshom[s], being sixty-three years old, passed away in sBal-ba-tshal of Yar-'brog.[1168]

His tomb [of Khri-lde btsug-brt[s]an] was erected on Mu-ra-ri,
In succession it was placed to the left of king ['Dus-srong Mang-po-rje] 'Phrul,
[By] name it was called 'lHa-ri gtsug-nam'.[1169] [So] it is said.

1167 Cf. also **HBCHBY** 73b3.

Firstly, the heir to the throne was not the son of the Chinese queen, who had already died in 739 A.D., while the prince was first born 742 A.D., cf. notes 1137 and 1150 *supra*. But following here **GLR**'s own computation: The prince was born in 730 A.D. (*lcags pho rta*) and Kong-jo passed away in 734-5 A.D.

1168 **BZH** (Stein ed. 7.17, Chin. ed. 8.17-18): s/rBa-tshal of Yar-'brog, he passed away while riding a horse; **BGR** 198b1-2: He passed away at the age sixty-three in a water-horse year, in sBas-pa of Yar-'brog; **CHBYMTNYP** 296b1; **MBNTH** 87b3; **GBCHBY** 300.21-22, 301.3 and **DCHBY** 120.17-18: He passed away age fifty-five at sBal-tshang of Yar-'brog resp. in a pig-year or in a horse year; **NGTMTPH** 6a3 (Uebach, pp. 78-79): Age sixty-two at sBal-pa in Yar-'brog; **YLJBCHBY**: He passed away an an age of twenty-three at sBal-tsha; **GBYTSH** 127b4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 75a7: He passed away at an age of sixty-three at sBal-tshal in Yar-'brog.

The *Annals* is silent while part of the dossier is missing and a horse-year would correspond to 754 A.D. We may assume that in this or the ensuing year the king passed away. The new king was appointed 756 A.D. according to the same source. According to the later Tibetan historians, the data of Mes Ag-tshoms are approx. 680-742 A.D., cf. also note 1116 *supra*. The place sBal-tshal etc. must be located in the vicinity of the Yar-'brog Lake. However, cf. note 708 above.

1169 **GBCHBY** 378.7-9 (metrical); **DCHBY** 120.18-19: Mu-ril ri (prose); **YLJBCHBY** 59.13-14 (prose); **GBYTSH** 127b4 (metrical); **DTHZHG** 53.19; **HBCHBY** (JA) 75a4-5 (metrical).

Cf. foremost Panglung, 1988, pp. 338-340.

[V] [Introduction of Anti-Buddhist Laws and Persecution]

By then the Dharmarāja Khri-srong lde-btsan had assumed the age of eight, so after he had seized power, he ruled over the [entire] kingdom.[1170] At this point the king had yet not reached adulthood (*nar ma son*), so ministers such as Ma-zhang Khron-pa skyes[1171] etc. who were in opposition to Buddhism (*dharma*) enacted a Law which prohibited the practice of Buddhism.[1172]

Preparation was [consequently] made again to remove the precious lHa-sa'i Jo-bo [i.e. Jo-bo Shākya-muni], but not even thousand men were able to move it, wherefore [it

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1170 A number of the sources, (cf. note 1168), maintains that he assumed full power, in accordance, incidentally, with custom at the age of thirteen.

Here **GLR** follows a version embodied in **BZH** (Chin. ed. 8.17-18) also. The basic source for the following historical narrative ultimately goes back to **BZH** and possibly **bKa'i Thang-yig chen-mo** (cf. the notes 500, 1154).

1171 Better: Khrom- or Grom-pa-skyes. **BZH** (Stein ed. 4.8-10, 8.1, Chin. ed. 8.18-19, 18.6-7, *et passim*); **CHBYMTNYP** 296a1; **MBNTH** 87b5; **DCHBY** 121.6-7: Zhang Ma-zham (= zhang); **NGTMTPH** 6a3, 9b4 (Uebach, 96-97); **CHBY** 140a2; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 437.2-3: [sNa-nam] Ma-zhang Khrom-pa skyabs; (CA) Chap. 19, 489.12-13: Zhang-ma-zhang Khrom-pa skyabs; **YLJBCHBY** 60.2-4; **GBYTSH** 128a6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 75b1, 79b5; **DTHZHG** 54.2-3.

This figure is otherwise nebulous. His person is remarkably absent from the dynastic material, although he indeed played a major role in Tibetan politics. Often he is known through his titles and abbreviations: Ma-zhang or Zhang-blon Ma-zhang. These unusual forms may possibly be explained either by the fact that he indeed was regarded as the maternal uncle (*zhang*) of the Mother (*ma*) sNa-nam bza', the real mother of Khri-srong lde-btsan, cf. note 1150 and 1152 *supra*. Or alternately, it should be conceived as a later Buddhist construction, to be understood sardonically, as the full form Zhang Ma-zhang usually is found in combination with *khrims bu chung*, the anti-Buddhist Laws which he codified, this titulation could therefore be understood as: The maternal uncle (*zhang*)-*not*-maternal uncle (*zhang*), pejoratively and in retrospect portrayed as an 'unworthy' candidate for this position. Finally, it may be a simple contraction of Zhang-blon Ma-zhang. The official titulation maternal uncle (*zhang*) was, as is known, accorded to leading members of a clan from which a Tibetan king had chosen a queen who then bore him a heir. Grom-pa skyes does not, as said, figure in the *Annals*, yet he is in later Tibetan Buddhist historiographical literature depicted as one of the anti-Buddhist culprits responsible for the temporary destruction of Buddhism under the minority of the king (is this negative depiction also a later libel contrived in order to rewrite history to the benefit of the Buddhist Kong-jo?). Hardly, because his anti-Buddhist vendetta was already recorded in the *bKa'-gtsigs* of Khri-srong lde-btsan (written ca. 780 A.D.), and this edict was actually issued in order to avoid a recurrence. Cf. dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 108b1.

The possibility that he might have held regency (cf. Uebach, 1987, n. 435-436) in the crucial years of Khri-srong lde-btsan's minority therefore appears quite plausible (the Dunhuang *Annals* most unfortunately have a gap precisely for these years). It would add further credence to the assumption that he, by blood, was the heir's (real) *zhang* and that he moreover indeed entertained Bon-sympathies. The latter is confirmed while he is recorded to have been the leading Bon-representative in a Buddhist-Bon dispute (cf. Appendix, note 1186). After the king had reached majority in 756 A.D. and prior to the dispute where Buddhism gained upper hand again, Ma-zhang was buried alive, cf. note 1183 *infra*.

1172 **BZH** (Stein ed. 7.2-4, 8.16, 68.14-69.2, Chin. ed. 4.16ff.); **MBNTH** 87b4-6; **DCHBY** 121.9-10; **NGTHTPH** 6a3, 9b4 (Uebach, pp. 78-79, 96-97); **DTHZHG** 54.3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 75b1-2. Cf. the informative note in Uebach, p. 96-97, n. 436. Reference is here to the 'Supplementary Laws' (*khrims bu chung*) codified by the ministers which legitimized their persecution of Buddhism.

eventually got] firmly stuck into the ground (*sa thams su bcug pas*) at mKhar-brag.[1173] As a consequence, some of the ministers who were in opposition to Buddhism died after they were caught [by] insanity (*smyo 'bog*), some died by having [their] backs broken (*rgyab gas*)*[1174] and famine, plagues and many ominous omens occured. All fortune-tellers (*ltas mkhan*) unanimously declared that [the calamities] were caused by the fact that the Indian statue (*rgya'i lha*)[1175] had got stuck in the sand, wherefore it was [immediately] unearthed. Contemplating to bring it to India, and [being] carried by two mule-beasts the Jo-bo [idol first] arrived in Mang-yul.[1176] At that time they [were met with the] message: "The road [ahead] is not passable (*lam la ma thar*)!" So the Jo-bo [idol] [had] to be installed [there] in Mang-yul for fourteen years.*[1177]

In order [moreover] to escort the Jo-bo Mi-bskyod rdo-rje to China, [they] brought it [as far as] the Plain of Do-mo in the eastern direction, where it was left for seven days.*[1178]

1173 mKhar-brag. Cf. note 911 and especially Appendix, note 1094 (subnote 4, 15).

For this, the second removal of the Jo-bo statue bringing it from lHa-sa to Mang-yul, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 8.3 and 28.10, Chin. ed. 8.20 and 35.12); followed briefly or paralleled by **CHBYMTNYP** 294a2; **MBNTH** 87b6-88b3; **CHBY** 139b3-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 75a5, 76b2-76a2, 79a3-4; **DTHZHG** 54.4-5. For a wider context, cf. Appendix, note 1094 (subnote 12ff.).

1174 **gloss*: *mKhar-rna-*[= *sna*] *gdong*. Cf. previous note.

1175 For the present passage, cf. **BZH** (Chin. ed. 16.18-17.1); **MBNTH** 88a6-b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 79a2-4; **DTHZHG** 54.5-7.

This could also be understood as the Chinese idol, only here the reason for the original reading is given in **GLR** and e.g. in **BZH** (Stein ed. 8.3-6, 15.5-9, Chin. ed. 9.20-10.1), cf. also Appendix, note 1094.

1176 Cf. note 1173. During the anti-Buddhist turmoil, Mang-yul was considered a Buddhist shelter of particular importance as can be adduced from e.g. **BZH** *passim*.

1177 **gloss*: *This information is given in the* ***Royal Genealogy*** *(****rgyal rabs****) compiled by the Yar-lung Jo-bo-s and in other* [*works*].

This interlinear gloss or *secunda manus*, which altogether does not stem from the hand of Bla-ma dam-pa personally, here obviously refers to **YLJBCHBY** (written by Yar-lung Jo-bo Shākya Rin-chen-sde, *op. cit.* 60.3-9), which indeed deals with the topic. This observation is important while we know that his work was written in 1376 A.D.

Assuming moreover that the entire set of glosses added to **GLR** is composed and added by one or more persons, it can be adduced that they were intercalated into **GLR** between 1376 and 1478 A.D. when the *editio princeps* of **GLR** was issued.

Only **GLR** has retained the actual duration of the Jo-bo idol's sojourn in Mang-yul.

1178 **gloss*: [*The Chinese found out that*] *it refers to another* [*idol*], *after it was identified not to be his own* (*khong rang gi*; or better read: *khong rnams*, i.e. *their*) *Jo-bo* [*idol*].

The precise meaning of the gloss here is not entirely clear. Whereas the other main idol was destined to return to India (*rgya yul*) (cf. Apppendix, note 1094), we are compelled to interpret the immediate destination of the Mi-bskyod rdo-rje idol to be China (*rgya yul*). It moreover appears evident that the present passage anent the Nepalese dowry-idol here somehow is intercalated into the present Jo-bo Shākya narrative by Bla-ma dam-pa or by some redactor. As seen from the identical passage contained in **HBCHBY** (JA) 70a3-4, this narrative passage on Mi-skyod rdo-rje is part of the first legendary removal of this statue allegedly taken away by the Chinese in place of the Jo-bo Shākya idol during a surmised invasion around 670 A.D., cf. Appendix, note 1094 (subnote 9). We may surmise that the above gloss refers to this earlier stratum of the Jo-bo legend, when the Chinese found out that their dowry-idol Jo-bo Shākya was untracable and therefore attempted to abduct the Nepalese dowry-idol. In lieu of the Plain of Do-mo (or Ngo-mo), dPa'-bo reads Ngo-ma. Unidentified, see next note.

[This place was later] called 'O-rgyal-thang.*[1179] It was ordered installed in Ra-mo-che again.

Although the king was devoted to Buddhism, the ministers Ma-zhang Khron-pa-skyes,[1180] and sTag-[sg]ra klu-gong[1181] etc. were very powerful, and nobody else was capable of fighting [them].

The king had [by] now reached majority and the king and [his pro-Buddhist] ministers concurred [with one another] that Buddhism [should] be practised [again][1182] and by various means [they] were [able] to deceive [their opponents], [with the result] that Ma-zhang [Grom-pa-skyes] was buried alive in a tomb at 'Brang-phu of sTod-lung,[1183] and sTag-[sg]ra klu-

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1179 **gloss*: [*I.e.*] *Chos-lung-mda'*.

1180 Cf. note 1171.

1181 **BZH** (Chin. ed. 15.18-19) *et passim*; **CHBYMTNYP** 351a1, b2, 375a5; **MBNTH** 89a6, 90a6; **GBCHBY** 301.12: Ngam [= Ngan-lam] sTag-ra klu-khong; **DCHBY** 121.12; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 437.11; Chap. 19, 490.8; **HBCHBY** (JA) 78b4, 96b6, 109b5. The Dunhuang *Chronicle* 102.16-17.

The noted and dynamic minister and general active from ca. 750 until, at least, 783 A.D. For details, cf. foremost Richardson, 1985, pp. 1-6. Famous foremost for the inscription established in his honour. He is usually included among the anti-Buddhist ministers by later Tibetan historians. Cf. also note 1184 and 1304 *infra*. Also recorded as active during the erection of a black *stūpa* in bSam-yas and (more surprisingly) recorded as sworn-in minister in the Buddhist *bKa'-gtsigs* of Khri-srong lde-btsan (issued ca. 780 A.D.), which *may* indicate that he turned Buddhist towards the end of his life.

Ngan-lam is an old toponym and district (and hence the clan of Ngan-lam), later known as Tshal Gung-thang. Ngan-lam tshal [g]sar-pa, or the new garden of Ngan-lam, is registered in the *Annals* for the year 702 A.D.

1182 **BZH** (Chin. ed. 14.10-12) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 78a2-3), 79a2-3; **MBNTH** 93a1; **YLJBCHBY** 60.5-6; **DTHZHG** 55.3-4.

1183 **BZH** (Stein ed. 14.8-15.2: sNa-nam Brag-phug, Chin. ed. 14.8-19.17: sNa-nam Brang-phu = **HBCHBY** (JA) 78a2-80a3) proffers a detailed account of this delusion and how Ma-zhang was tricked into self-confinement; **MBNTH** 92a6-b3; **NGTMTPH** 9b4 (gloss) (Uebach, pp. 96-97): sTod-lung Brang; **CHBY** 140a5-6; **DTHNGP** (I, 67.21-68.4, Roerich, p. 42); **GBYTSH** 128a6; **DTHMPSM** 25a4-5. Cf. also Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 293-94.

The above versions relate how he was lucked up in a building and how the entrance was blocked by a large boulder (*pha bong*). Interestingly, as confirmed by **BZH**, the building in which Ma-zhang was confined alive was located at sNa-nam Brang-phu, i.e. in upper Brang of sNa-nam. This would strongly indicate that the sNa-nam clan came from the sTod-lung Valley or had a strong basis there, an assumption also corroborated by the fact that many sNa-nam-pas later were active in the region, such as sNa-nam rDo-rje dbang-phyug who erected a number of temples in this area, cf. **NGTMTPH** 21a1 (Uebach, pp. 140-141). According to **BZH** (Stein ed. 13.9-10, Chin. ed. 17.9-10) he was either sentenced to a three years living confinement or three years of custody. This may be dated to either 756-758 or 758-760 A.D. Cf. also note 1186. It therefore remains unsettled whether the living confinement actually meant his death or not.

In fact, from dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 19b4, we are informed that during the dynastic period, the sNa-nam clan received as territorial appanage (*yul gyi dbang ris*) the territories of (sTod-lung) Brang and (sTod-lung) Zhong-ba (the Valley of sTod-lung gZhong-ba was e.g. visited by Padmasambhava, cf. **PMKTH** (Chap. 61, 368.4-7) and **DTHZHG** 57.12, and a gZhong-phyag (of sTod-lung) is registered in the *Annals* for the year 711 A.D.). These two areas were thus also called sNa-nam-yul. Cf. also Ferrari, p. 73. sNa-nam may originally designate Samarkand.

khong was expelled (*spyug*) to the North.[1184]

[VI] [A Bon-Buddhist Controversy]

An order was issued to everybody in the wake [of this victory] [allowing] for the practice of Buddhism [again].

Firstly, the Jo-bo Shākya [idol] was brought from Mang-yul [carried] upon a waggon, being [granted] a reception accompanied by music beyond measure, whereafter [the idol] was requested to take up [its] seat in the Central Chapel of Ra-sa ['Phrul-snang].[1185]

At this [very] time a person named Ānanda, being a son of a Kashmirian [named] sKyes-bzangs, who was active bartering at a market [called] Dar-tshags dgung-gseb, [a market located] between Ra-sa ['Phrul-snang] and Ra-mo-che [in lHa-sa],[1186] was summoned and appointed translator, whereafter the Buddhists and Bon[-adherents], the two, competed [with one another] in a Dispute. As the [religious] sources [*khungs*, i.e. religious arguments] of the Bon[-adherents] appeared to be weaker (*ngan par*) [than the Buddhist ditto, the Bon-adherents lost the Dispute],[1187] wherefore all the texts (*chos*) of the Bon[-adherents

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1184 **BZH** (Stein ed. 30.8-11, Chin. ed. 36.23-37.4); **HBCHBY** (JA) 91a1-2.

This exile cannot, if at all, have been for long since sTag-[sg]ra klu-khong was active at least up to 783 A.D. and also reported to have been active in the construction of bSam-yas. Cf. note 1304. A chronological problem may well be involved. It is generally accepted, cf. Richardson, 1985, pp. 1-3, that the Zhol-inscriptions may date from ca. 764 A.D. calculated from internal evidence. If his banishment reflects historical fact, and it clearly shall be seen as a punishment for his Bon sympathies, it may either be dated quite early, say around 756 (and then only for a brief period, while in the ensuing years he earned himself a great name as a brilliant general as stipulated on the above pillar) or, as suggested by Richardson, to the period early in the reign of Khri-lde srong-btsan (c. 800-815 A.D.) where a renewed anti-Buddhist opposition unfolded itself.

1185 **BZH** (Chin. ed. 35.11-12 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90a6): the Jo-bo Shākya was installed in Ra-mo-che!; **MBNTH** 100a4; whereas **YLJBCHBY** 60.8-9 and **DTHZHG** 57.22-23 follow **GLR**.

1186 **BZH** (Stein ed. 16.10-12, Chin. ed. 20.14-16 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 81a3-4); **MBNTH** 93b5: *dar tshags sgong sog*, 102a1-3; **YLJBCHBY** 60.11-13: *dar 'bag dgung gseb*; variant readings are found, perhaps a better reading than **GLR**: *dar tshags dgung [g]seb tshong 'dus sa*, is given by **BZH**: *dar tshag[s] sgo[ng] gseg/gseb*.

The real reading is possibly: [A market-place where] [wheat-grain etc.] where sifted into the air? (*bdar/rdar btsag dgung gseb*), rather than seeing in this phrase a silk-weaver or someone sifting cloth. In the end, Dar-tshags dgung-gseb is a proper place-name.

It appears that Bla-ma dam-pa by rendering the present consecutive narrative mentioning the Kashmirian Ānanda in combination with a Bon-Buddhist dispute, either has contrived a contraction of a lengthy narrative embodying these two distinct narrative segments or, less likely, the author has cited a version which records a similar narrow narrative sequence. Nevertheless, in the version embodied in **BZH**, which we for lack of other material shall regard as the oldest version dating it back to the dynastic period, the present mention of Ānanda and his activities as translator is delineated at great length, only it is *not* related to the debate or contest mentioned here in **GLR** and is thus far from directly associated with the ensuing Bon-Buddhist contest. For a fuller discussion of this point and the crucial question as to the date of the contest, cf. Appendix, note 1186.

1187 Specified in **BZH** (Stein ed. 28.1-3, Chin. ed. 34.18-19 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90a1-2): *bon khungs ngan la gtan tshigs chung | lha chos khungs bzang la rgya che | zab la gting ring | shags bzang la rno ste*); **MBNTH** 100a1-2.

subsequently] were treasure-concealed in Brag-dmar etc., some [Bon-texts] were thrown into the water, and aside from [being allowed to conduct religious rites concerning] the avertion of immediate impediments only (*'phral gyi 'gal rkyen bzlog pa tsam min pa*), [any extensive practice of Bon] was prohibited [altogether].[1188]

Thereafter the king and all his ministers held counsel, and sBa gSal-snang was dispatched to India in order to invite the abbot [and master] (*mkhan po, upādhyāya*) Bodhisattva [Śāntaraksita] [to Tibet],[1189] [being inspired, while sojourning in Nepal, to make the journey] through the power of a vow once [tendered] by three young boys in the presence of the *caitya* [named] Bya-rung kha-shor.[1190] sBa gSal-snang thus invited the abbot and [the latter] arrived at the [king's] palace [in Brag-dmar].[1191]

[Meanwhile] the king, without [even] binding his girdle (*sku rags*) around his body, took hold of one full *bre* [measure] of gold-dust and [hurried] to arrive at the abbot's reception. [It] induced the abbot to declare: "King! The fact that you are wearing [your] turban on the head means that in the upper (*stod*) [i.e. western, i.e.] mNga'-ris, the [secular] law will be abolished as much as the [size of your] hat. The fact that [you] are wearing shoes (*chag*) on [your] feet, [shall] indicate that in the lower (*smad*) [eastern] mDo-Khams the [secular] law will be abolished as much as the [size of your] shoe. The fact that [the king] has not fastened [his] girdle around his body, [shall] indicate that the king's law is in fear of being quickly abolished here in the central [part of Tibet, i.e. dBus-gTsang]. However, by offering a present of precious stones, it will [still] be possible to practice Buddhism."[1192]

The function of a translator in this episode is not entirely clear, and, in fact, as recorded in **BZH**, the translator is lacking altogether from the narrative. Cf. Appendix, note 1186 for more details.

1188 **BZH** (Stein ed. 28.2-8, Chin. ed. 34.19-35.4) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90a2-4) details on the extent of the prohibition of Bon-activities; **YLJBCHBY** 60.14-16. Cf. also Karmay, 1972, pp. 93-97.

1189 **BZH** (Stein ed. 15.14-16.15, Chin. ed. 19.10-21.5) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 80b6-81a6.

Via Mang-yul, sBa gSal-snang's attendants were: Lang-'gro snang-ra; sNyer-btag/rtag btsan ldong/lhong-gzigs (cf. note 1223) and 'Brang/sBrang rGya-ra/rGyas legs-gzigs; **MBNTH** 88b2; **NGTMTPH** 13a5 (Uebach, pp. 112-113); **CHBY** 140a2-3, 140b1.

1190 Only indirectly retained and alluded to in **BZH** (Stein ed. 16.16-17.5, Chin. ed. 21.8-13); **CHBYMTNYP** 327a2-329a5 (the story about the three (the king and the two Indian masters) here situated after the bSam-yas inauguration), 348b4-353a1, 364a3-4; **KTHZGM** Chap. 15, 86.16-92.2; **MBNTH** 93b5ff; **GBCHBY** 337.14-20, 340.16-18; **PMKTH** Chap. 58, 351.1-355.9; **DTHNGP** (I, 63.12-64.14, Roerich, pp. 38-39); **HBCHBY** (JA) 83a4ff.

Here is a brief reminiscence of the tale of Bya-rung kha-shor, i.e. the legendary account anent the Bodhnāth Stūpa in Nepal, an independent text-cycle associated with the life and biography of Padmasambhava. dPa'-bo adduces that many *lo rgyus* and *rnam thar* prevail of the invitation. The discovery of this narrative is ascribed to lHa-btsun sngon-mo (cf. note 1595) of the XIIth century, a scion of Yum-brtan and Glang-dar-ma. Cf. Dowman, 1973, *The Legend of the Great Stupa*.

1191 **BZH** (Stein ed. 16.6-7, Chin. ed. 20.5) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 80b2-3: sTon-khang dPe-har, lHa-sa dPe-har, i.e. the lHa-sa *vihāra* = Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang. First later the abbot was invited to *pho-brang* Brag-dmar, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 16.14, Chin. ed. 21.4-5) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 81a6.

1192 Slightly abbreviated in **BZH** (Stein ed. 17.5-9, Chin. ed. 21.13-20) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 81b2-3.

[VII] [The Invitation of Padmasambhava]

Thereupon the Kashmirian Ānanda functioned as translator, whereafter [the abbot Śāntarakṣita] preached the Dharma to king and ministers.[1193] But the malignant demons and creatures (*'dre srin*) of a dark [i.e. anti-Buddhist] orientation (*nag phyogs*) [occupying the Tibetan soil] were displeased [with these sermons] and [they reacted by causing] the occurence of lightning, bad harvest (*lo* [= *lo thog*] *nyes*) and plagues.[1194]

In order therefore to bind these creatures by oath, the Teacher Padmasambhava was invited from the Land of U-rgyan [i.e. Oḍḍiyāna],[1195] whereafter he bound the demons and creatures of Tibet by oath [plighting them to serve and safeguard Buddhism in Tibet], whereby [all inauspicious] impediments [which might threaten] the practice of Buddhism were eliminated.[1196]

The Teacher offered the life-water of [becoming a] Vidyādhara to the king, which made those ministers who were in opposition to Buddhism request the king: "Please do not drink [it], since it is [nothing but] poison [in form of] stupefying water (*smyo chu dug*) from Mon[-yul]!" This too made the king [so] doubtful that [he] refrained from drinking [it].[1197]

In order to prevent leprosy to break out as sickness, the Nāgarāja Mal-gro gZi-chen [= can] was bound by oath and [when being] held down [by] a thunderbolt (*rdo rje bsnun*), gZi-can transformed [himself] emanationally into a little boy who [then] committed [himself] to assist [the king in erecting temples etc.]. Having [moreover] promised to offer the king the supernatural attainments (*siddhi*) that secured [all] wishes *ad libitum*, the king accepted the vow after having employed [gZi-can] as intercessor to the Nāga-s.[1198]

1193 **BZH** (Stein. ed. 17.9-11, Chin. ed. 21.21-23) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 81b3-4, 84a2: At the *pho brang* of Rlung-tshugs/tshub (a place visited by Kamalaśīla on his way to Tibet, cf. note 1370), the doctrines of the *daśakuśala*, the eighteen *dhātu*-s and the twelve-chained *pratītyasamutpanna* were taught; **MBNTH** 91b6: *pho brang* Klu-tshugs; **CHBY** 140a4, 140b3-4.

1194 **BZH** (Stein ed. 17.10-13, Chin. ed. 21.24-22.2) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 81b4-5: The *pho brang* of 'Phang-thang was flooded, dMar-po-ri hit by lightning and human and cattle plagues occured; **MBNTH** 94b5-95a5; **CHBY** 140b4.

1195 **BZH** (Stein ed. 17.13-18.13, 20.8-21.15, Chin. ed. 22.3-23.10, 25.14-27.14) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 81b5-82a6, 84b7-85b5 (slightly longer); **KTHZGM** Chap. 8, 38.4-41.10; **CHBYMTNYP** 299a3-301b6, 340.5-341.14; **MBNTH** 95b6-96b6; **GBCHBY** 302.21-303.5; **CHBY** 141a1-2; **PMKTH** Chap. 57-60, 348.1-367.11.

In Nyang's version it is gNyegs Kumāra (note 1124) and two assistents who are dispatched, during the reign of king Mes Ag-tshoms, to invite the master. mKhas-pa lDe'u's version lists mChims Śākya sra-ba (note 1204), Shud-pu dPal gyi seng-ge (note 1299) and sNa-nam rDo-rje bdud-'joms.

1196 **BZH** (Stein ed. 23.7ff., Chin. ed. 29.7ff.) = **HBCHBY** 83a4ff.; KTHZGM Chap. 9-10, 41.11-50.16; **CHBYMTNYP** 301a5ff.; **MBNTH** 96b6ff.; **GBCHBY** 303.1-20, 341.15ff.; **PMKTH** Chap. 59-62, 362.1-383.17); **KTHDNG** (KA) *passim.*

The details on the itinerary or travel by the Tantric master being active subduing the local *genii* and creatures of the Tibetan soil constitute additional chapters in the usual Vitas dedicated his life.

1197 **BZH** Stein ed. 24.8-25.11, Chin. ed. 30.8-31.20) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 86b7-87b4; **CHBYMTNYP** 373a1-377a4 (slightly different).

1198 **BZH** (Stein ed. 23.14-24.1, Chin. ed. 29.17-22) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 86b4-6. On the Nāgarāja Tapasvi/Manasvī (gZi-can) of the Mal-gro district, the most powerful Nāgarāja subdued by

Again, when the Teacher [Padmasambhava] wished to turn all the upper and lower [lying] sandy deserts [of Tibet] into grassy meadow,[1199] the wicked [anti-Buddhist] ministers asked the king: "It is said that the Teacher, *qua* [his] magical faculties (*rddhi*), is not going to stay [here] for long and that it is inproper [what he does], so [one should] not ask him to carry through with it (*ring 'di mi gnas shing mi rung ngo zhes zer te mdzad par ma zhus*)! Furthermore,*[1200] the Teacher is very powerful, so it is certain that he will harm the royal rule (*rgyal srid*), therefore, kindly ask the Teacher to leave for [his own] country!"*[1201]*[1202]

Thereupon the king convoked the [entire] Tibetan populace and since formerly the example of renunciates [i.e. ordained [monks]] (*pravrajyā*) had not [yet] been [seen in Tibet], and in order to see whether it was possible [at all] for ordained [monks] to appear in Tibet, seven [particularly] sharp-witted sons of the ministers or the people were ordained in the presence of Bodhisattva [Śāntarakṣita]. Among these, [one finds] Ratna, son of Shang-shi of the sBa [clan],[1203] Śākya bre-ba, son of A-nu of the mChims [clan],[1204] Vairocana, son of

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Padmasambhava. Cf. for greater details, Appendix, note 790.

For its parallel in the Padmasambhava Vita-s: Nyang-ral's **KTHZGM** Chap. 10, 48.5-12 resp. Chap. 11, 52.16-54.5; Chap. 20, 119.15-123.5; O-rgyan gling-pa's **KTHDNG** (KA) Chap. 18, 56.9-60.19, Chap. 24, 81.9-82.8 resp. Chap. 24, 77.1-22, 82.4-8 (cf. also Blondeau, 1971, pp. 88-91, 115); **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 17, 485.12-486.8 resp. Chap. 28, 519.5-19; and his **PMKTH** Chap. 62, 377.3-16 resp. Chap. 60, 367.5-6; Chap. 62, 380.5-14 (cf. also Toussaint, pp. 248, 258); Nyang-ral again in his huge **CHBYMTNYP** *op. cit.* 314b1-317a5, finally combines the two related sets of stories; **MBNTH** 98b3-4. Cf. also briefly, **CHBY** 141a3; **GBYTSH** 129a2-b2.

1199 **BZH** (Stein ed. 25.3-8, Chin. ed. 31.3-15) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 87a5-6; **CHBY** 141b5.
Chab-spel, 1989(b), p. 298.

1200 **gloss*: *When the Teacher married the king's consort mKhar-chen-bza' 'Tsho-rgyal [received by him] as fee for [bestowing] empowerment (dbang yon) [upon the king], all the ministers were very displeased. Reporting slander (snyan phra zhu) [about the Teacher] to the king, the king [hereafter] refrained from listening to the Teacher, wherefore it is said that three major debacles ('dzol pa chen po) hit [Tibet] etc.*

Also cited and further elucidated by dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 88b7-89a2, who on his part cites Sa-skya Bla-ma dam-pa'i **Chos-'byung**, i.e. **GLR**. This may indicate that dPa'-bo himself did not have access to the Padma-Vitas delineating the above episode from his life, beyond the information given by Bla-ma dam-pa. Both authors wrote their works at bSam-yas.

Cf. also the notes 1229-30. Cf. Chab-spel, 1989(b), p. 300.

1201 This passage is untraced in other sources, but a rough parallel about the intrigues and the route of Padmasambhava leaving Tibet for the border-area may be found in **BZH** (Stein ed. 26.12-27.9, Chin. ed. 33.1-34.5) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 88a4-b5. **CHBY** 141b5-6.

1202 **gloss*: *In the **bSam-yas kyi ka-tshigs** it is stated that the Teacher again went to the land of U-rgyan, and it is stated that after [he] had held counsel with the king, he took up residence in Tsa-ri etc. [instead] and after Ma-zhang Khron-pa-skyes had been killed, [Padmasambhava] again came to bSam-yas.*

Cf. previous note for reference. Since this passage is lacking altogether from **BZH**, it is evident that **bSam-yas Ka-tshigs [chen-mo]** represents an early and larger version of **BZH**. Cf. the Introduction to this book.

1203 Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 50.13-16, and esp. Chin. ed. 58.6,19-22: sBa (*gloss*: Shang-shi-ta) Khri-gzigs was called sBa dPal-dbyangs prior to becoming a monk, whereafter he was called sBa Ratna; **MBNTH** 117b4, 118a6-118b2; **NGTMTPH** 10a6, 13a6 (Uebach, pp. 100-01, 112-14): Ratna, son of rBa rMang-gzigs; **CHBY** 141b3, 145a1, 157b2 (Szerb, pp. 29, 44, 113): sBa Khri-bzher Sang-shi-ta; **HBCHBY** (JA) 80b6ff.

Cf. Tucci, 1958, II, pp. 20-21. Possibly sBa Ratna and sBa S[h]ang-shi-ta are identical.

Ratna of the Pa-gor [clan],[1205] rGyal-ba mChog-dbyangs of the Ngan-lam [clan],[1206] *ācārya* Rin-chen mChog of the rMa [clan],[1207] Klu'i dBang-po bsrungs-pa of the 'Khon [clan][1208] and [finally] Legs-grub of gTsang,[1209] these seven were ordained wherefore they became known as the 'Seven Awaken Men' (*sad mi mi bdun*).[1210] Likewise were three hundred sons of the [many] queens, ministers and people ordained. Sharp-witted [individuals] were dispatched to India, send [there] in order to study philology and the [art] of translating.

Conflicting accounts as to his identity prevail and the picture is far from pellucid. Cf. the notes 859 and 1363, where sBa is identified with dBa Ye-shes dbang-po.

1204 I.e. Śākyaprabhā (*Śākya 'od). Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 50.3-4, Chin. ed. 58.7-8) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 103a5: Śākya, son of mChims A-nu; **CHBYMTNYP** 473a6; **MBNTH** 117b4-5; **NGTMTPH** 10a6 Uebach, pp. 110-111); **CHBY** 141a1, 142a1-2 (not listed as *sad mi*); **PMKTH** Chap. 59, 356.9; **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 2, 233.15, 234.10-18; **HBCHBY** (JA) 83a6, 104a3.

Not always counted among the seven *sad mi mi bdun*. According to Bon-sources, he is recorded to have been one of the Buddhist representative in the Bon-Buddhist contest, cf. Appendix, note 1186 *supra*.

1205 Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 50.3, 51.2, Chin. ed. 59.2-3) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 103a5: Vairocana, son of Na-'dod (gloss: also called He-'dod) of Pa-gor; **CHBYMTNYP** 341b4, 342a1, 346a3,b3, *et passim* (s.v. Meisezahl index); **MBNTH** 117b4, 118b2; **CHBY** 141b1-3, 157b3: Vairocana[rakṣita] of Pa-gor.

Cf. Tucci, 1958, II, pp. 12-26. For [s]Pa-gor, cf. Ferrari, p. 52, 129. Cf. also note 1326.

1206 Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 51.2, Chin. ed. 52.3-4) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 103b2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 367b1, 368a3, 421a6, 473a4; **CHBY** 141b3, 149a2-3, 157b1; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 403.15, (CA) 482.9.

Cf. also note 1329 *infra*. For the Ngan-lam clan and district, cf. note 1181.

1207 Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 51.2-3, Chin. ed. 59.4) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 103b3; **CHBYMTNYP** 354a3, 358a2 *et passim* (s.v. Meizezahl index); **MBNTH** 118b2; **GBCHBY** 318.10, 322.5, 328.13, 366.15-17 *et passim*; **NGTMTPH** 12b5 (Uebach, pp. 110-11); **CHBY** 141b1-3, 146a5, 157b3; **DTHMP** 18a5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 125a5;

Cf. Tucci, 1958, II, pp. 13-19. His *floruit* uncertain, while his activities are occasionally registered under the reign of Khri-srong lde'u-btsan through Glang dar-ma.

1208 I.e. often also *Nāgendra[rakṣita]. Cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 421b4-5; **NGTMTPH** 12b5 (Uebach, pp. 110-11); **CHBY** 141b1-3, 142a4, 157b5: 'Khon Khu'i dbang-po srung-ba; **HBCHBY** (JA) 125a3.

Cf. Tucci, 1958, II, pp. 13-15. Cf. also note 1356.

1209 Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 64.7) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 122a6; **CHBYMTNYP** 341b4-5: rTsang Tho-legs gyi bu gTsang Legs-grub; **NGTMTPH** 10a6-7 (Uebach, pp. 100-01); **CHBY** 141b3.

1210 Cf. foremost Tucci, 1958, II, pp. 12-26 for a comparative study of the seven first 'world-renunciates' or ordained monks. The list differs markedly within Tibetan historiography, often are only six men mentioned, partly differing from the above list, cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 50.16-54.4, Chin. ed. 58.23-59.10); **CHBYMTNYP** 334b3-4, 336a4: *Bod kyi ban de mi drug*; **MBNTH** 118a6-b3.

Nevertheless, this present section on the *sad mi mi bdun* should properly be inserted into the narrative after the erection of the bSam-yas *vihāra*, while these seven men were first ordained on the eighth day of the first month of spring in a sheep year which can only refer to 779 A.D. Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 102b6-103a2. Nine days later bSam-yas was formally consecrated according to the king's edict. But while, as it has been shown by Yamaguchi, 1984, p. 408, the Tibetan calender started from the first day of the third month of spring, the first month of spring of any given year must, when converting it to a corresponding Western date, be situated in the preceding year, *in casu* 778 A.D. of our calender.

[VIII] [Preparation for Erecting a Temple]

A wish then [came] to the king's mind to erect the dPal bSam-yas mi-'gyur lhun-gyis grub-pa'i gtsug-lag-khang (i.e. the Glorious Inconceivable Immutable Spontaneous Temple), wherefore he held counsel with [his] religious ministers (*chos blon*) such as minister 'Gos etc.[1211]

> "If [one] does not take recourse to troublesome work [also],
> Simple work shall not be accomplished!"

[It was] said. [Having again] convened the ministers and [entire] Tibetan populace under [his] sway (*mnga' 'og*), the king declared:[1212] "I am the great[est] of the Tibetan kings which have appeared hitherto. I therefore must leave behind a great monumentum (*las rjes*) [for posterity], so [to meet this end, I ponder whether I] should construct a receptacle (*caitya*) made from crystal material equal [in size] to the Shar-ri Mountain?[1213] Or should [I] erect a castle (*mkhar*) which can be seen from China, the country of [my] maternal uncle?[1214] [Again,] should [I] [perhaps] coat the [Mountain of] Has-po-ri with copper?[1215] Or [rather] dig out a well [measuring] nine hundred and ninety fathoms (*'dom*) [deep] into the [Plain of] dKa'-bcu-thang?[1216] Or [try] to fill the [Valley of] Va-lung grog[s]-mo with gold-dust?[1217] Or [perhaps try] to divert the gTsang-po [river] into a [subterranean] recess (*sbubs su 'jug*)?[1218] Or [finally] erect a [miniature] temple about the size [or measure] of one *bre*,

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1211 **BZH** (Stein ed. 28.10-29.12, Chin. ed. 35.19-36.7, 37.5-7) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90b1-3.

The source for the following metrical couplet remains unattested (arguably **bSam-yas Ka-gtsigs chen-mo**), but the sense may be deduced from the context of **BZH**. Cf. also **MBNTH** 92a5-6, 92b1. For minister 'Gos Khri-bzang yab-lhag, cf. the notes 1221, 1332-33.

According to the above **BZH**-passages sBa gSal-snang first wanted to erect a temple in the Glags Valley (Glag-mda') (of Ba-lam), cf. also **BZH** (Stein ed. 15.14); **MBNTH** 88b3, 91b4, 93b4, 100a5; **NGTMTPH** 13a5 (Uebach, pp. 112-13, n. 611).

The geomantic probe was conducted by Bodhisattva Śāntarakṣita, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 28.16); **GBCHBY** 337.21-338.15.

1212 Cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 29.10-30.2, Chin. ed. 36.1-14) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90b2-6. Cf. also **PMKTH** Chap. 55, 344.2-345.3 (succession and details differ); **GBYTSH** 18b1-4 (brief).

Cf. note 1235 *infra*. In Stein ed. of **BZH** (foll. by **MBNTH** 101a3-b3) this list of possible alternatives given by the king is inserted after the geomantic probe (*sa dpyad mdzad*) contrived by Śāntarakṣita, whereas the sequence of the Chin. ed. of **BZH**, **HBCHBY** and **GLR** corresponds.

1213 **BZH** (Stein ed. 29.14-15: Gangs-ri, Chin. ed. 36.9: Shang ri) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90b4; **CHBYMTNYP** 297b1; **MBNTH** 101a6; **PMKTH** Chap. 55, 344.9-10.

1214 **BZH** (Stein ed. 29.14, Chin. ed. 36.8) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90b4; **CHBYMTNYP** 297b2; **MBNTH** 101a5-6; **PMKTH** Chap. 55, 344.9-10 (text corrupt).

1215 **BZH** (Stein ed. 29.16, Chin. ed. 36.10) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90b4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 297b3; **MBNTH** 101b1; **PMKTH** Chap. 55, 344.9 (text slightly corrupt).

1216 **BZH** (Stein ed. 29.16-30.1: dKa'-chu'i thang, Chin. ed. 36.12-13: Ka-chu thang) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90b5; **MBNTH** 101b1-2; **PMKTH** vacat.

1217 **BZH** (Stein ed. 29.15, Chin. ed. 36.9-10) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90b4: Va-lung grog[s]-po; **CHBYMTNYP** 297b5: Val-mo grog-po; **MBNTH** 101a6-b1; **PMKTH** Chap. 55, 344.10-11.

installed with the receptacles of Triratna?[1219] Please choose [for me]!"

To everyone the royal command (*bka'*) plunged [itself] heavily upon their minds as if [being weighted down] by a golden boulder, and unable to respond [they just] remained starring [at one another in perplexity].[1220]

Thereupon the religious ministers 'Gos,[1221] Zhang Nyang-bzang[1222] and gNyer sTag-btsan 'dong-gzigs[1223] etc. rose and addressed [the king]:[1224] "Ruler! What is [the meaning]? (*rje ci lags*)[1225] It is impossible that a crystal[-made] *caitya*, equal in size to the Shar-ri [mountain], [even] in this [very] life should be accomplished. It is not [even] possible to think about [erecting] a castle [which can] be seen [from] China. And although we collected all the copper which [we possibly could find] inside Tibet, we shall not [have enough to] coat Has-po-ri. [We] cannot even fill the Va-lung grog-mo [Valley] with sand, [how] then with

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1218 **BZH** (Stein ed. 29.16, Chin. ed. 36.11-12) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90b5; **CHBYMTNYP** 297b5; **MBNTH** 101b1-2; **PMKTH** Chap. 55, 344.13.

1219 **BZH** (Stein ed. 30.1-2, Chin. ed. 36.13-14) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90b5; **MBNTH** 101b2; **PMKTH** Chap. 55, 344.11-12.

1220 **BZH** (Stein. ed. 30.2-3, Chin. ed. 36.14-16) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90b6: (briefer) Since the king's behest was impressive, the people attending dared not choose, and the population was terrified; **MBNTH** 101b2-3.

1221 Cf. the notes 1332-1333 for this central pro-Buddhist minister during Khri-srong lde-btsan's reign. The 'Gos clan received as territorial appanage the district or estate of 'Ching-nga [= 'Phying-nga/ba?] in the Valley of 'Phyongs-rgyas. But see differently, **Myang chos-'byung** (Chin. ed., 77.14-15, 155.8).

1222 Or Zhang Nya-bzangs. **BZH** (Stein ed. 12.1-4, 14.2, 15.4, 17.4-5, 30.3, Chin. ed. 16.14, 17.22, 22.4, 36.16); **MBNTH** 92a5,b1, 101b3; **NGTMTPH** 10a7 (Uebach, pp. 100-01); **CHBY** 140a4-5, 157b4; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 19, 22-23; **HBCHBY** (JA) 79a2, b3 *et passim*.

He figures as active pro-Buddhist minister under king Khri-srong lde-btsan. He was engaged in inviting Indian masters to Tibet and participated in eliminating the anti-Buddhist Zhang-ma-zhang Grom-pa-skyes. His son lHa-bu was considered one of the seven *sad mi*. Cf. also note 1337 *infra*.

1223 Also sNyer-btag/rtag/stag bTsan-ldong-gzigs. **BZH** (Stein ed. 16.5, 17.15, 28.14, 29.6, Chin. ed. 20.3, 22.6, 37.6): **MBNTH** 100a6-b1,b6: gNyag sTag-btsan gdong-gzigs is listed as one of the three main-responsible for the erection of bSam-yas. **GBCHBY** 338.5,8. In **NGTMTPH** 5a1-2, 13b7 (Uebach, pp. 28-29, 70-71, 116-117): gNyer sTag-tshal lhong-gzigs or gNyer sTong-btsan lhong-gzigs; **GBYTSH** 111a5; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 19, 491.7-9: gNyer sTag-mtshan gdong-gzigs; **HBCHBY** (JA) 112b6-7, he is listed as the seventh out of seven wise ministers during the Dynasty.

Active pro-Buddhist minister during king Khri-srong lde-btsan, participated e.g. in inviting *mkhan po* Śāntaraksita to Tibet according to some accounts. He is registered to have been one of the Buddhist representatives in the Bon-Buddhist contest taking place in 759 A.D., cf. Appendix, note 1186 *supra*. His *floruit* is to be situated in the middle and later part of the VIIIth century, but according to Nel-pa, 13b7, the same minister(?) is also listed as general who was urged to erect, during the reign of Ral-pa-can, the temple of rGya'i Hva-shang as atonement for participating in a military campaign against China. According to **HBCHBY** (JA) 19a3, the gNyags clan is recorded to have received as territorial appanage or estate, the area of [Yar-lung] Sog-kha during the royal period.

1224 **BZH** (Stein ed. 30.3-7, Chin. ed. 36.16-22) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 90b6-91a1; **MBNTH** 101a1-b2; **PMKTH** Chap. 55, 344.14-345.3.

The last part of this citation is lacking from **BZH**.

1225 **GLR** B: Dear Ruler! (*rje gcig lags*). Equally possible, perhaps better as this reading is repeatedly conserved in **BZH** (Chin. ed.), whereas Stein ed. supports **GLR** A. Cf. also **MBNTH** 101b1-6.

gold-dust! Nor could [we] even dig a well hundred fathoms [deep], not to [talk] about nine hundred [fathoms]! Whereas the gTsang-po [river] during winter [may be] conducted into a [subterranean] recess, [this is] not [the case] during summer. Compared to that, [better would it be] to erect a [miniature] temple with the size [or measure] of one *bre*, [which would be] a king's vowed [tutelary] (*thugs dam*) [temple], the shelter of the population, the foundation of all benefit and happiness." They all agreed: "It is better to [choose] like that!"

The king then asked:[1226] "Great Teacher! Where are my parents, the two, [now]?" The teacher prophesied: "King! Your [late] father has been [re]born as a great *pandita* in India. In the time of your grandson,*[1227] [he] will come to Tibet. As to your [late] mother, [she] has been [re]born as daughter to a poor married couple (*bza' mi*) in Zung-mkhar. Their name (*ming*) and stock (*rus*) are as follows."

Thereafter the king married five consorts, namely Tshe-spong-bza' Me-tog-sgron,[1228] mKhar-chen-bza' 'Tsho-rgyal,[1229]*[1230] 'Bro-bza' Byang-chub-sgron,[1231] 'Chims-bza' lHa-

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1226 Cf. similarly **HBCHBY** (JA) 99a2-4, where dPa'-bo states that this passage is derived from a different account (*lo rgyus*) (than the usual ones employed by dPa'-bo in this section, foremost **BZH, Thang-yig chen-mo**), without identifying the source. **HBCHBY** reads Zur-mkhar instead Zung-mkhar. For Zung-mkhar, cf. **BZH** (Stein. ed. 25.7-8, Chin. ed. 31.14): (different context). It is situated in a tributary valley to gTsang-po, located to the west of bSam-yas. The king passed away there. cf. note 1380. Cf. also, Petech, 1988, *Selected Papers*, p. 267.

1227 **gloss*: [*He was*] *prophesied to be*[*come*] *pandita Dānaśīla*.
Cf. also **HBCHBY**, ref. in previous note.

1228 **BZH** (Stein ed. 46.11-12, Chin. ed. 54.17-19); **BGR** 197b4; Tshe-spong-bza' rGyal-mtsho skar-ma; so also **NGTMTPH** 3b2 (Uebach, pp. 60-61); **CHBYMTNYP** 296b2; **CHBY** 141a5 (Szerb, p. 27); **PMKTH** Chap. 54, 342.1-2: Tshe-spong-bza' ni dMar-rgyan.
For her different names, cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 57. Cf. note 1312 *infra*. She was renown for her role in the throne-succession of Mu-ne btsan-po courting thereby her own fatal end, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 68.4-11) and also the notes 1398-1399. The Tshe-spong clan played a major role in dynastic Tibet; according to **HBCHBY** (JA) 19b4 the clan received as territorial appanage and estate Upper and Lower Brag-rum (in the gTsang province), known as Tshe-spong-yul. Cf. also Petech, 1991, pp. 89-90.

1229 Cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 57. The future consort of Padmasambhava. Cf. note 1200 *supra* and next note.

1230 **gloss*: *This queen was offered to the Teacher as fee for empowerment* (*dbang yon*) [*granted*].
In fact, as delineated in **BZH** (Stein ed. 46.2-3, Chin. ed. 54.8) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 98b1, **MBNTH** 114a4-5, this queen, like the 'Bro-consort, turned nun and she therefore did not leave any physical legacy (*phyag ris* = *phyag rjes*) in form of a temple behind.

1231 **BZH** (Stein ed. 46.3-11, 51.10-11, Chin. ed. 54.8-19, 59.21-22): (detailed) 'Bro-bza' Khri rGyal-mo-btsun, being issueless, turned ascetic and received the name Byang-chub-rje; **BGR** 197b5: 'Bro-bza' lHa-rgyal gung-skar-ma; **CHBYMTNYP** 296b2; **MBNTH** 114a5; **NGTMTPH** 3b3 (Uebach, pp. 60-61, n. 206, 209): A-gza' lTar-rgyal gung-skar-ma; **CHBY** 141a6: 'Bro-bza' Byang-chub sman; **PMKTH** Chap. 54, 342.2-3.
Byang-chub-sgron was her religious name, her regal name: 'Bro-bza' Khri rGyal-mo-btsun. She turned nun (ordained 791 A.D. by sBa Ratna as recorded in **BZH**) and did not leave any temple behind. For her different names, cf. Haarh, p. 57. Cf. the notes 1310-1311 *infra*. Richardson, perhaps doubtfully, 1980, p. 64, suggests that she was mother to the eldest son of Khri-srong lde-btsan, named Mu-khri, who, according to the *Annals*, was born 760 A.D. and who died a tender age. The 'Bro clan, i.e. Mo-lu (ethnonym), a people of Yang-dong stock and a country situated in eastern Khams between Tachienlu (i.e. Dar-rtse-mdo) and Batang. The powerful 'Bro clan received as territorial appanage Upper gTsang (cf. also note 1746 *infra*). Cf. Demiéville, 1952, pp. 25-33, 372; on her fortunes, cf. also Aris, 1979, pp. 83-91; Richardson, 1985, pp. 32-33.

mo-btsan.[1232] Further, in order to return the kindness of [his] mother, he married the daughter of the poor married couple, who [then] became known as Pha [= Pho] yong-bza' rGyal-mo-btsun.[1233]*[1234]

Thereupon the Teacher inspected the geomantic probe, and declared:[1235] "The mountain of Shar-ri [around bSam-yas] resembles the king poised on a seat (*rgyal po gdan la bzhugs pa*). This is a good [sign]. The Ri-chung resembles a brood-hen covering its [young] bird (*bya mas bu la sgab pa*). This is a good [sign]. The sMan-ri resembles a mound of jewels (*ri chen spungs pa*). This is a good [sign]. Has-po-ri resembles a queen dressed in white silk (*btsun mo dar dkar gyi na bza' gsol ba*).[1236] This is a good [sign]. Ri-nag resembles an iron nail stuck into the ground (*lcags phur sa la btab pa*). This is a good [sign]. Me-yar resembles a mule drinking water (*dre'u chu 'thung pa*). This is a good [sign]. Dol-thang resembles a curtain [made] of white silk drawn (*dar dkar gyi yol ba*). This is a good [sign]. The site [around bSam-yas] resembles a golden tub (*gzhong*)[1237] filled with saffron-flower. This is [also] a good [sign], so erect the ruler's personal tutelary temple here!", whereafter [an illustrative map] was drawn (*phyag bris mdzad*).

Thereupon, the Teacher bound the wicked demons and creatures by oath, which [thus] eliminated [all] [destructive] impediments [threatening the prospective edifice].

Fifteen young men and women of the noblility and of the respectable class (*ya rabs rigs btsun*), [born] of parents endowed with the six [qualities] (*pha ma drug ldan*),[1238] being

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1232 **BZH** (Stein ed. 46.2-3, Chin. ed. 54.7); **MBNTH** 114a4; **NGTMTPH** 10b1 (gloss): 'Chims-bza' lHa-mo-btsan; **HBCHBY** (JA) 98b1 together with the previous consort turned ascetic nun and did not leave any *phyag ris* behind.

Cf. also Haarh, 1969, p. 56.

1233 **BZH** (Stein ed. 46.13-14, Chin. ed. 54.21-22 (the last text is somewhat corrupt); **CHBYMTNYP** 296b2; **CHBY** 141b5.

Haarh, 1969, p. 57. Cf. note 1313 *infra*.

1234 **gloss*: *In one chronicle it is said that this daughter, the [re]birth of the king-mother, was found in the [river] of Zur-chu in 'Phan-yul. Whatever that may be, [there] is agreement that she is identical with Pho-yong-bza'.*

Source unidentified.

1235 **BZH** (Stein. ed. 28.16-29.5, Chin. ed. 37.10-15) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 91a4-5, cf. note 1212 *supra*; **CHBYMTNYP** 297b1-298a1; **MBNTH** 100b6; **CHBY** 141a4.

As confirmed by some of these sources anent the erection of the king's *thugs dam* bSam-yas, *slob dpon* Bodhisattva Śāntaraksita, himself being a *gtsug lag mkhas pa* (**BZH** Stein ed. 16.1), made the geomantic-topographical probe (*sa dpyad*) whereupon *slob dpon* Padmasambhava made the appropriate terrestrial ritual (*sa chog*), cf. note 1239 *infra*. According to **PMKTH** Chap. 55, 345.4-5, noted by dPa'-bo also, the geomancy was conducted by Bla-mkhyen (rGya-nag mkhas-pa) Bi-je btsan-pa (cf. note 1134 *supra*).

In **GBCHBY** 337.21-338.15 and **PMKTH** Chap. 58, 351.1-355.9. (cf. also note 1242 *infra*), the chapel of Avalokiteśvara was first (attempted) erected and when Śāntaraksita proceeded to erect the dBu-rtse central chapel proper, the local *genii* prevented further progress, wherefore more effective means were demanded, and Padmasambhava was invited.

In this description Stein ed. of **BZH** and **GLR** correspond, whereas the Chin. ed. (and dPa'-bo's version of **BZH** used) besides being briefer, displays a few variants.

1236 **BZH** (Stein ed. 29.1-2): *btsun mo dar dkar gyi gu zu gsol ba*; **MBNTH** 100b2: *btsun mo dar dkar gyi gos chung 'dra*.

1237 **BZH**: a bronze tube (*'khar gzhong*).

adorned with ornaments and carrying precious vases filled with auspicious water, [took up position, whereafter Padmasambhava performed the ritual of] planting the [*ktla*-]dagger into the ground, whereby the soil was blessed.[1239]

[IX] [The Erection of the bSam-yas Temple]

The king then committed the minister and the entire Tibetan population to labour, and in the centre, taken Meru, the King of Mountains, as pattern, the foundation of a Grand Cupola-[chapel] (*dbu rtse chen mo*)[1240] was laid, about [the time of which] the reverend Lady Tārā [made] prophecies.[1241] [In accordance with these] the [chapel of] Ārya Palo-gling [was] erected at first. The principal image [of this chapel] was Ārya Avalokita. To [its] right [an image of] Tārā and to the left Marīci, and again to the right, the Ṣaḍakṣarī and to the left [an image of] Śrī Hayagrīva etc., the principal [image] with retinue, five in all (*gtso 'khor lnga*), were erected. Above that, [the image of] Amitābha, principal [image] with retinue, five in

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1238 **BZH** (Stein ed. 30.12: *ya rabs kyi bu pha ma mes kyi tshang ba*, Chin. ed. 37.18-19: *ya rabs zhang blon gyi bu tsha pha mes phyi tshang ba bzhi btsan po dang lnga*) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 91b2-3; **MBNTH** 102a3-4.

Cf. also Chab-spel, 1989(b), p. 305.

1239 Cf. **BZH** (Chin. ed. 37.17-38.6) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 91b2-5.

Cf. note 1235. Here Padmasambhava performed the terrestrial ritual *sa chog/cho ga mdzad*. **CHBYMTNYP** 298a2-299a1: It was blessed by Śāntaraksita; **MBNTH** 102a3-6.

1240 In the ensuing lengthy description of the erection and the artistic inventory (*dkar chag*, *byang*) - which was executed in three differently sized versions (cf. **PMKTH** Chap. 86) - of the images, sculptures and protectors installed in the different chapels of bSam-yas, **GLR** embodies a narrative version which is closely identical, both verbally and consecutively, with the version found in **BZH**, so also the versions of Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** and **MBNTH**, with the important point that **MBNTH** is a fair calque on the **BZH**-testimony, whereas **CHBYMTNYP** is less detailed and occasionally at variance. The version in **GBCHBY** and **DCHBY** conserve a narrative bulk which only to a certain point are closely related. Where mKhas-pa lDe'u's witness in part appears corrupt (due perhaps to a miserable transmission of the only extant copy of the text which has come down to us rather than it reflects a general faulty rendition of the narrative by mKhas-pa lDe'u), lDe'u Jo-sras' version in **DCHBY** is not only more detailed than his confrére's, but is in many readings and passages an exact echo of **BZH**. The slightly later **PMKTH** too embodies a lengthy version (metrical throughout). It does not differ substantially from the other versions, yet appears slightly shorter, except in the section on the chapels of the queens where O-rgyan gling-pa's witness is uniquely detailed.

Yet, as the subjoined notes shall indicate in the sequel, Bla-ma dam-pa's version too does display some individual data. This is an important observation, as we may generally assume that the core part of **BZH**, at least, originated in the IXth century, and this part of **BZH** definitely pertains to the matrix of sBa gSal-snang's historical treatise. It may thus support what we already know, namely that the two extant versions of **sBa-bzhed** are later revised versions. And that **GLR** here relies upon an older or expanded version of **BZH**, arguably the **bSam-yas kyi bKa'-tshigs chen-mo**, cf. note 1379.

For the lay-out plan or survey of bSam-yas, cf. Appendix, note 1240.

1241 **BZH** (Stein ed. 31.3-7, Chin. ed. 38.7-12) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 91a5-6; **MBNTH** 102b1-2.

all, were erected.[1242]

Thereupon the Teacher [Śāntarakṣita] bestowed upon the king authorization (*lung*) to propitiate (*sgrub pa*) Hayagrīva. When [the king subsequently] propitiated [Hayagrīva qua meditative realization], the king [succeeded in] realizing Hayagrīva, whereby a neigh was articulated three times, [to the effect] that [it could] be heard in two thirds of Jambudvīpa. [The Teacher] commented: "The king's power shall also be wielded in two thirds of Jambudvīpa."[1243]

[X] [The Building of the Central Chapel]

Then, in the hare-year,[1244] the ground-floor (*'og khang*) of the great Central Cupola[-temple] (*dbu rtse chen po*) was erected, and as principal image, a self-originated stone[-made image of] [Shākya-]Muni,[1245] brought from Has-po-ri and being covered by [layers] of mortar

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1242 **BZH** (Stein ed. 31.7-32.13, Chin. ed. 38.12-40.10, 47.16-22) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 91b6-92b6; **MBNTH** 103a1-b5; **GBCHBY** 338.16-339.16, 340.5-341.14. Cf. also note 1235.

1243 **BZH** (Stein ed. 32.10-13, Chin. ed. 39.22-40.10 (more detailed)) = **MBNTH** 103b3-5, = **GBCHBY** 339.17-340.4 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 92a7-b2.

1244 Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 28.10, 34.9 (the king was thirteen years old!), Chin. ed. 40.11, 54.5-6, 55.11) and **MBNTH** 100a3-4, 104a33-5, 114a2-3; **GBCHBY** 355.15-16: In the hare year, the foundation [of dBu-rtse and thereby bSam-yas] was laid, and after a cycle of twelve years, in the ensuing dragon year (the erection) was celebrated (*zhal spro mdzad*); **HBCHBY** (JA) 89a3, 89b6, 90a6, 91b1-2, 92b2, 98a1, 99b1-2. Cf. also note 1314 *infra*. O-rgyan gling-pa, on the other hand, in **PMKTH** Chap. 57 and 62-63,65 and **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 1 has partly some most aberrant dates, while the author occasionally attempts to render the full date in the sexagenary cycle.

The dates for the foundation and the erection of bSam-yas are disputed. In Tibetan Buddhist historiography a fair consensus extends mainly to stating that it was founded in a hare year and finished in the ensuing cyclic hare year and aside from the symbolic value of the number twelve, this spell sounds reasonable to complete such a huge task. This could open up for 763, 775 or 787 A.D. and the year of celebration to 776 or 788 A.D. Cf. also Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, II, pp. 28-29.

However, the sources provide enough material, explicitly and implicitly, to help us dating bSam-yas with a very great amount of certainty. As briefly discussed in Appendix, note 1186 also, the prolonged founding process should be fixed to 763-775 A.D., with due consideration to the entry in **CHBYMTNYP** (299a2, 317a5, 328a3, 329b3-5, 383a3) and his **KTHZGM** (Chap. 11-12, 54.5-14, 56.16, 57.14 -55.1), followed by a number of later sources such as **GBYTSH** 129a1-131a3 etc.: It was founded in a tiger-year when the king was twenty-one and the erection lasted for twelve years. The completion followed in the ensuing sheep year after six years of ritual purification (*'byongs pa*), before it was finally consecrated in the same sheep year (= *shing mo lug*). This would fit all too nicely with 762 A.D. for its initial foundation, as the king was born in 742 A.D. *Tout court*, the chronological frame is therefore provenly certain: 762/763-774/775 A.D. for its erection, 776 A.D. for the celebration and 779 A.D. for the final concecration.

For the dBu-rtse specifically, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 34.11--12, Chin. ed. 42.11) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 93a7.

1245 **BZH** (Stein ed. 34.10-35.9, Chin. ed. 42.19-43.16)= **HBCHBY** (JA) 93b2-94a1; **CHBYMTNYP** 317b1-318a1, 319a2-3; **MBNTH** 104a4-105a1; **GBCHBY** 349.7-17; **DCHBY** 125.21-126.2; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 509.12-510.6: Shākya-muni and the individual idols not mentioned by O-rgyan gling-pa.

[mixed] with [pulverized] precious stones, was installed, being [moreover] endowed with the characteristic marks and features [of a Mahāpuruṣa]. Flanked to the right, [images of] Maitreya, Avalokita, Kṣitigarbha, [Bodhisattva] Kalyāṇaśrī (dGa'-ba'i dpal), the Wrathful Trailokyavijaya (Khro-bo Khams-gsum rnam-rgyal) etc. [were installed]. Flanked to the left, [images of] Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī, [Sarva-]Nīvaraṇaviṣkambhin, The Immaculate Upāsaka (dGe-bsnyen Dri-ma med-pa),[1246] the Wrathful Acala [Mi-g.yo-ba] [etc.], the principal image [and his] retinue, thirteen [in all], were erected in Tibetan style.[1247]

The paintings seen on the external [section inside] the core [i.e. innermost compound of the chapel] (*lte ba'i* [*kha*] *phyi*[*r*] [*b*]*lta'i ri mo*)[1248] [depicted] [scenes from] the twelve deeds [of Buddha's life]. Murals seen on the inner walls [of the processional circumambulation-circuit (*'khor sa*)] (*kha nang lta*) [depicted scenes from the] [**Mahāsannipāta-Ratna**]**ketu**[-**dhāraṇī**] (**['Dus-pa chen-po Rin-po-che] tog**) (*tog gi rgyud ris*)[1249] and murals [depicting] the spiritual bond (*thugs dam*) [image] of the Ruler [on the walls to] the Mantra-Chapel (*sngags khang*)[1250] were erected. [The custody of the lower room [i.e. ground-floor]] was dedicated to the Lion-headed *dākinī*.[1251]

The principal image [of the middle floor (*bar khang*) of the dBu-rtse Chapel] is Buddha

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1246 **BZH** Stein ed. 35.12: *Mahopāsaka Licchavi Vimala (dGe-bsnyen chen-po Li-tsa-byi Dri-ma med-pa); **MBNTH** 105a3-4.

1247 **BZH** (Stein ed. 34.10-35.15, Chin. ed. 42.13-43.16) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 93a7-94a1: The ground-floor (*'og khang*) was executed in Tibetan style, being made from cedar-wood (*shing shug pa*) and sandal-wood; **CHBYMTNYP** 317b1, 319a2-4; **MBNTH** 103a1, 104a4-105a4, 105b1-2, 106a3-4: *Sug pa* [= *shug pa*] and *tsan-dan*, the two species employed, were taken from the district of Yar-lung Gad-pa-kha; **GBCHBY** 350.13; **DCHBY** 125.20-126.6: The figures (*lder tsho*) on this floor were made from clay (*'dam pa* = *'dag pa*). **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 1, 232.11-14: The ground-floor was executed in Tibetan style being laid out in the fashion of *nirmānakāya*-paradise (*zhing khams*) and *shug pa* was used [exclusively] as material. **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 508.8-10: The ground-floor was executed in Chinese style.

1248 **GLR** A/B only reads: *phyi lha'i ri mo*, but it should be emended to *kha phyi*[*r*][*b*]*lta'i ri mo*, as corroborated e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 35.15-16, Chin. ed. 44.2-3) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94a3-4.

MBNTH 105a5-6, maintains that murals depicted: **sKu-gsum 'byung-ba'i mdo** and **mNgon-pa 'byung-ba**['**i mdo**] or **Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra**; cf. also **DCHBY** 126.3-4. In contrast to the inner walls (*kha nang* [*b*]*lta*) with **Ratnaketu**, on the external walls of the circumambulation-path were depicted (scenes from) **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra**.

1249 **GLR** is somewhat corrupt as it only has *tog gi rgyud ris*, but clarified by **BZH** (Stein ed. 35.15, Chin. ed. 44.3-4) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94a4: the *dhāraṇī*-s from the **Ratnaketu**. Already translated into Tibetan during the time of king Srong-btsan sgam-po, cf. note 490 *supra*; **CHBYMTNYP** 318a4-5; **MBNTH** 105a5-b1; **GBCHBY** 350.17-21 where mKhas-pa lDe'u maintains that there were murals depicting **mDo-sde dKon-mchog sprin** or **Ratnamegha**, but places these murals depicting the **Rin-po-che tog** or **Ratnaketu** inside the inner walls of the treasury-chapel (dKor-khang), but this must be emended, in accordance with **BZH** and **DCHBY** 126.3-4, to *bskor khang* (= *'khor sa*), the circumambulation-path running inside the ground-floor (*'og khang*).

1250 **GLR** B: *sngar khang*; **BZH** 44.19-21 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b4; **CHBYMTNYP** 319a4 and **MBNTH** 105a6-b1: *r/snga khang*; **GBCHBY** 350.19: *rnga khang*; **DCHBY** 125.18: *mnga' khang*.

1251 **BZH** (Stein ed. 36.1-2, Chin. ed. 44.5-6) = HBCHBY (JA) 94a4; **PMKTH** 510.2-3: Dharmapāla Protrectess *dākinī*, the long-maned Simhāsara (Seng-ge'i khri); **CHBYMTNYP** 319a5: Guardian: Dharmapāla *dākinī* Khro-bo Rol-pa; **MBNTH** 105b1; **GBCHBY** 350.13-18: the Lion-headed Dharmapāla; **DCHBY** 126.8-9.

Vairocana.[1252] To the right, [Buddha] Dipaṃkāra, to the left Maitreya and in the front [images of] Śākyamuni, Bhaiṣajyaguru (sMan gyi bla) and Amitābha, the three [were erected]. To the right and left, [images of] the eight Bodhisattva-sons, the Immaculate (Dri-ma med-pa) Upāsaka, the Bodhisattva Kalyāṇaśrī (dGa'-ba'i dpal = dGe-ba'i dpal), the Wrathful Kang-dang-King.[1253] The [artistic] craftmanship was [executed] in [accordance with] Chinese style.[1254] On the walls-paintings [were] [scenes culled from selected] chapter[s] of the topic (*gleng gzhi'i le'u*) [found in] the **Śatasāhasrikā (Yum rgyas-pa)**. On the facade [depictions of] the Four Great Kings [of the Four Directions are found].[1255] Along the walls seen externally [of] the circumambulation-circuit [on this floor] [depictions of] the eight [types of] *caitya*-s [were found], wall-paintings with [scenes from Buddha's] Nirvāṇa,[1256] and on the walls as seen [from] inside [there are] wall-paintings [depicting scenes from] the **Mahāmegha[-sūtra]**.[1257] In the Mantra-cella [there were depictions] of the Buddhas of the ten directions, the godly assemblage of gShin-rje gshed [i.e. Yamāntaka, Bhairava] and [of] the masks of the Dharmapāla-s [residing] in bSam-yas. [The custody of the middle room] was entrusted to the Dharmarāja King [Pehar], 'The Wood-Bird One' (Shing-bya-can).[1258]

The principal image of the upper room (*steng khang*) was Buddha Vairocana Sarvavid[1259], [with four heads], each [head] having two retinues, being [thus surrounded] by

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1252 According to **BZH** (Stein ed. 36.2-4, Chin. ed. 44.8-9) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94a5 and **DCHBY** 125.11 Vairocana and the other figures on this floor were made from cow-hide (*lder tsho'i rgyu ba len gyi ko ba*); **CHBYMTNYP** 318b3-5; **MBNTH** 105b2-106a3; **GBCHBY** 350.4-5; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 509.4-12: Vairocana and the individual idols not mentioned.

1253 **BZH** (Stein ed. 36.7, Chin. ed. 44.14-15) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94a6; **CHBYMTNYP** 318b3; **MBNTH** 105b5-6; **GBCHBY** 350.6-7: Khro-bo rDo-rje and Kang-king. A fearful form of a *ḍākinī*. According to **BZH** this name Kang-king is of Chinese origin. **DCHBY** 125.16-17: As door-keepers (*sgo srung*) were King Kang, the two [*sic*] (erected); **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 509.5-6.

1254 **BZH** (Stein ed. 36.2-12, Chin. ed. 44.7-21) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94a5-b1: The first floor or middle room (*bar khang*) was made from the species Hippopae rhamnoides (*shing gla ba*) and Acacia Catechu (*seng ldeng*, *khadira*), perhaps an allusion to the role played by these species when the first Chinese consort came to Tibet, cf. *ad* the notes 704 and 729; **CHBYMTNYP** 317b1, 318b2-319a1; **MBNTH** 105b1-2; **GBCHBY** 350.4; **DCHBY** 125.10-11: Adding that all the figures (*lder tsho*) on this floor were made from cow-hide. **KTHDNG** (G) Chap. 1, 232.12-14: The middle floor in Chinese style [made] in the fashion of a *sambhogakāya*-paradise and the wood employed was willow (*lcang ma*); **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 508.9: The middle floor was executed in Indian style.

1255 **BZH** (Stein ed. 36.8-9, Chin. ed. 44.16-17) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94a7; **MBNTH** 105b6-106a1; **DCHBY** 125.16-18; **PMKTH** 510.9: *rGyal chen rnam gnyis*.

1256 **BZH** (Stein ed. 36.9-10, Chin. ed. 44.18) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94a7: the **Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra**; **MBNTH** 106a1; **DCHBY** 125.18.

1257 **BZH** (Stein ed. 36. 10-11, Chin. ed. 44.18-19) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94a7; **CHBYMTNYP** 318b5-6; **MBNTH** 106a1-2; **DCHBY** 126.4-6.

1258 **BZH** (Stein ed. 36.36.11-12, Chin. ed. 44.19-21) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b1; **CHBYMTNYP** 318a3-b1; **MBNTH** 106a2-3; **GBCHBY** 350.11-12: Entrusted to Shing-bya-can and sister (*lcam*) 'Gro-ba bzang-mo; **DCHBY** 125.18-20; **PMKTH** 509.12.

1259 Somewhat contracted in **GLR** which merely reads: *rNam par snang mdzad kun tu zhal re re la 'khor gnyis re*. Preciser in **BZH** (Stein ed. 36.13-14, Chin. ed. 44.23-45.2) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b2: Sangs-rgyas rNam-par snang-mdzad *Kun tu rig pa zhal bzhi | ngo bo gcig pa'o | re re la 'khor gnyis gnyis*; **CHBYMTNYP** 318a6; **MBNTH** 106a3-4; **GBCHBY** 349.18-19 and **DCHBY** 125.3-4; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 508.12.

the eight Bodhisattva-sons, inside [equipped with images of the assemblage] of gods (*nang gi lha*) such as Bodhisattva rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan etc. and [of] the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the ten directions,[1260] [of] the Wrathful Acala and Padmapāṇi etc. The [artistic] craftmanship was in the Indian style.[1261] The murals [depicted scenes culled from] the **Daśabhūmika-sūtra**. [The guardianship of the upper room] was entrusted to the Dharmapāla, [the Yakṣa-]King, Zangs-ma'i 'Ber-log-can.[1262]

The roof was a Chinese [pagoda]-type made in[to] a pattern of silk-brocade (*za 'og ris*).[1263] On [the side of] the four turrets were [depictions of] Buddha dGa'-ba'i dpal surrounded by a retinue of Bodhisattvas. [Its protector] were the four blue-dressed Dharmapāla [Yakṣa] Vajrapāṇi.[1264]

Next, the middle [processional] circumambulation-path (*'khor sa*) was erected. In the southern direction a Nāga-trove filled with musical instruments [was found]. [Its protection] was commissioned to the Three Brothers, the Yakṣa-s holding a stick.[1265] In the western direction, [there were] three religious troves [containing] **sūtra**- and **tantra**[-texts][1266] and [they were moreover] filled with Tibetan and Chinese books. [Its guardianship] was commissioned to the Three [Brothers], the A-tsa-ra holding razors in the hand.[1267] In the northern direction, three troves with treasuries of precious stones [were found], filled with gold, silver and copper etc. [Its guardianship] was commissioned the Three [Brothers] of Yama (gShin-rje) [the Lord of Death] holding a club in the hand.[1268] As fresco[es] were

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1260 **BZH** (Stein ed. 36.15-16, Chin. ed. 45.3-5) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b2: Forty-two (images) were erected (in all), incl. Vajrarāja (tib. rDo-rje rgyal-po) etc.; **GLR**: Bodhisattva rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan. **GLR** corroborated by **CHBYMTNYP** 318a6-b2; **MBNTH** 106a5-6; **GBCHBY** 349.20-350.1: twenty-six images headed by [an image] of Bodhisattva rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan. In all forty-four images were erected and as depiction the god-assemblage of the Vajradhātu. **DCHBY** 125.3-6 corroborates **BZH**; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 508.15-509.2: Forty-one (images in all).

1261 **BZH** (Stein ed. 36.13-37.5, Chin. ed. 44.22-45.11) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b1-4; The wood-species employed on this floor as material was the fire-tree (*thang [ma] shing*) and pine-tree (*gsom shing*) and the figures (*lder tsho*) were made exclusively from cloth or cotton (*rgyu ras pa*) and from grass (*'jag ma*). **CHBYMTNYP** 317a6, 318a6-b3; **MBNTH** 106a3-4; **GBCHBY** 349.17; **DCHBY** 125.2-3: *rgya shing* and *gsom shing*. **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 1, 232.13-15: The upper floor was made in Tibetan style in the fashion of a *dharmakāya*-paradise and the wood employed was *gso ma* (= *gsom*); **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 508.9-10: Erected in Khotanese style.

1262 **BZH** (Stein ed. 37.1, Chin. ed. 45.6) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b3; **CHBYMTNYP** 318a6; **MBNTH** 106a5-6; **GBCHBY** 350.1-2; **DCHBY** 125.6-7; **PMKTH**Chap. 86, 509.3-4.

1263 **BZH** (Stein ed. 37.2, Chin. ed. 45.7) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b4-5; **MBNTH** 1066-b1.

1264 **BZH** (Stein ed. 37.2-5, Chin. ed. 45.7-11) = **HBCHBY** 94b4-5: Along the four turrets four paintings [depicting] the upper paradises (*zhing khams*) with a joyous Buddha dGa'-ba'i dpal (for dGe-ba'i dpal, Kalyāṇaśrī?) together with a retinue of Bodhisattvas...; **CHBYMTNYP** 318b2-4: (guardian) rNam-[thos] sras, i.e. Vaiśravaṇa; **MBNTH** 106b1-2; **GBCHBY** 350.1-3; **DCHBY** 125.8-10.

1265 **BZH** (Stein ed. 37.5-7, Chin. ed. 45.12-14) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 319a5; **MBNTH** 106b3-4; **DCHBY** 126.9-11; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 510.4-6.

1266 **GLR** A/B: three hundred troves; the rest: three troves.

1267 **BZH** (Stein ed. 37.7-8, Chin. ed. 45.14-16) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b5; **GBCHBY** 351.7-8; **CHBYMTNYP** 319a6; **MBNTH** 106b4-5; **DCHBY** 126.11-13; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 510.6-8.

1268 **BZH** (Stein ed. 37.9-10, Chin. ed. 45.16-18) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b5-6: gShin-rje, whereas **GLR** probably wrongly has gShin-rje gshed (Yamāntaka, a terrific form of Bhairava), while *be con*

painted [scenes of Buddha's Vita culled from] the **Lalitavistara[-sūtra]**.[1269] In between [these sides] were painted one thousand [respectively] ten thousand Buddha [images] (*sangs rgyas stong dang khri*) etc.[1270]

When [one further made a] circumambulation along the great circumambulation-path (*'khor sa chen po*), [it could be observed that it was] erected in [the form of] the *maṇḍala* [in which] Vairocana purified [all] the damned existences (*ngan song sbyangs ba'i dkyil 'khor*, *durgati[pari]śodhana*).[1271]

On the three sides of the parapets (*mda' yab*, *ovidhyana*) were figures (*lder tsho*)[1272] [depicting] the Five [Buddha-]Families (*rigs lnga*, *pañcakula*) [their] countenances [being] seen from the external [side] (*zhal phyir blta*), on the interior [side] were [murals depicting scenes from] **Ghanavyūha[-sūtra]** (**sTug-po brgyan-pa** =***Ghanālaṃkāra[vyūha]**) [and depictions from the story how] Maṇibhadra (*nor bu bzang po*) [supports one hundred and two *kalyāṇamitra*-s].[1273] [Its guardianship] was entrusted to the Dharmapāla Nāgarāja Ānanda.[1274] On the rear side, a stone pillar (*rdo ring*) was erected, [its guardianship] being entrusted to the Dharmapāla the 'Lion-faced' (Siṃhamukha).[1275] [Further:][1276]

'chang/thogs pa or *gadādhara* is an epithet of Yama; **CHBYMTNYP** 319a5-b1; **MBNTH** 106b5-6; **GBCHBY** 351.9-10 has gNod-sbyin Yakṣa nag-po as the Dharmapāla; **DCHBY** 126.13-15.

1269 **BZH** (Stein ed. 37.10-11, Chin. ed. 45.18-19) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b5; **GBCHBY** 350.19-20; **CHBYMTNYP** 319a5; **MBNTH** 106b6; **DCHBY** 126.20-21.

1270 A contraction elucidated from **BZH** (Stein ed. 37.11-13, Chin. ed. 45.19-21) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b-7: Painted were [images] of the thousand Buddhas appearing in this *bhadrakalpa* [aeon] and after sixty aeons of *durgati* [is depicted how] in the big wicked kalpa (*bskal pa gnyan pa chen po*) [*sic*] ten thousand Buddhas appeared; **CHBYMTNYP** 319b3-4; **MBNTH** 106b6-107a2; **GBCHBY** 351.16-17; **DCHBY** 126.17-20 resembling **BZH** but reading *bskal pa snyan pa chen po*.

1271 **BZH** (Stein ed. 37.13-14, Chin. ed. 45.23-46.1) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 94b7; **MBNTH** 107b2-3.

1272 The term *lder tsho* or *lder so*, which evidently are *var. lect.* of *lder bzo*, may arbitrarily represent figures made from clay (*'dam pa* = *'dag pa*), cotton (*ras pa*) or even cow-hide (*ba len ko ba*) as alluded to above. However, the term may also refer to painted images or figures.

1273 **BZH** (Stein ed. 37.14-16: one hundred and twelve *kalyāṇamitra*-s, Chin. ed. 46.1-4) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95a1; **CHBYMTNYP** 319a1; **MBNTH** 107a3-4 and **DCHBY** 127.14-15: *sTug po bkod pa'i zhing khams* (= the Akaniṣṭha-paradise) acc. to the **Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra**; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 510.10-11. The titles **Gaṇḍavyūha** and **Ghanavyūha** are often confounded.

1274 **BZH** (Stein ed. 38.1, Chin. ed. 46.1-5) = **HBCHBY** 94b7-95a1; **CHBYMTNYP** 319b1-2; **MBNTH** 107a4-6; **GBCHBY** 350.20-21: Dharmapāla Anulika [*sic*]; **DCHBY** 126.19-20: Nāgarāja Ānanda Uli (somewhat misplaced in this version); **PMKTH** 510.10-11: Ā-nan U-li-ka.

The expression *zhal phyir blta* may admittedly also mean: with faces looking back, but, as seen previously, it is to be seen in contrast to the inner side of the parapets.

1275 **BZH** (Stein ed. 38.1-3, Chin. ed. 46.6-7) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95a1-2: On the backside an edict (*bka' gtsigs*) was carved out on a stone pillar with [a capital] embossed with lotus[-leaves] and above this, a lion was poised, [so that this pillar was safeguarded by] the Dharmapāla Siṃhamukha. **DCHBY** 126.20-21: foll. **BZH**, but reads Dharmapāla Li-ha-ra mu-khe.

1276 Cf. also **BZH** (Stein ed. 38.2-15, Chin. ed. 46.7-47.1) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95a2-5, retained in prose and more detailed. Cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 318a1-319b3; **MBNTH** 107a6-108a2; **GBCHBY** 351.11-13 and **DCHBY** 126.19-127.5. The source for the metrical passage here, as yet untraced, may either be **bSam-yas Ka-tshigs chen-mo** or **[bKa'i] Thang-yig chen-mo**.

"The three portals of the dBu-rtse [chapel] represented the entrance to complete liberation (*rnam par thar pa*, *vimokṣa*),
The six flights of steps (*gru skas*) [installed] represented the six transcendences (*pāramitā*)
The lower floor [was made] from stones, the middle floor being [made] from brick-work,
And the peerless upper floor was made from precious metals and wood.
All [the items of] craftmanship were [executed] in accordance with the manner of the **Vinaya**;
All the murals were [executed] in accordance with the manner of the **Sūtra**;
All the figures (*lder tsho*) were [executed] in the manner of the [Tantric] **Mantra**."

[XI] [The Building of the bSam-yas Satellite Chapels]

Then, in the eastern direction [from the dBu-rtse main-chapel] three chapels were erected, taking as pattern the three continents of Pūrvavideha (Lus 'phags-po) [located] to the east and being shaped in a cresent form (*zla gam*, *ardhacandra*),[1277] viz.

In [the chapel named] rNam-dag khrims-khang-gling, the principal image [of which] was Śākya-muni, [installed] with a retinue [of four], five [idols in all]. [Further the chapel held] murals [depicting scenes from the] **Abhiniṣkramaṇa[-sūtra]**. [Its guardianship] was entrusted to the Dharmapāla the [White] Brahma (Tshangs-pa) 'Equipped with a conch-turban' (Dung gi thor-tshugs-can).[1278]

In [the chapel named] mKhyen-rab 'Jam-dpal-gling, the principal image was Ārya Mañjuśrī with a retinue [of four], five [in all]. As door-keeper (*dvarapāla*) the two [terrifying forms] of Yamāntaka (gShin-rje-gshed) [were installed]. [As murals scenes were painted gleaned from] the **Mañjuśrīmūla-tantra** and the **[Sarva]durgati[pari]śodhana-tantra**. [Its guardianship] was commissioned to the Dharmapāla Yama endowed with a [fire]-wheel ([*me'i*] *'khor lo can*).[1279]

1277 **BZH** (Stein ed. 38.15-16, ed. Chin. ed. 47.2-3) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95b2; **MBNTH** 108a2-4.
In this section, like the previous part forming an inventorial sketch of the cardinal satellite chapels of the bSam-yas *vihāra* complex, the version embodied in **GLR** vis-à-vis those of the extant **BZH** versions and the versions retained in **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH**, **GBCHBY** and **DCHBY**, **PMKTH** are almost, with the usual minor discrepancies and cases of reversed succession, an exact echo of one another, all pointing to a common proto-type, possibly the **bSam-yas [b]Ka['}-gtsigs chen-mo** and the proto-version of **[Padma'i] bKa' yi thang-yig chen-po**, cf. note 1379 *infra*.

1278 **BZH** (Stein ed. 38.16-39.2, Chin. ed. 47.3-5) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95b2: Murals from the **Zla-'od gZhon-nur gyur-pa'i rgyud**, ***Candraprabhākumāra-tantra**; **CHBYMTNYP** 310a4, 319b4-6 and **GBCHBY** 351.18-21: rNam-dag Khrus-khang-gling (= rNam-dag Khrims-khang-gling; confused with another semi-chapel, cf. note 1297). Murals: **Mahāsamādhi[-sūtra]**; **MBNTH** 108a2-3; **DCHBY** 127.10-12; **NGTMTPH** 10a1 (Uebach, pp. 98-99): In this chapel, ordination was conducted; **CHBY** 142a2; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 512.17-513.4: Murals from the **Samādhirāja-sūtra**.

1279 **BZH** (Stein ed. 39.3-6, Chin. ed. 47.7-11) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95b3-4: The principal image is Mañjuśrī made from [cow]hide, and with six attendants (seven in all, i.e. the principal image, four

In [the chapel named] brDa-sbyor Tshangs-pa-gling, the principal [image] was Śākya-muni with retinue, seven [in all]. Murals [with scenes from] the **[Mahāpari]nirvāṇa[-sūtra]** [were executed]. [Its custody] was commissioned to the Dharmapāla, [Yakṣa-rāja] 'Brug gi Glog-pa-can.[1280]

In the southern direction three chapels were erected, patterned upon the three continents of Jambudvīpa [located] to the south and having [the shape] of a scapula (*sog kha*),[1281] viz.

In [the chapel named] bDud-'dul sNgags-pa-gling, an idol of [Śākya-]Muni [depicted] in the manner of taming Māra was the principal image [erected together with the idols of his] retinue, five [in all]. On [the walls of] the core-part (*lte ba*) [on the ground-floor] murals [were depicted with scenes from] **Daśabhūmika-sūtra**. [Along the walls of] the circumambulation-circuit, murals [were executed, depicting] the **Ākāśagarbha[-sūtra]**. [Its guardianship] was entrusted to the twenty-eight Dharmapāla Iśvarī-s (dBang-phyug-ma).[1282]

In the [chapel named] Āryapalo-gling, Khasarpaṇi [was] the principal image [installed with] a retinue, five [in all]. Above, Amitābha [was installed] [as] principal image [with] retinue, five [in all]. In a projection, an effigy (*sku 'dra*) of the king [Srong-btsan sgam-po] [was installed] [made from] sandal-wood and covered [with a layer] of silver. A mural [depicting] a *caitya* [was erected] [as well as scenic murals illustrating] the **Kāraṇḍa[vyūha-sūtra]** and **lHa-mo stong-rtsa-gnyis**. [Its custody] was entrusted to the Dharmapāla Ṛṣi Dharmarāja.[1283]

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attentants and the two door-keepers); in the core compound (*lte ba*) of the chapel are [murals with] an array [depicting] the qualities of the *buddhakṣetra* of Mañjuśrī and the ground-floor displays murals [with scenes from] the **Avataṃsaka-sūtra**; **CHBYMTNYP** 320a1-2; **MBNTH** 108a4-6; **GBCHBY** 352.1-5: As door-keeper the two black gShin-rje[-gshed, i.e. Yamāntaka]; murals depict the Amitābha and [scenes from the] the **Gaṇḍavyūha[-sūtra]**; *id.* **DCHBY** 127.11-15; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 510.17-511.5.

As seen, only Bla-ma dam-pa in **GLR** has the two **tantra**-s as murals.

1280 **BZH** (Stein ed. 39.6-8, Chin. ed. 47.12-13) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95b4: Murals [depicting] **mDo Rin-po-che sna-tshogs [*Citraratna-sūtra]** and on the external walls the kitchen for the *bhadanta*-s, or priests (*btsun pa'i g.yos khang/sa*; also known therefore as *'Tsho ba zas kyi gling*) is situated; **CHBYMTNYP** 310a5, 320a3-4: Also called Chos kyi 'chad-nyan byed-pa'i gling; **MBNTH** 108a6-b1; **GBCHBY** 352.6-7; **DCHBY** 127.16-17; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 513.4-8.

1281 **BZH** (Stein ed. 39.8, Chin. ed. 47.13) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95b4, **DCHBY** 127.17-18; cf. note 23 *supra*.

1282 **BZH** (Stein ed. 39.8-10, Chin. ed. 47.13-16) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95b5: Murals [depicting] **gTsug na Rin-po-che'i mdo** or **Ratnacūḍa-sūtra** (= Ōtani 760); **CHBYMTNYP** 310a5, 320a5-6: Guardian twenty-eight *chos skyong* Ma-mo; **MBNTH** 108b1-2; **GBCHBY** 352.9-12: The guardians were the twenty-eight Yakṣa Ded-dpon-s; **DCHBY** 127.18-20: Guardianship by twenty dBang-phyug-ma-s; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 513.8-12.

Here, as seen, discrepancies prevail as to the guardianship.

1283 **BZH** (Stein ed. 39.10-15, Chin. ed. 47.16-22) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95b5: Details further that the effigy (*'bag, sku 'dra*) of the king [i.e. Srong-btsan sgam-po], made from sandal-wood, had a torso which was enamelled and had a silvery surface (lit. 'skin'); further there were depictions of the hundred thousand [*śloka*-s] of the **Yum chen-mo**; a *phra men* [= *mu men*, sapphire-studded] *caitya* and [a mural showing scenes from] the **Daśabhūmikasūtra**. The guardianship was entrusted to Ṛṣi rDa-ma-ra [= Dharmarāja] accompanied by his entourage; **CHBYMTNYP** 310a5, 320a6-b3: The Arya-pālo chapel (*gling*) was also designated sGrub-pa'i bar-chad sel-ba'i gling and Thugs-rje rgyun-'byung. Its guardianship was commissioned the *pho-nya*-s of Chos-skyong dBang-chen; **MBNTH** 108b2-5 mainly follows **BZH**; **GBCHBY** 352.12-18: This chapel also housed images of

In the [chapel named] sGra-sgyur rGya-gar-gling, the principal image was an Indian-cast [Śākya-]Muni, with retinue, five [in all]. As murals [depictions of] Amitayuḥ and [depictions] of statues of *lotsā-ba*-s and *paṇḍita*-s translating [books were executed]. [Its custody] was entrusted to the Dharmapāla Yakṣa Rāhula.[1284]

In the western direction three chapels were erected, being modelled upon the three continents of Aparagodānīya (Ba-[g]lang-spyod) [located] to the west and having a circular (*zlum po*, *maṇḍala*) [shape],[1285] viz.

In the [chapel named] Vai-[ro]-tsa-[na]-gling, [as the principal image] was erected a copper[-made] Vairocana, [as] retinue [were idols of] the Four Secret Mothers (*gSang ba yum bzhi*) [erected]. [As] murals [were scenes depicted from] the **Vairocanābhisambuddha[-sūtra]**. [Its custody] was entrusted to the Dharmapāla Yakṣa, the Ox-headed One (Glang-mgo-can).[1286]

In the [chapel named] dGa'-ldan Byams-pa-gling, the principal image [was] Nātha Maitreya [with] retinue seven [in all were erected, incl. the two] door-keepers, [i.e. the idols of] the two Yamāntaka-s. [On] murals [were executed depictions of] the sixteen Sthavira-s, the manner [how] bSam-yas was erected (*bzhengs lugs*) and a display of the *imago mundi* (*'jig rten gtan bzhag*). [Its custody] was entrusted to the Dharmapāla, the Blue-dressed Ḍākinī.[1287]

Rig-gsum mgon-po, rJe-btsun Seng-ge'i sgra (Siṃhaśabda), an ivory[-made] image (*ba so*) of Jo-mo sGrol-ma. The guardianship, mKhas-pa lDe'u states, was entrusted to the Dharmapāla-s, the vow-bound (*dam chen* (= *can*)) Envoys (*pho nya rnams*); **DCHBY** 127.20-128.5; **PMKTH** Chap 86, 511.6-15.

1284 **BZH** (Stein ed. 39.15-40.1, Chin. ed. 47.22-48.2) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95b5-6: specifying that there were also depictions [with scenes from] **'Dul-ba rNam-par dag-pa**; the front fresco (*rgyud ris*) depicts, as already mentioned by **GLR**, a scene with a many-doored house, in which the [Indo-Tibetan] translators and paṇḍits [were seen] being active translating [books]; **CHBYMTNYP** 310a5, 320b4-5: Also called mNgon-par Byang-chub mchog-tu sems bskyed-pa'i gling, adding that frescoes were seen with pictures of the *pañcakula* Jina-s; guardian Yakṣa the Goat-headed One (Ra-gdong-can); **MBNTH** 108b5-6: Principal image was Avalokita and this text also adds that this chapel had murals depicting Amitāyus; **GBCHBY** 352.19-353.1: (due to a corrupted text the entry for this chapel is missing and mKhas-pa lde'u records the content of the next temple, the Vairocana-gling temple, cf. below); **DCHBY** 128.5-7 follows **BZH**; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 513.12-18: Guardian Yakṣa with a goat-skull (Ra-thod-can).

1285 **BZH** (Stein ed. 40.1-2, Chin. ed. 48.2) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95b7; **DCHBY** 128.7-8.

1286 **BZH** (Stein ed. 40.2-4, Chin. ed. 48.3-5) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 95b7-96a1; **CHBYMTNYP** 320b5-321a1: The guardian was *chos skyong* or Dharmapāla, the Lion-headed One; **MBNTH** 109a1-2; **GBCHBY** 352.19-353.1; **DCHBY** 128.8-10; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 513.19-514.3.

The four secret mothers refer either to the four classes of *ḍākinī*-s or the four ladies: sPyan-ma, Ma-ma-ki, Gos dkar-mo and sGrol-ma.

1287 **BZH** (Stein ed. 40.4-8, Chin. ed. 48.5-11) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96a1-2: The murals depict [in details the scenes with] karmic unvirtuous activities, a period during which Buddhism declined and [the world-inhabitants] had an age of ten years [only]. Maitreya [by manifesting himself in the world] then induced the worldlings to practise *kuśala* again, whereby Buddhism again expanded; [further, murals depicting] the twenty-one salutations [or odes] to Tārā and depictions of god-assemblages with confessing Bodhi[sattvas] [were executed and installed]; and a depiction of the supervisorship by sNa-nam rGyal-tsha lha-snang (**CHBYMTNYP**: Zhang rGya-tsha lha-snang gi *skyes rabs* (*jātaka*, earlier existences) was depicted; **GBCHBY**: sNa-rnam rGyal-tsha skyes-pa) when erecting temples (on this person, note 1302 *infra*). [Its guardianship] was in the hands of a Ḍākinī with a

In the [chapel named] Mi-g.Yo bSam-gtan-gling, [images of] the Five Families (*pañcakula*) [represented by] Vairocana [etc.] and [as retinue images of the] sixteen Śrāvaka-s [were erected]. On murals depictions [of scenes showing] the little boy falling in the water (*khye'u chu la 'bebs*) [gleaned] from the **Suvarnaprabhāsottama[-sūtra]** [were executed]. [Its custody] was entrusted to the Dharmapāla King, the Silver-headed One (dNgul-mgo-can).[1288]

In the northern direction three chapels were erected, being patterned upon the three continents of the Uttarakuru (sGra mi-snyan) [located] to the north, having a square (*gru bzhi, caturasra*) [shape],[1289] viz.

In the [chapel named] Rin-chen sna-tshogs-gling, the principal image was Shākya-muni with retinue, five [in all]. On murals depictions [were found of scenes showing] Buddha Bhagavat preaching the Dharma to his mother in [the heavenly realm of] Sukhāvatī [gleaned from] the **Drin-lan bsab-pa'i mdo**. [Its guardianship] was commissioned to the Dharmapāla the King, the Iron-clawed One (lCags kyi sder-mo-can).[1290]

In the [chapel named] Sems-bskyed Byang-chub-gling, the [principal images] were Padmanetra (Pad-ma-can [= Padma'i spyan]), [Sarva-]Nivāraṇaviṣkambhin (sGrib-pa rnam-sel); Vajrapāṇi (Phyag-na rdo-rje) and Amṛtakuṇḍalin (bDud-rtsi 'khyil-ba). [On] murals [scenes from] the **Mahāmegha-sūtra** [were] depicted [and edifying scenes how once the weeping monk] Sadāprarudita (rTag-tu-ngu) searched for [the book conveying the] Transcendental Wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*). [Its guardianship] was commissioned to the Dharmapāla, the Ḍākinī with the Lion-head (Seng-ge'i mgo-can).[1291]

Silk-embroidered dress (*gu ling gi gos can*); so also **CHBYMTNYP** 321a1-5: Also calling it Gang-zag lung ston-pa'i gling; **MBNTH** 109a2-5 calls the chapel: Mi-g.yo Byams-pa'i gling [*sic*]; **GBCHBY** 353.2-8: Name Byang-chub khyad-par lung-ston byed-ma'i gling; mKhas-pa lDe'u adds, in addition to the seven images mentioned above, that the turrets had images of Amitābha with retinue, five [in all]. [Its guardianship] was in the hands of mKha'-chung [= mKha'-'gro-ma] Li'i Be-con [*sic*!]; **DCHBY** 128.10-14: follows **BZH**; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 511.16-512.7.

As is seen, there is no contradiction between **GLR** and **BZH**, since the latter's wall-depiction of the decline and rise of Buddhist in fact may well be part of the Buddhist Genesis or world description.

1288 **BZH** (Stein ed. 40.8-10, Chin. ed. 48.11-14) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96a2-3; **CHBYMTNYP** 310a5, 321a5-b2: Also calling the chapel sGrub-rgyud kyi gdams-ngag 'bebs-pa'i gling (so also **GBCHBY**), adding, *inter alia*, murals depicting Amitābha, the purification of *durgati*, *maṇḍala* of gTsug-tor-'od and along the circumambulation-corridors (*'khor khyams*) [scenes from] the **Avataṃsaka** [were executed]; **MBNTH** 109a5-6; **GBCHBY** 353.9-13: Adding, *inter alia*, that [this chapel also holds images of the [Buddha-s] of the Bhadrakalpa-s, the two Wrathful Ones, etc.; **DCHBY** 128.15-17; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 514.3-9.

1289 **BZH** (Stein ed. 40.40.10, Chin. ed. 48.14-15) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96a3; **DCHBY** 128.18. Here as everywhere lDe'u Jo-sras' version evinces a striking dependence on or a parallel to **BZH**.

1290 **BZH** (Stein ed. 40.10-12, Chin. ed. 48.15-17) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96a3-4: Protector: dByi yi/g.Yi'i Par-ra/sBar-ba-can; **CHBYMTNYP** 310a6, 321b2-4: Also called bSam-gtan sgrub-pa'i gling and adding murals from the **Ārya-Suvarṇaprabhāsottama[-sūtra]** (possibly confounded with previous chapel), guardian: Bya'i sbar-so-can; **MBNTH** 109a6-b2; **GBCHBY** 353.14-18: (again somewhat corrupt, the data entered under this chapel belong properly under the next chapel; cf. next note); **DCHBY** 128.17-20: Protector: sPyi'i sBa-ra-can; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 514.11-15. The **sūtra** referred to is the *Thabs mkhas-pa chen-po sangs-rgyas Drin-lan bsab-pa'i mdo* (P. 1022), tr. from Ch. **Da fangbian fo bao'en jing** (T. III, n. 156).

1291 **BZH** (Stein ed. 40.12-41.2, Chin. ed. 48.17-49.3) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96a4-6: The three principal images represented Vajrapāṇi, Vajrakīla and Amṛtakuṇḍalin residing in the palace of Vajrapāṇi in the gesture of safeguarding against obstracles (*bar chad srung ba*); [further] there were depictions

In the [chapel named] Pe-dkar [= Pe-har] dKor-mdzod gling, the principal image was Śākya-muni with a retinue [of eight Bodhisattvas], nine [in all]. [On] murals [were scenes gleaned from the] [**Ārya-]Pitāputrasamāgama[-sūtra] (['Phags-pa] Yab-sras mjal-ba['i mdo]**). In the projections (*glo 'bur*) the remaining [troves of] wealth [necessary] for the erection of bSam-yas were [stored] and a written account (*rtsis yig*) [and inventory] of what was deposited where (*'di na 'di yod*) [was similarly found]. Its guardian[ship] was commissioned to the King of Khram-gang [i.e. the Head-Protector (*spyi'i srung ma*) Pe-har].[1292]

As Protector of the [Buddhist] Teaching for the entire [bSam-yas] temple[-complex], the Teacher [Padmasambhava] commissioned the Great Master of Life (*srog bdag chen po*) Pehar, the Great Devotee (*upāsaka, dge bsnyen*) of the Gods [coming from] Za-hor [i.e. Bengal], the Great General of the Demons (*bdud kyi dmag dpon chen po*) controlling [all] the Eight Classes of Spirits pertaining to the visible World of Phenomena (*snang srid kyi lha ma srin sde brgyad*), [a figure so terrifying that he is capable of] taking [away] the breath [i.e. life] (*dbugs len*) of all the living ones. A receptacle [of Pehar] was installed in the Pe-dkar [= Pe-har]-gling.[1293]

In [the chapel named] The Upper (*gong ma*) Yakṣa Gang-ba bzang-po'i lha-khang [dedicated as a] Chapel to the Sun (*Nyi-ma lha-khang*), the principal image was Śākya-muni [flanked by] the retinue, five [in all]. [On] murals [were painted scenes from the

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of the arrival of Buddha Padmanetra in the sky [above] and [how] through the mediator [Sarva]-Nīvaraṇaviṣkambhin, the Bodhisattvas of the ten *bhūmi*-s generate their *bodhicittotpāda* and [how] the Buddhas gave their blessings, etc.; it guardianship was in the hands of Dharmapāla King bSe-khrab-can and Ḍākinī Seng-ge'i 'gros-can; **CHBYMTNYP** 310a6, 321b4-6: The chapel also called 'Jug-pa Byang-chub tu sems bskyed-pa'i gling and rTen [= gTan-]bde la gnas-pa'i gling, also Ma-chags Pad-ma-can gyi gling; **MBNTH** 109b2-5; **GBCHBY** 353.15-18 (text somewhat corrupt, the description is applied to the wrong chapel); Guardianship: Ḍākinī Siṃhamukhā (Seng-ge'i gdong can); **DCHBY** 128.20-129.5; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 514.14-15: no details).

1292 **BZH** (Stein ed. 41.2-5, Chin. ed. 49.3-6) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96a6-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 310a6, 321b6-322a1: Also called Byang-chub ('jug-pa) sems bskyed-pa'i gling (so also **GBCHBY**), adding that the principal Buddha image was dGa'-ba'i dpal (i.e. dGe-ba'i dpal, Kalyāṇaśrī?) and murals depicted the *lokadhātu* with mDangs-dga'-ba'i bkod-pa, i.e. an array (*vyūha*) of the paradise of mNgon-dga' or Abhirati; **MBNTH** 109b5-110a1; **GBCHBY** 353.19-354.2; **DCHBY** 129.5-8; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 514.15-5; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. 25, 199.13-18.

1293 This list of epithets of Pe-har is lacking from the other versions. But cf. parallel Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNP** 368b2-370b1-2, 377b4-5, where the bsTan-pa'i srung-ma, alias Pe-har is brought from Bha-ta Hor. Pe-har or the king, the Wood-bird-One (Shing-bya-can) is also called bDud Ya-bzher nag-po (cf. note 1538). Cf. **PMKTH** Chap. 63, 384.1-385.15 for the story about the king of Hor-yul gNam-the'u dkar-mo (cf. note 1548), who held the entire Tibet under his sway and how this king called Shing-bya-can was invited to bSam-yas and commissioned its protection; *id.*, Chap. 104, 648.1-661.17, where Pe-kar is also called dGe-bsnyen chen-po, Shing-bya-can, Seng-ge dkar-mo and bDud-pho yab-rje or nag-po. Cf. parallel **HBCHBY** (JA) 89a7-b4, 99a4-7.

The *lha ma srin brgyad* ('the eight classes of neither *deva*-s nor *rākṣasa*-s [i.e. between gods and devils]') are listed e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 370b2-4: the white *ging* (*dkar po ging*), the black *bdud* (*nag po bdud*), the red *btsan* (*dmar po btsan*), the life-taking *yakṣa*-s (*srog gcod gnod sbyin*), the butching *rākṣasa*-s (*shan pa srin po*), the disease-causing *matṛkā*-s (*nad gtong ma mo*), the fierce *graha*-s (*drag po gza'*) and the vicious *nāga*-s (*gdug pa klu*). Cf. similarly, **DTHZHG** 65.2-10.

Bhadrakalpika-sūtra with] one thousand and two Buddhas.[1294]

In [the chapel named] the Lower (*'og ma*) Yakṣa Nor-bu bzang-po'i lha-khang [dedicated as a] Chapel to the Moon (*Zla-ba lha-khang*), [the statues and] murals were identical with [the ones executed in] the previous [chapel].[1295]

In the [chapel named] Tshang-mang Ke'u-gling, an ivory chapel (*ba so lha khang*) was [installed on] the upper [floor].[1296]

In the [chapel named] Dag-byed Khrus-khang there was a well (*khron pa*) brimming with sandal-wood.[1297]

In the [chapel named] mThu-rtsal klu-khang-gling, a mural [was executed, depicting] a huge post [in form of] a rose-bush (*se ba*) having eight [huge] branches, and [upon each of them] the Eight Great Nāga[-Kings] [were seen being poised], in the middle of which Vajrapāṇi [was depicted being active] taming [the Nāga-s] by peaceful means. [Further, there were depictions of] tortoises, fish and sea-monsters etc.[1298]

Thereupon, a white *caitya* was erected, a Mahābodhi-*caitya* in the style of the *śrāvaka*-s, embellished [i.e. supported] by eight lions, [being raised] after [minister] Shud-pu

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1294 **BZH** (Stein ed. 41.5-7, Chin. ed. 49.7-9) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96a7: Its guardianship was entrusted to himself, i.e. Dharmapāla Thang-lha [i.e. Yakṣa] Gang-ba bzang-po (or Pūrṇabhadra). The chapel of the Sun and the twin chapel Zla-ba lha-khang were also called Nyi-ma'i gling and Zla-ba'i gling respectively, as they were considered as equivalents (*dod*) to these planets. Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 310a6, 319b3-4, 322a1; **MBNTH** 110a1-2; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 510.13-17.

1295 **BZH** (Stein ed. 41.8-11, Chin. ed. 49.9-11) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96a7-b1: Its guardianship was entrusted to himself. Nor-bu bzang-po (*Manibhadra). **CHBYMTNYP** 310a6, 319b3-4, 322a2; **MBNTH** 110a3-5; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 510.13-17.

1296 **BZH** (Stein ed. 41.11-13, Chin. ed. 49.15-17) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96b2: In the upper part the sleeping-place of the Teacher Bodhisattva [Śāntaraksita] was installed as well as an ivory-made chapel. Underneath a white stove? (*dkar thab*; **DCHBY**: *kar thab 'cha'*) [an image of the chapel's guardian?] was installed; Dharmapāla Yakṣa Dandin 'Holding a stick in the hand (*lag na myu gu* [= *dbyug t[h]o] thogs*)'; **CHBYMTNYP** 310a4: Tshang-dmar sKye-ru-gling; **MBNTH** 110a5-6; **DCHBY** 129.19-21; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 515.11-13.

1297 **BZH** (Stein ed. 41.13-15, Chin. ed. 49.17-20) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96b2-3: The lower part [of this chapel?] was made from brick-work. Along the sides skeletons (*keng rus*) were painted [intended as a *memento mori*] to make the ordained [monks] weary [of worldly existence] in accordance with the exposition found in the **Vinaya**. [Its protector] was Dharmapāla Dandin; **CHBYMTNYP** vacat; **MBNTH** 110a6-b2; **GBCHBY** 354.3-8: mKhas-pa lDe'u (text again somewhat confounded) states that the main figure was a white Vajrapāṇi in a peaceful aspect, and the walls were full of paintings of *klu gnyan* etc. and its guardianship was entrusted a Nāgarāja. (But this description properly belongs to the next chapel, cf. next note); **DCHBY** 191.21-3: A depiction of the wheel of existence (*bhavacakra*, *srid pa'i 'khor lo*) and scenes from a cemetery were painted. Its guardianship was entrusted to the Dharmapāla 'Holding a bottle in the hand'; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 515.10-11 (no details).

As stated **GBCHBY** 354.3-4 and **DCHBY** 123.11-12, the Dag-byed Khrus-khang-gling was discounted from the twelve regular *gling*-chapels and it clearly had the status of a semi-chapel.

1298 **BZH** (Stein ed. 41.15-42.1, Chin. ed. 49.20-50.2) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96b3-4: Its guardianship was entrusted to the Dharmapāla [the Nāgarāja or] *sa-bdag* rGyu-'dal [= Klu-rdol = Mātanga?] assisted by nine *gnyan* (for this figure cf. also Appendix, note 790, subnt. 36); **MBNTH** 110b2-4; **GBCHBY** 354.3-8 (cf. previous note); **DCHBY** 130.3-5: mThu-rtsal Klu-'brug-gling; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 515.15-516.5

dPal gyi seng-ge[1299] had been charged with the supervisor[ship]. [It] was entrusted [for protection] to Dharmapāla Yakṣa[-rāja] Ulkāmukha (sKar-mda'-can = sKar-mda'-gdong).[1300*1301]

A red *caitya*, a Dharmacakra-revolving [*caitya*] in the style [of the *bodhisattva*-s], and decorated with lotuses, was erected after [minister] sNa-nam rGyal-tsha lha-gnang[1302] functioned as supervisor. [Its custody] was entrusted to the Dharmapāla gZa' Aṅgāraka (Mig-dmar).[1303]

A black *caitya* in the style of the *pratyeka-buddha*-s, was [then] raised by [minister] Ngan-lam sTag-[sg]ra klu-gong[1304] after [he] had assumed the supervisor[ship]. [Its custody]

1299 **BZH** (Stein ed. 42.2-4, Chin. ed. 50.3-5) = **MBNTH** 110b4: Shud-pu Nga-mi rGyal-to-re. Cf. also the Dunhuang *Chronicle* (100.22-23): Shud-pu rGyal-to-re Nga-myi. **HBCHBY** (JA) 96b5, where dPa'-bo cites **BZH** *verbatim*, but possibly a different version, while he states that Shud-pu Mi-rgyal to-re was *lag dpon*, only to be killed by the *gnyan*, whereafter Shud-pu Khri-'bring kheng-btsan took over.

The form in **GLR**: Shud-po dPal gyi seng-ge, cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 473b1; **GBCHBY** 297.20; **NGTMTPH** 13b2 (Uebach, 1987, pp. 114-15) is credited for the erection of e.g. the Brag-sna temple. Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 83a7, 101a1, 102a1; He was *chos blon* under Khri-srong lde-btsan. **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 2, 233.16, 234.18-235.1; (CA) Chap. 19, 490.20-22.

1300 **BZH** (Stein ed. 42.2-4, Chin. ed. 50.3-5) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96b4-5: Guardianship Yaksa sKar-mda'-gdong; **MBNTH** 110b4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 310b1; **GBCHBY** 354-10: Guardianship: Dharmapāla dKar-zla stong; but see also 355.3-9; **DCHBY** *deest*; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 516.5-7; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. 26, 199.20-200.2.

For further details on the four *caitya*-s, cf. Appendix, note 1300.

1301 **gloss*: *After the Four Great [Guardian] Kings [of the World] had planted the pole-axle (srog shing) of the [white] caitya, Buddha-relics (ring bsrel, śarīra) [amounting to] one [full] Magadha-[measured] bushel (bre'i khal), the Secret gNyen-po, the paternal [ancestor's] tutelary [object] [i.e.] five sūtras were deposited [in the caitya], wherefore [it was regarded as] highly bless[-bestowing].*

The fabulous background of the white *caitya* as mentioned in this gloss is delineated in details in **BZH** (Stein ed. 42.13-45.3, Chin. ed. 50.17-53.17 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 97a1-98a4; so also **MBNTH** 111a4-113a1), while only briefly **CHBYMTNYP** 322a2-3. It is left out in the two lDe'u versions.

1302 sNa-nam [Zhang] rGyal-tsha lha-snang, cf. also **BZH** (Stein ed. 40.4, 42.5-6) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96b6; **MBNTH** 110b6; **GBCHBY** 297.20, 358.18, 365.8-9; **DCHBY** 133.5, 133.8; **NGTHTPH** 13b2-3 (Uebach, pp. 114-115 for further ref.); The Dunhuang *Chronicle* (102.16): sNa-nam Zhang rGyal-tshan lha-snang; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 437.2-4: rGya-tsha lHa-snang, one of four ministers of the sNa-nam clan during the dynasic period, the other three: Mang-snya bse-btsan, Ma-zhang Khrom-pa skyabs (cf. note 1171), bTsan-pa 'U-ring (cf. note 1404); (CA) 490.18-20; **HBCHBY** (JA) 101a3. He followed sTag-sgra klu-gon as minister and he was also responsible for the erection of the temple of Gr[v]a. He was minister, together with Khri-sum-rje stag-snang, under Khri-srong lde-btsan and Mu-ne btsan-po. His son dBu-ring was allegedly killed by Mu-tig btsan-po (cf. note 1404). He was chief minister from 782 to, at least, 796 A.D. cf. Haarh, 1960, pp. 162-63 and he is listed among the sworn-in minister in the king's *bKa'-gtsigs* (of 780-781 A.D.), cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 109b5. Cf. also the notes 1287 *supra* and 1478 *infra*.

1303 **BZH** (Stein ed. 42.4-6, Chin. ed. 50.5-7) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96b5-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 310b1, 322a4-6; **MBNTH** 110b5-6; **GBCHBY** 354.11-12: Embellished by one thousand lotuses. Guardianship: Dākinī, the Iron-lipped One (cf. also next note); **DCHBY**: *deest*; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 516.6-9; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. 26, 200.18-23.

1304 Cf. note 1181 *supra*.

was entrusted to the Dharmapāla Yakṣa[-rāja], 'the Iron-Lipped One' (lCags-mchu-can).[1305]

A blue *caitya*, a Glorious God-descending (*śrī devāvatāra*) [*caitya* type] in the manner of the *tathāgata*-s, and ornamented by sixteen chapel-doors (*lha khang sgo mo*) was raised after mChims rDo-rje sPrel-chung[1306] [had accepted to] act as supervisor. [Its custody] was confided the Dharmapāla Yakṣa[-rāja] Sūryamukha (Nyi-ma'i gdong[-can]).[1307]

At this point, the demoness (*'dre mo*) 'Od-can-ma inflicted [much] harm to all people, so [being requested,] the Teacher [Padmasambhava] had a light-emitting *caitya* built at Byams-pa-gling, whereby the demoness was suppressed and any [future] harm was eliminated.[1308]

Thereupon, a wall with many corners (*lcags ri zur mangs*) [reflecting the] *vajra*-gait (*rdo rje 'gros*) [of Padmasambhava] was set up in the [circular] manner of one hundred and eight *caitya*-s, and in each and every [of these] Buddha-relics were deposited.[1309]

Now, [concerning] the three queen-chapels (*btsun mo gling*): 'Bro-bza' Byang-chub-sgron[1310] built [the chapel of] dGe-rgyas Bye-ma'i gling. Buddha Amitābha was erected [as] principal image with a retinue [of images], seven [in all], [all cast-images made] from the *li ma*-alloy. To the right [were images] of Rigs-gsum mgon-po. To the left [images of] Bhaiṣajyaguru (sMan gyi bla), Samantabhadra and Acala were erected. [As this queen] was issueless and her paternal relatives (*pha ming*) [lived] in a remote distance [from Tibet] and fearing that in the future the chapel [should] fall into ruins and no restorer (*gso mkhan*) [then] would be at hand, [she ensured that] the edifice was [constructed with] bricks that were applied with molten lead (*zha nye'i chu sbyar*), [before the building finally] was covered with

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1305 **BZH** (Stein ed. 42.6-8, Chin. ed. 50.8-10) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96b6: It was embellished with the bodily relics of the Tathāgata-s; **MBNTH** 110b6-11a1; **CHBYMTNYP** 310b2, 322a6-b2; **GBCHBY** and **DCHBY** silent; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 516.9-10; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. 26, 200.8-18.

1306 mChims rDo-rje sprel-chung, cf. also **BZH** (Stein ed. 42.9; mChims 'Od-bzher spre'u-chung) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96b7; **MBNTH** 111a1.

CHBYMTNYP 351b3: mDo-zher spre-chung; **GBCHBY** 297.21-298.1; **NGTMTPH** 13b3 (Uebach, pp. 114-15) where he is also made responsible for the erection of the temple of Bya-'ug/zug. **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 436.20-437.1: rDo-rje spre-chung of mChims, one of four ministers from the mChims-clan famed during the dynastic period, the other three mChims-ministers: Mar-bzher ngan-pa-po, bTsan-bzher legs-gzigs, rGyal-gzigs shud-thong. **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 19, 490.10-12: mChims-pa mDo-bzher rDo-rje spre-chung listed as a Bon-adherent; **HBCHBY** (JA) 101a2.

1307 **BZH** (Stein ed. 42.9-10, Chin. ed. 50. 10-13) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96b6-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 310b2, 322b2-5: ornamented by sixteen (miniature) chapels stuffed with various exquisite medicinal herbs; **MBNTH** 11a2-3; **GBCHBY** 354.13-14; **DCHBY** *deest*; **PMKTH** Chap. 86. 516.10-11; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. 26, 200.2-8.

1308 **BZH** (Stein ed. 42.10-12, Chin. ed. 50.13-16) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 96b7-97a1. The harm wrought by this demoness consisted in turning the head and tail (upper and lower part) upside down on sleeping ministers; **MBNTH** 111a3-4.

1309 **BZH** (Stein ed. 45.12-14, Chin. ed. 53.21-54.1) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 98a5; **CHBYMTNYP** 310b4-6; **MBNTH** 113b5-6; **PMKTH** Chap. 86, 516.16-17.

1310 Cf. also note 1231 *supra*. This is her later religious name as a nun, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 104b2 116a6: Jo-mo Byang-chub. According to **BZH** (Chin. ed. 54.8-9): 'Bro-bza' Khri rGyal-mo-btsun; **CHBYMTNYP** 311b4: 'Brong-bza' Byang-chub-sman; **MBNTH** 114a4; **DCHBY** 130.6: 'Bro-za Byang-chub-rje; **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 1, 232.17.

a copper[-made] roof. [She finally had] a bell (*cong*) hung up (*btags*) [there too].[1311]

Queen Tshe-yang-[= spong] bza' Me-tog-sgron erected the chapel of Khams-gsum Zangs-khang-gling, having taken as pattern the dBu-rtse rigs-gsum [main-chapel] [erected by] the father [i.e. the king, with whom] she had three sons, Mu-ne btsan-po, Mu-rug btsan-po and Mi-mug btsan-po Sad-na-legs [all] born to her.[1312]

Queen Pho-yong-bza' rGyal-mo-btsun [was requested to] erect the chapel of Bu-tshal gSer-khang-gling [raised] in [form of] the *maṇḍala* of Vajradhātu. By serving the artisans such as the sculptors each time with thirteen kinds of food, [these artisans] made thirteen artistic [master]pieces in an attempt to repay this goodness. [The upper storey (*steng khang*)] was externally without masonry, [yet it was] a refined [piece of] craftmanship, steadfast as a diamond. Internally [the chapel was] without any [upholding] pillar, a refined piece of craftmanship, beautiful as a tent. The floor (*sa gzhi*) was made [entirely] from brass (*ra gan*), on the turquoise[-blue] beams (*gdung ma*) [scenes with] horse-racing in golden [colour] [was chisseled in relievo], on the golden[-coloured] beams turquoise[-blue] dragons [were chisseled in relievo]. The surface of the [azure-blue] Chinese [pagoda] roof [thus] could be seen externally as well as internally. The images inside [the chapel] both had a general canopy [covering all the statues] and an individual canopy. For the openings and closing of the entrance [to the chapel] a golden bird [flew up and] gave signal. [Along the walls in the courtyard (*khyams*)] [scenes with Buddha's] twelve deeds [were chisseled] in relievo etc., [such kinds of] wonderous artistic distinctions were executed.[1313]

Accordingly, as [first] specimen offering [of material intended to be employed for the execution] of the workmanship (*bzo phud*) [in connection with] the successful erection of the dPal bSam-yas mi-'gyur lhun-gyis grub-pa'i gtsug-lag-khang [and] its precinct (*sde skor*), a woodwork specimen offering (*shing bzo*) [was presented] at lHa-sa [in form of] a great portal in front of the Central Chapel (*gtsang khang dbus ma*) [of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang] decorated with an arch gateway (*rta babs*, *torana*) and as [first] specimen offering of clay (*sa phud*) [idols of] the Four Great [Guardian] Kings as door-keepers were offered to be erected.

1311 **BZH** (Stein ed. 46.3-11, Chin. ed. 9.10-11, 54.8-19 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 76a2-3, 98a1-4); **CHBYMTNYP** 311b4-312a3, 325a5-b2; **MBNTH** 114a4-b2; **GBCHBY** 297.6-7; **DCHBY** 130.6-9; **PMKTH** Chap. 62, 382.9-10, Chap. 86, 522.10-13 (detailed).

It is here related that this bell, a *rol mor cong*, a 'bell for making music' (not identical with the famous Bell at bSam-yas) was first taken from the mGrin-bzang temple after this was destroyed during the anti-Buddhist revolt at the end of the reign of the former king and then initially hidden in the rocky slopes at mChims-phu, before it was hung up in the dGe-rgyas chapel. Cf. also Richardson, 1985, pp. 32-33.

1312 **BZH** (Stein ed. 46.11-12, Chin. ed. 54.19-55.10 (the present Chin. ed. of **BZH** is here corrupt, most likely the Chinese redactor of the edition has left out a line, because the data given here properly describes the dBu-tshal temple of Pho-yong-bza', the missing line is retrivable from **HBCHBY** (JA) 98a4-5); **CHBYMTNYP** 311a1-b4, 325a3; **MBNTH** 114b3-115a4; **GBCHBY** 297.4-5, 356.5-6: Tshe-spong-bza' dMar-rgyal rose Khams-gsum; **DCHBY** 130.9-10; **PMKTH** Chap. 62, 382.8-9, Chap. 86, 517.4-519.13 (very detailed); **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 1, 232.16-17. Cf. note 1228 *supra* for this queen.

1313 **BZH** (Stein ed. 46.13-47.7, Chin. ed. 54.19-55.10 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 98b5-99a2); **CHBYMTNYP** 311a2, 325a4; **MBNTH** 114b3-115a4; **GBCHBY** 297.7-8; **DCHBY** 130.11-131.2; **PMKTH** Chap. 62, 382.1-8, Chap. 86, 519.13-522.10 (very detailed).

These versions, with slight discrepancies, are identical. Cf. also briefly **GBCHBY** 356.6-7 and 363.1-3 (with reminiscences of a ditto description of 'On-shang-rdo, 318.12-13, cf. note 1443); **KTHDNG** (GA) 232.17-18. Cf. the notes 1233-34 *supra*.

Thus, in the hare year the foundation of bSam-yas was laid, and [in the subsequent] hare-year, [the erection] was brought to a full complete, having lasted for a [full] [twelve-]year cycle (*lo skor*).[1314]

[XII] [The Consecration of bSam-yas]

Now, in order to [perform] the consecration [of the bSam-yas *vihāra* complex], measureless abundances of food and drink were accumulated, all people under the [king's] sway (*mnga' zhabs*) were convoked, whereafter a grand banquet was given.[1315]

The king then offered the Teacher [Padmasambhava] and Bodhisattva [Śāntarakśita] presents [of] gold, the king himself had been donned in [ceremonial] robes trimmed with numerous precious stones. [Consequently the two holy masters], having displayed [themselves] in [their] emanational bodies (*sprul pa'i sku bstan*), performed in a wonderous number of totally seven [successive] times the [act of] [a sacred] consecration (*rab gnas*, *pratiṣṭhā*) of the Glorious Inconceivable Immutable Spontaneously-produced Temple [i.e. bSam-yas] along with its precinct.[1316]

1314 **BZH** (Stein ed. 46.1, Chin. ed. 54.6, 55.11, 58.2) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 98a7-b1; **MBNTH** 100a4-5; **GBCHBY** 355.15-16. Cf. note 1244 *supra*.

For the passage of the first specimen offering, cf. similarly **HBCHBY** (JA) 91b1. For a parallel in connection with 'On-shang-rdo, cf. note 1445.

1315 **BZH** (Stein ed. 47.8ff., Chin. ed. 55.11ff.) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 99b6ff.; **CHBYMTNYP** 326a4-6.

1316 **BZH** (Stein ed. 49.7-11, Chin. ed. 57.9-14) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 100b4-5: Eight consecrations were made. By being subjected to seven consecrations, the sanctuaries and divine images (*rten dang lha sku*) [of bSam-yas] were [made so sanctified] that [paying a visit to these sanctuaries and idols] was tantamount to being blessed and [meeting] the emanational bodies (*sprul pa'i sku dngos*) [of the Buddha and the distinct divinities] in person; **MBNTH** 115a4-117a4; **GBCHBY** 355.17-356.4: Records how first Padmasambhava conducted three successive consecrations; first by way of a circumambulation three times around the white *caitya* [in bSam-yas] by the entire assemblage of images (*lha tshogs*); secondly, Hayagrīva made three neighings, which could be heard right down to the lowest Brahmaloka; thirdly, a watch-dog, a bitch guarding the local *rdo-ring*-pillar [in bSam-yas] barked three times, so that it could be heard all the way to India, signalling that the translation of Buddhist treatises would never discontinue. It was moreover said that if consecration would be performed seven times [in all], then no desolation would befall bSam-yas. The [last] four [rounds of] consecration were [then] performed by Bodhisattva [Śāntarakṣita]; Nyang-ral **CHBYMTNYP** 325b3-326a3: Agreeing in substance, but speaks of it in row of propitious omens; **DCHBY** 131.2-5: bSam-yas was consecrated eight times.

By the number eight is thus to be surmised the ordinary consecration and the seven additional delineated above.

It cannot be rejected altogether that the phrase in **GLR** saying that the *nirmānakāya* (of the two holy Indian masters?) was displayed equally well may conceal a play on the above allusion that the sanctuaries and idols, through the seven consecrations, (in sanctity) were tantamount to a living *nirmānakāya*. A similar expression is found in **KCHKKHM-2**, *op. cit.* 3.13-14, where Atiśa states that the chapel of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang/Jo-khang is indistinguishable from [the Buddha's] *nirmānakāya*, i.e. the chapel itself is conceived to be a direct manifestation of the Buddha-activity and -grace.

The consecration of bSam-yas was performed in a sheep year, unerringly corresponding to 779 A.D. Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 51.9-13, Chin. ed. 59.18-23), **HBCHBY** (JA) 104b2-3. See also the king's *bKa'-gtsigs* (of ca. 780 A.D.), cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 108b7. Cf. further the notes Appendix,

Murals of this [i.e. the consecration and the ensuing festivities] are even [to be found] depicted on the rear portal of the dBu-rtse [rigs-gsum main-chapel] and along the frames of the portal [leading] to its circumambulation-circuit.[1317*1318]

> Thus, at the time when celebrating the consecration
> of the Glorious bSam-yas [temple],[1319]
> At that [very place], where [the lake of] mTsho-mo-[m]gur [rests] cross-legged.[1320]

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note 1186 and 1240 *supra*.

1317 **BZH** (Stein ed. 48.6-7, 46.14-15, 49.6-8, Chin. ed. 56.9-10, 56.19-20, 57.6-10) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 100a5, 100b1-4; **MBNTH** 117b1-3.

These wall-paintings, these texts declare, did not only depict the consecration ceremonies, but also the allegedly happy and miraculous circumstances prevailing after its erection and witnessed through three spectacles (*ltad mo gsum*).

1318 **gloss*: *From the **bKa'i thang-yig chen-mo**.*

The ensuing metrical section is similarly retained in **HBCHBY** (JA) 101a2-102a5. This metrical narrative song is briefly referred to in **BZH**, cf. note 1320 *infra*, and there is every good reason to assume that this part of this source, an early, no more extant version of a Vita-scroll dedicated the life of Padmasambhava and the erection of the bSam-yas *vihāra*, like in case of parts of **BZH**, originated in the IXth or Xth century or draws directly from a material from this period.

A parallel narrative on the songs presented in connection with the consecration of bSam-yas is found in **KTHDNG** (GA) Chaps. 2-4, 233.14-238.3, though it differs substantially from **GLR**.

A number of formulations and themes indicated in the present metrical narrative finds an echo or a parallel earlier in **GLR** (cf. Chap. X, note 500 and in particular *ad* note 528 *supra*), possibly also based upon a **[bKa'i] Thang-yig chen-mo** (the same?, cf. note 500 *supra*), but in the former case the happiness prevailing in Tibet is described after the introduction of king Srong-btsan sgam-po's legislation. One may suspect, at least not exclude, a common redaction or an incidence of literary borrowing between these narratives.

1319 Cf. the lengthy description in **BZH** (Stein ed. 47.7-49.7, Chin. ed. 55.11-57.10) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 99b6-100b5; **CHBYMTNYP** 326a6-327a1 (briefer); **MBNTH** 115a4-117a5.

1320 A word-play on a Buddha's cross-legged posture (*skyil krung*, *paryaṅga*); what is meant is that the water in this place has flown together to form a lake. The mTsho-mo-[m]gur is closely associated with bSam-yas. Brag-dmar mTsho-mo-mgur, was the place where a religious meeting and dispute was held around 760 A.D., recorded to have determined whether Bon or Buddhism should be practised in Tibet, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 26.12, 27.9-28.9, Chin. ed. 31.12, 34.6-35.10) and further note 1186 *supra*.

The same text, composed so as to make, by way of a narrative analogy, an indirect portrait of bSam-yas, offers us the allusive background for this place's naming, *op. cit.* Stein ed. 47.8-15, Chin. ed. 57.13-21; **CHBYMTNYP** 326a6-327a1; **MBNTH** 117a4-b3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 100b5-101a1: During these festivities, the king sojourned along the bank of the [subterranean?] lake [located] in the bSil-khang (the cool-room, a recreation-house) [pertaining to dBu-rtse rigs-gsum main-temple?], in which a lotus-stalk was found growing (*skyes pa*) (a word-play on and allusion to Padmasambhava, the 'Lotus-born'). Observing that his *thugs dam* temple was being purified (*'byongs pa*), i.e. consecrated, he rejoiced greatly. Thirteen times he sang a song of enjoyment bursting with expressions such as: "Am I happy! This, my dBu-rtse rigs-gsum, does not appear to be erected by [human hand], but appears to have grown [forth all by itself] (*skyes pa*; word-play, again, to the above supernatural origin of the lotus stalk and Padmasambhava)." Each and every minister sang a song of pride (*nga rgyal*).

The toponym mTsho-mo-mgur thus means 'the lake [where/about which] songs [were offered]'. These songs, or a part of them, by the king are to be found in the present narrative metrical

A site where a lotus-stalk has grown,
The king is seated on a golden throne,
[His] five attractive consorts too
Are [found]] seated, [bedecked] with ornaments [of great] beauty.
Not only the entire [corps of royal] chaplains, translators and *paṇḍita*-s [being present]
Rejoiced, and made [their] announcements of Dharma,
But also all the leading religious ministers (*chos blon*) [were present],
Circumambulating the confines of the seated king.
Thus, [all his] subjects submitted to his power (*mnga' 'og spyod pa'i 'bangs*)
From all districts (*sde rigs* = *sde ris*) of dBus and gTsang
There was a great gathering (*ma 'tshogs bya ba gang yang med*) [here at bSam-yas];
By a varied abundance of food and drink
Everybody had whatever wishes satisfied.
Dances of mirth and songs of happiness
[Shall] continue unbrokenly day for day,
Parasols, victory-banners and standards (*ba dan*, *patāka*)
Almost covered for the sun in the middle [of space],
So that for the birds there was no space to fly;
The black-headed [Tibetan] people filled the [entire] site,
Music from cymbal[-instruments] roared like thunder;
[So thronged] that there was no space for the *gyi-ling* [breed] of horse to race;
All the infant boys and girls
Adorned [with ornaments] and holding [ceremonial] [yak-]tails (*rnga ma*) in their hand,
Were beating the drum, singing and making dancing motions:
[With masques of] yak-lions (*g.yag seng*), paper-lions (*dar seng*), tiger-lions (*stag seng*),
[Ordinary] masks (*'bag*) and [as] lion-cups (*seng phrug*), the dancers [made their performance],[1321]
[And thereby] presented offerings [of such entertainment] in the king's presence (*rgyal po'i sku la*).
Thus, everybody, ruler and subjects [alike],
Could not help (*rang dbang med*) [their] bodies [brimming] with joy;
The[ir] steps of dancing resembled the rain[-drops] [falling] from

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segment.

One inconsistency (among many, no doubt) should here be recorded, since the name of the place probably first came into being with or after the completion of bSam-yas. But in **BZH**, as referred to above, the place is recorded prior to the erection of bSam-yas.

1321 Cf. similarly **HBCHBY** (JA) 101a6-7 and *ad* 527 *supra*. What most probably is meant: Dancers are dressed out with huge masks illustrating these animals, although it remains to be settled what kind of hybrid a yak-lion actually looks like. Cf. also Richardson, 1993, p. 106. Another possibility, though less likely, is that it may refer to some animal trainers displaying their trained animals.

heaven;
[Their ecstatically] happy mood rendered the control over [their] senses impossible (*dran 'dzin med*);
Each and everyone sang a song of rejoice (*mos pa'i glu*);
The Divine Ruler of Man (*mi rje lha*)[1322] having acted accordingly,
The Dharmarāja Khri-srong lde-btsan
Rose from his throne [studded] with precious stones
And sang the song of the king's joy (*rgyal po dgyes pa'i glu*):[1323]
This my dBu-rtse rigs-gsum [main-chapel],
Made from the five [kinds of] precious stones,
Does not appear built [by human hand], but appears [self-]originated;
[This] most wonderous chapel of mine
Indeed, merely by beholding [it] [one] cheers;
Indeed, therefore, the mind is content;
Having taken the continent of Pūrvavideha as model,
These three chapels in the eastern direction [were raised],
Made from the five [kinds of] precious stones,
Do not appear to be built [by human hand], but appear [self-]originated;
[These] most wonderous chapels of mine,
Indeed, merely by beholding [them] [one] cheers;
Indeed, therefore, the mind is content;
Having taken the [continent of] Jambudvīpa as model,
These three chapels in the southern direction [were raised],
Made from the five [kinds of] precious stones,
Do not appear to be built [by human hand], but appear [self-]originated;
[These] most wonderous chapels of mine,
Indeed, merely by beholding [them] [one] cheers;
Indeed, therefore, the mind is content;
Haven taken the [continent of] Aparagodānīya as model,
These three chapels in the western direction [were raised],
Made from the five [kinds of] precious stones,
They do not appear to be built [by human hand], but appear [self-] originated;
[These] most wonderous chapels of mine,
Indeed, merely by beholding [them] [one] cheers;
Indeed, therefore, the mind is content;
Having taken the [continent of] Uttarakuru as model,
These three chapels in the northern direction [were raised],
Made from the five [kinds of] precious stones.
They do not appear to be built [by human hand], but appear [self-] originated;

1322 Cf. note 529 *supra*.

1323 **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 3, 235.2-234.13: The thirteen joyous songs (*dga ba'i glu*) of the king (consisting, as here, of thirteen nine-syllabic quatrains) differ markedly from the present version in **GLR**. Two lines from the first quatrain are found also by O-rgyan gling-pa, 235.17-18; **CHBYMTNYP** 326b3.

[These] most wonderous chapels of mine,
Indeed, merely by beholding [them] [one] cheers;
Indeed, therefore, the mind is content;
These my two Yakṣa-[chapels], upper and lower,
Resemble the sun risen [high] in the sky,
These my three chapels of my consorts,
Resemble a turquoise[-coloured] *maṇḍala* laid out;
This my white *caitya*,
Resembles a white conch wounded to the right (*dakṣiṇāvṛttaśāṅkha*);
This my red *caitya*,
Resembles a flame shooting up towards the heaven (*gnam la bsnyeg pa*);
This my blue *caitya*,
Resembles a turquoise[-coloured] pillar erected;
This my black *caitya*,
Resembles an iron-nail driven into the ground;
[These] my most wonderous *caitya*-s
Indeed, merely by beholding [them] [one] cheers;
Indeed, therefore, the mind is content;
Suchlike songs of joy [were sung].
Devendra [*lha dbang*, i.e. Śakra, ruler of the *devaloka*] of Trāyastriṃśa,
Taking the songs of the gods as pattern,
Sang [the song] called 'the Turquoise-House [with] the Golden Throne' (*g.yu khang gser khri*);
The Divine Son (*devaputra*) [Prince] Mu-ne btsan-po
Sang [the song] called 'The Lamp of the World' (*'jig rten sgron me*);
The divine Son (*devaputra*) Mu-tig btsan-po,
Sang [the song] called 'the Exalted Lion' (*seng ge 'gying ba*);[1324]
The queens sang [their] songs:
[The song] called 'the Whirling Turquoise-lake' (*g.yu mtsho 'khyil ba*) [they] sang;
[The song] called 'A Twig [with] Turquoise[-coloured] Leaves' (*g.yo lo* [= *lo 'dab, lo ma*] *lcug phran*) [they] sang;
The chaplains (*mchod gnas*) sang songs:
The Abbot Bodhisattva [Śāntarakṣita]
Sang [the song] called 'The White Rosary of Meditation' (*sgam* [= *sgom*] [']*phreng dkar po*);[1325]
The Teacher [Padmasambhava]
Sang [the song] called 'Suppressing the *lha 'dre* creatures' (*lha 'dre zil gnon*);

1324 **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 4, 236.14 merely states that he sang thousand songs.

1325 According to **BZH** (Chin. ed. 32.6-7) the abbot explained a *man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* to twenty-one chosen persons at the royal palace of Brag-dmar 'Om-bu-tshal. Cf. also **MBNTH** 99a2-3. Is it an allusion to this? Corroborated in **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 4, 236.14-15: *sgom phreng dkar po* and **HBCHBY** (JA) 101b6.

The Learned Vairocana[1326]
Sang [the song] called 'The modulating Notation' (*dbyangs yig khug pa*);
Nam-mkha'i snying-po, the monk (*ban [de]*) of gNubs[1327]
Sang [the song] called 'the Garuḍa Soaring in the Sky' (*mkha' la khyung lding*);[1328]
rGyal-mchog, the celibate (*btsun pa, bhadanta*) of Ngan-lam[1329]
Sang [the song] called 'The haughty Voice (*'gying dbyangs*) of Hayagrīva';[1330]
The learned dPal-bzang [of] Cog-ro[1331]
Sang [the song] called 'All Happy Glory' (*skyid pa'i dpal dgu*);
The ministers sang [their] songs:
The great Religious Minister (*chos blon chen po*) old (*rgan*) 'Gos[1332]
Sang [the song] called 'the White Straight Tree' (*drang shing dkar ba*);

1326 Vairocana of [s]Pa-gor. On this person, cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** *passim* ab 341b2ff. (s.v. Meizezahl, index); **MBNTH** 117b4; **GBCHBY** 302.1ff. *passim*; **CHBY** 141b1-3, 157b3; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 403.14. Cf. note 1205.

1327 Or rather of sNubs. On this figure, cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** *passim ab* 334a1ff. (s.v. Meizezahl index); **GBCHBY** 304.16, 332.20, 357.21-358.1, 358.8, 367.3; **NGTMTPH** 12a4 (Uebach, pp. 110-111); **CHBY** 151a6, 157b6, 159a2; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 403.15; (CA) 482.10. His *floruit* uncertain, while he is registered to have been active under different kings, including his assistance to lHa-lung, who committed regicide, cf. Nyang-ral, 474b4.

1328 **KTHDNG** (GA), Chap. 4, p. 236,15: Sang five songs of love (*byams pa'i glu lnga*).

1329 I.e. rGyal-ba mChog-dbyangs; **GBCHBY** 358.1-2: He rose the Ārya-palo *sgom grva*; **CHBY** 141b3, 149a2-3, 157b1. Counted as one of the seven first ordained monks (*sad mi mi bdun*). Cf. note 1206 *supra*.

1330 **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 4, 236.20: He sang the song [on/denoted] 'unsullied passion' (*'dod pa zag med*).

1331 Perhaps a mistake for dPal-dbyangs, alias Khri-bzher Sang-shi-ta of sBa, but then not of the Cog-ro clan, cf. the notes 859, 1302. Or should we read dPal gyi seng-ge of Cog-ro, cf. Karmay, 1988, p. 78, n. 10. Alternatively, it could be a distortion of Cog-ro sKyes-bzang [rGyal-gong]? cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 8.11, Chin. ed. 9.18-19); **CHBYMTNYP** 294a1; **MBNTH** 88b4-5; **CHBY** 139b4, but according to these testimonies, he was one of the anti-Buddhist ministers who had a sudden death already prior to the erection of bSam-yas; cf. note 504 *supra*.

1332 mGos/'Gos rgan. Cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 13.5, 14.7, 14.10: 'Gos rgan, 28.7: blon 'Gos rgan, 29.7, 50.5, 53.5, 65.10, Chin. ed. 16.14, 17.3-12, 18.19: 'Gos rgan, 35.4, 35.15-20, 58.11, 62.8, 82.6); **CHBYMTNYP** 439b1: 'Gos rgan dPal 'Gar gung-btsan, and 467b6-468a1: Ghos [= 'Gos] rgan dPal dang ma gu snyan [= '/mGar gung btsan?] *dang* Khri-bzang yal-lhag (two persons); **MBNTH** 100a2-3, 117b5-6, 120a6, 140b2-3; **KTHZGM** (Chap. XXV, 151.2); **NGTMTPH** 5a7-b1 (Uebach, pp. 72-75, n. 272); **CHBY** 40a5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 102a1, 112a2.

In the *Annals* (pp. 56, 60): Blon Khri-bzang; *Chronicle* (102.6): mGos Khri-bzang yab-lag. As adduced in the next note, it remains to be settled whether 'Gos rgan [with the name: dPal 'Gar gung-btsan] and Khri-bzang yab-lhag are one or two persons. Minister 'Gos rgan was nevertheless a leading minister, active, in particular, during the first phase of the reign of king Khri-srong lde-btsan. He is in the literature portrayed as a pro-Buddhist minister responsible for eliminating the anti-Buddhist minister Ma-zhang Grom-pa-skyes (cf. note 1183). In deference to his pro-Buddhist activities, he is usually listed (as the sixth out) of seven wise ministers of the dynastic period (cf. Uebach, p. 73), cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 112a7-b6. Cf. next note.

The son [of his, i.e.] Yab-lhag Khri-bzang[1333]
Sang [the song called] 'The Miraculous Key [to] mDzangs-yig' (*mdzangs yig 'phrul gyi lde mig*);
dPal gyi seng-ge of Shud-phu[1334]
Sang [the song] called 'Little Goose, Long Turquoise' (Ngur-chung g.yu-rings);[1335]
General (*dmag dpon*) lHa-bzang klu-dpal[1336]
Sang [the song] called 'Great Sesame Small Sesame' (*zar chen zar chung*);
Nyang-bzang Zhang-po Khri-rgyal[1337]

1333 Metathesis for Khri-bzang yab-lhag.

The question remains whether minister mGos/'Gos rgan (the old) and mGos/'Gos Khri-bzang yab-lhag are one and the same person or not, as claimed in **GLR**. A fair measure of conflation has from the outset prevailed, as may e.g. be reflected by dPa'-bo, who on one side quotes **BZH** (Chin. ed. 36.5: Blon Khri bzang), but *in loco* (**BZH** cited **HBCHBY** *op. cit.* 90b3, renders mGos rgan). On the other hand, similar to **GLR**, while quoting here **bKa'i Thang-yig chen-mo**, itself an old witness of considerable authority, dPa'-bo renders them as two distinct individuals. I.e. behind the name 'Gos Khri-bzang yab-lhag, a father (senior, *rgan*) and son (junior, *sras*) carrying the same name could arguably be concealed. **CHBYMTNYP** 350b5 registers minister Khri-bzang yab-lhag, to be distinguished from mGos-rgan dPal 'Gar-gung-btsan (cf. previous note). The name-element Yab-lhag means incidentally 'the superior Father', which may allude to the great feats of the father which brought fame and influence to the clan. And as such the name Yab-lhag could equally well have been carried by the son. Now, **Myang chos-'byung** (Chin. ed., 1983, 77.9-14) singles out one 'Gos Khri-bzang, given in full as Khri-'bring khang-bzang, by purporting that he is the father of 'Gos Padma gung-btsan and finally adduces that 'Gos Khri-bzang yab-lhag is the grandfather.

In sum, the fact that Nyang-ral and **bKa'i Thang-yig chen-mo**, two very old witnesses, unmistakably distinguish between a father and a son of 'Gos must carry some weight and compel us to assume their distinct identity. It is however not confirmed in O-rgyan gling-pa's minister-list: **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 437.3-5: Three ministers of the 'Gos-clan active during the dynasty, i.e. Khri-bzang yab-lhag, Yang-gong bla-ma and lHa Gro-gro; (CA) 490.3-5.

1334 Cf. note 1299.

1335 **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 2, 233.15, 234.18-235.1: Two quatrains quoted, which differ. There he is listed as a *sngags pa*, not *blon po*. **HBCHBY** (JA) 102a1 reads Dung-chung g.yu-rings, 'Little Conch and Long Turquoise', altogether a better reading.

1336 Of the Tshe[s]-spong clan. Cf. **NGTMTPH** 14a4-5 (Uebach, pp. 118-119); **HBCHBY** (JA) 101a1, 130a4, he is listed as one of the ministers present when the sKar-chung edict was sworn in, cf. also Uebach, n. 683. **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 19, 490.13-15. He is also mentioned in the De-ga manuscript, cf. Szerb, 1983, p. 378, where Szerb identifies the names in the song, i.e. Zar-chen and Zar-chung as names of temples raised by him, see also Richardson, 1952, p. 41. This has to be substantiated further. Cf. also note 1478 *infra*.

1337 Also Zhang Nyang-bzangs. Cf. note 1222 *supra*. **BZH** (Stein ed. 13.4, 14.2, 15.4, Chin. ed. 16.14-16, 17.22, 22.5, 34.13, 36.16: Zhang sNya-bzang); **NGTMTPH** 10a7 (Uebach, pp. 110-101): Zhang Nyang-bzangs, and 10b3: Zhang rGyal-nyen Nya-bzangs, so also **CHBY** 145a1. If we make an equation between Nyang-bzang Zhang-po Khri-rgyal and Zhang rGyal-nyen Nyan-bzang it appears that this minister became enrolled as monk. **KTHDNG** (CA) 490.22-491.1: Zhang gi Nya-bzang; **HBCHBY** (JA) 101a2. This minister participated, according to a Buddhist version (**BZH** Stein ed. 27.14), in the Bon-Buddhist Contest (*'gran*), which most likely took place in 759 A.D. dPa'-bo reads *seng ge 'gril chen in lieu* of *seng ge 'grel chen*. We may tentatively suggest an emendation: *seng ge 'gying can*.

Sang [the song] called 'the Great Commentary [to] the Lion' (*seng ge 'grel chen*)?;
sBas [s]Kyi[d]-bstan dpal-legs[1338]
Sang [the song] called 'the Sixty-eight Wishes' (*'dod pa re brgyad*);
Khyung-po Dum-tshugs of mGar[1339]
Sang [the song] called 'the Soaring Vulture' (*bya rgod lding ba*);
rDo-rje sPrel-chung of mChims[1340]
Sang [the song] called 'The Memorandum-Song of mChims' (*mchims kyi brjed glu*);
rGyal-tsha lHa-snang of sNa-nam[1341]
Sang [the song] called 'The Supreme Godly Cedar-tree' (lHa-shug gong-ma);
Khri 'Bring lHa-'od khu[g]-chos[1342]
sang [the song called] 'Superior, Mediocre and Inferior, the Three mDo-chod' (*mdo chod rab 'bring tha gsum*);
Khri-bzang yang-bon of gNyags[1343]
Sang [the song] called 'The Permeation of the Moon-Light' (*zla 'od khyab gdal*);
sTag-sgra Klu-gong of Li [= Ngan-]lam[1344]
Sang [the song] called 'The Six-headed Iron-Snake' (*lcags sbrel* [= *sprel*] *gdong drug*);
All the principal ones (*gtso bo*; nobility?) sang songs:
Sang [the song called] 'the Wonderous Golden Flower' (*ya mtshan gser gyi me tog*);
The [unmarried] young men (*stag śar*)[1345] sang [their] songs,
Sang [the song] called 'the Tiger-mountain Ninefold Piled up' (*stag ri*

1338 Probably a contraction of two name for the same minister: sBas Cang dPal gyi legs-bzang [alias] 'Bal sKyid-thag ring-po. So **GLR**: sBas Kyi [= sKyid] bstan [= thag] bzang dPal-legs [= dPal gyi legs-bzang]. Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 101a2 and for details, note 507 *supra*.

1339 Cf. similarly **HBCHBY** (JA) 101a2. **BZH** (Stein ed. 27.15, Chin ed. 34.16) records one rTsis-pa Khyung-po Dum-tshugs, listed as pro-Bon participant in the Bon-Buddhist contest (cf. Appendix, note 1186). Also corroborated by Bon sources, where one Kyung-po sTag-sgra Don-gtsug is recorded as Bon saint (one of twenty famed Bon scholars) and as participant in the above dispute, cf. Karmay, 1972, pp. 26, 42, 89. The Khyung-clan was in fact reputed as Bon adherents and champions. Otherwise unidentified. The reference to the mGar clan in **GLR** remains enigmatic.

1340 Cf. note 1306.

1341 Cf. note 1302 *supra*.

1342 **CHBYMTNYP** 350b6: Khri-'bring lha-'od; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 19, 490.15-17: blon po Khri-'bring lha-'od; **HBCHBY** (JA) 102a3: Khri-'bring lHa-'od Khu-lud.

Not to be identified with the famous mGar general Khri-'bring btsan-brod, the son of mGar stong-btsan yul-bzung, who was minister and general under the kings Mang-srong mang-btsan and 'Dus-srong. He may however be identical with Shud-pu Khri-'bring khong-btsan, minister under Mu-ne btsan-po, cf. **GBCHBY** 359.19.

1343 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 102a3. I.e. Khri-bzang yang-ston of Nyang, cf. note 518 for details.

1344 Cf. note 1181 and 1304 *supra*.

1345 The term *stag shar*, 'emerged as tigers' is an euphemism for a young (unmarried) man (= *skyes pa dar ma*).

dgu brtsegs);
The nuns (*mo btsun*) sang songs,
[They] sang [the song] called 'A Rosary of Flower' (*me tog 'phreng ba*);
The [unmarried] young women (*sman shar*)[1346] sang [their] songs,
Sang [the song] called 'The long Tale' (Grong zer ring mo)
Further [details] cannot be mentioned (*brjod kyis mi lang*);[1347]
[But] for one full year-cycle [i.e. twelve years]
Each and every person sang songs [out of joy].[1348]

In [this] period of happiness, the extend of bliss was prolonged (*dpal gyi 'dom brkyangs*), and [the Tibetan people] enjoyed a blissful [period] of joy, happiness and felicity. Benefit and happiness permeated all directions like the rays of the sun and moon for a period of one [full] year-cycle [i.e. twelve years].

The king then spoke:[1349] "When in this [very] life [you] want to strive for Liberation and Enlightenment, then the happiness and felicity of this [very] life too [must] certainly be deceiving!" Wishing, [accordingly], to spread and to disseminate the Teaching of Buddha [in Tibet], [the king] invited many savants such as *paṇḍita* Vimalamitra[1350] from India. Translating *lotstshā ba*-s [such as] Vairocana,[1351] the Kashmirian Ānanda,[1352] rTse-mangs [of] lDan-ma,[1353] Ku-mā-ra [of] sNyags,[1354] *ācārya* Rin-chen mChog [of] rMa,[1355] Klu'i

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1346 The term *sman shar* or rather *dman shar*, i.e. 'emerged as lower [rebirth] ', denotes, parallel to *stag shar*, a young, unmarried woman (*bud med dar ma*).

1347 I.e. for lack of space and to avoid verbosity.

1348 **CHBYMTNYP** 336b6-327a1; **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 4, 238.1-3; **GBYTSH** 131b4-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 102a5: dPa'-bo adds the following quatrain:
‖ *rta res hang re brgyags pa yin* ‖
‖ *shing re'i rtse la dar re phyar* ‖
‖ *skyid pa'i dpal gyi 'dom brkyang ste* ‖
‖ *dga' bde'i dpal la langs spyod byas* ‖

These sources mention that the ballads were sung daily for thirteen years after the inauguration of bSam-yas at the lake of mTsho-mo-mgul/mgur.

1349 This citation is lacking from other versions, possibly it is gleaned from the **bSam-yas Ka-gtsigs chen-mo**, the basic source for this section, cf. note 1379.

1350 Cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 347b5; 354a2-356b6 (on the invitation) *et passim*; **GBCHBY** 318.3-4ff; **HBCHBY** (JA) 127a3ff.
He was a crucial figure, renown for the paternity and initial spread of rDzogs-chen and in particular the sNying-thig cycle, cf. most conveniently Ehrhard, 1990, *passim*.

1351 Cf. note 1205 *supra*.

1352 Cf. also note 1186 *supra*. Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 16.10-12, Chin. ed. 20.14-16); **CHBYMTNYP** 421b4: Kha-che sKyes-bzang gyi bla ma A nanta; **GBCHBY** 301.19; **NGTMTPH** 10b3 (Uebach, pp. 102-103); **CHBY** 140b2-3. Cf. also Simonsson, 1957, p. 243.

1353 Cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 358a2, 421b3: Lo-tsā-ba'i mChan-bu 'Dan-ma rTse-mang; **PMKTH** Chap. 99, 534.16-17; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 404.7.
Cf. Haarh, 1960.

1354 Cf. note 1124 *supra*. Cf. here **CHBYMTNYP** 358a2 *et passim*.

1355 Cf. note 1207 *supra*. Cf. here **CHBYMTNYP** 354a3, 358a2 *et passim*.

dbang-po [srung-ba] [of] 'Khon,[1356] [and] [s]Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs [of 'Bro],[1357] Klu'i rgyal-mtshan [of] Cog-ro[1358] and *bande* Zhang Ye-shes-sde [of] sNa-nam[1359] etc. functioned as translators. Taking up residence in [the chapel of] sGra-bsgyur rGya-gar-gling, the three [Buddhist] baskets (*sde snod gsum*, *tripiṭaka*) were translated into Tibetan.*[1360] A community for the congregation (*dge 'dun gyi sde*) was established, whereby the Teaching of Buddha spread and disseminated like the sun.

Then the entire Tibetan population observed the law of the ten wholesome acts, whereby [they] became endowed with happiness and felicity.

[XIII] [The bSam-yas Debate]

Thereupon, the Abbot (*mkhan po*) Bodhisattva [Śāntarakṣita] declared:[1361] "Since the Teacher Padmasambhava has bound the twelve *brtan ma*[-spirits] by oath, [the doctrine of] the heretics (*mu stegs pa*, *tīrthika*) will not come to Tibet. In a future time, [nevertheless,] a period will come with conflicting internal [schism] and [doctrinal] views (*lta ba*, *dṛṣṭi*) [within Buddhism] (*nang pa dang lta ba mi mthun pa'i dus*). When that time [comes], invite (*gdan drongs shig*) my pupil named Kamalaśīla! [He] is going to unite these [dissenting]

1356 Cf. note 1208 *supra*. Cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 421b4-5.

1357 I.e. [s]Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs of the 'Bro (ethnonym for the Chinese Mo-lu clan); Cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 354b2, 358a1, 359a5 *et passim* (s.v. Meizezahl index); **NGTMTPH** 11a1, 11b3, 15b5; **CHBY** 142a4, 157b5; **DTHMP** 17b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 124b6, 125a3, cf. also Simonsson, 1957, p. 217. A prolific translator of mainly exoteric writings, who played an important role as compiler of the Mahāvyutpatti.

1358 Cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 354a3, 358a1, 359b6-360a1 *et passim* (s.v. Meizezahl index); **NGTMTPH** 11a5-6, 11b3; **CHBY** 152a4, 157b5; **DTHMP** 17b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 123b6-7, 125a3.

Famous translator *inter alia* recorded for his translations of *bKa'-brgyad*, *bKa'-brgyad yongrdzogs* and texts on *drag sngags* to prevent lightning and hail (*thog ser*).

1359 Often also Jñānasena. Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 73.5-6): **CHBYMTNYP** 358a1, 454a1-2 *et passim* (s.v. Meizezahl index); **NGTMTPH** 11a1, 11b3, 15b6; **CHBY** 145a3, 157b5; **DTHMP** 17a1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 125a3-4.

1360 **gloss*: *Nine translators are universally known: The early group of three* (*snga tshar gsum*), *the intermediate group of three* (*bar tshar gsum*) *and the later group of three* (*phyi tshar gsum*).

Cf. e.g. **GBCHBY** 301.18-302.6: Lo tsā ba che 'bring chung ba gsum; *che gsum*: Zhang Se-btsan lha-na [sic], rBa Ratna, Shud-pu Khong-slebs; *'bring gsum*: lHa-lung Klu-gong, Bran-ka Legs-khong, 'Go-bong Yul-gong; *chung gsum*: lDan-ma rtse-rmang, 'Gos sNya-bzang and Lo Khyi-chung. Cf. also differently **HBCHBY** (JA) 125a3-4: *rgan gsum*: Vairocana, lDan-ma rtse-rmang, Kha-che Ānanta; *bar pa gsum*: gNyags Jñāna Kumara, Khon Klu'i dbang-po and rMa Rin-chen-mchog; *gzhon gsum*: Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs, Cog-ro Klu'i rgyal-mtshan and Zhang Ye-shes-sde.

1361 The direct wording of this citation is partly retained in Bu-ston, and, as always, by dPa'-bo. A contextual parallel is found in **BZH** (Stein ed. 56.1-6; Chin. ed. 66.6-12) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 115b5-7; **CHBYMTNYP** 427b3-428a3 and **MBNTH** 122a5-b3: Here Ye-shes dbang-po quotes slightly lengthier Bodhisattva's testament which corresponds to the passage in **GLR**; **MBNTH** 120b2-3; **CHBY** 142a5-6; **YLJBCHBY** 61.12-16; **HBCHBY** (JA) 113a4-6.

We have reason to assume that the basic source for this part of the bSam-yas narrative is **bSam-yas kyi [b]Ka[']-tshigs chen-mo**.

views!", whereafter he passed into *nirvāna*.[1362]

The king [Khri-srong lde-btsan] thereupon appointed Ye-shes dbang-po[1363] as the [chief] Dharma-representative (*chos kyi ring lugs*),[1364] and, in accordance with the abbot's [i.e. Śāntarakṣita's] prediction, the monk (*ha shang*, i.e. *heshang*) Mahāyāna[1365] arrived in Tibet from the country of China and so [Buddhism] manifested [itself in] two [branches]: the so-called sTon-min-pa[1366] and the Tsen-min-pa,[1367] [both representatives of] the view (*lta*

1362 **BZH** (Stein ed. 53.9-11, Chin. ed. 62.15-16); **CHBYMTNYP** 424b4-6; **MBNTH** 120b1-2; **CHBY** 142a6; **GBYTSH** 133b1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 113a6, 114a3.

As adduced by these sources Śāntarakṣita was severely wounded when he was kicked in the head by a horse (*dbu la rta 'phra ba brgyab*). Prior to his passing (in 797 A.D.), he had in beforehand handed over his testament to Ye-shes dbang-po. He was buried behind Has-po-ri at bSam-yas.

1363 **BZH** (Stein ed. 53.11, 54.2-3, 55.5-6 55.14, Chin. ed. 61.8, 20-3, 62.16, 63.22, 64.10, 72.20-22); **CHBYMTNYP** 425a1-3, 438b1-5; **MBNTH** 120a2; **CHBY** 140a3, 140b1, 141b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 113a7, 113b2, 114a6, 114b3 etc.

Ye-shes dbang-po (Jñānendra) of sBas is according to an interlinear gloss in **BZH** (Chin. ed. 64.16) identical with sBa Ratna, i.e. sBa gSal-snang, an ardent supporter of the tenets of the Indian scholar Kamalaśīla, cf. note 1203 *supra*. But this equation is not shared by other Tibetan historians, judged from their descriptions of the period and it ultimately remains to be substantiated.

Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 425a1-427a6, **MBNTH** 121a1-6 and dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 114b4-115a1, 115a6-b3, provide detailed reports as to how Ye-shes dbang-po prior to the Debate fled due to religious opposition and settled down temporarily in the cave of mKhar-chu-btsan of lHo-brag. Only after repeated requests did he return to attend the Debate. For his role at the Debate, cf. most conveniently Ruegg, 1989, pp. 60ff.

1364 **BZH** (Stein ed. 53.11-13, Chin. ed. 62.16-19): *Ye shes dbang po ring lugs su bskos*; **CHBYMTNYP** 425a1-3: *Ye shes dbang po chos dpon du ring lugs bskos*; **MBNTH** 120b2-4; **DCHBY** 131.10-19; **YLJBCHBY** 61.16-17; **HBCHBY** (JA) 113a7.

For the term *ring lugs*, cf. Petech, *Glosse*, p. 270; Samten Karmay, 1988, p. 77; Ruegg, 1989, p. 60. It is thus glossed with *chos dpon*, dharma-leader or chief monk. Those carrying the title *bcom ldan 'das kyi ring lugs* were in fact abbots of bSam-yas. A *slob* [= *chos*] *dpon ring lugs* or chief representative received, as delineated in the above sources, as salary each month seventy[-five] *khal* of barley, compared to a leader of a college (*chos grva*), who received thirty-five ditto, whereas an ordinary novice (*chos slob pa*) was accorded twelve measures of barley each month.

1365 I.e. the teacher (*hva shang*, *ho shang*, *upādhyāya*) Mahā yā-na (i.e. Mo-ho-yen). The Chinese protagonist of the quietist Dhyāna or Chan Buddhism. Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 54.5-6, Chin. ed. 64.11-12); **CHBYMTNYP** 426a4; **MBNTH** 121a3; **NGTMTPH** 10b6; **CHBY** 142b1ff; **HBCHBY** (JA) 113b1ff.

The literature on the Chinese representative and his teaching is already enormous, cf. foremost the studies by Kimura, Obata, Imaeda, Ueyama and Gomez.

1366 Also written [*s*]*ton/tun min/mun* [*pa*], derived from Chinese: *dun-men* [*pai*], i.e. the simultaneist (*cig c*[*h*]*ar ba*), or simultaneous engagement ([*g*]*cig c*[*h*]*ar gyis 'jug pa*) of the Chinese Master *heshang* Mo-ho-yen. Most of the basic sources for the Debate have retained an almost similar-worded pseudo-etymological explanation of the term, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 54.12-13, Chin. ed. 64.18-19) = **HBCHBY** 115a3; **CHBYMTNYP** 426a6-b1; **MBNTH** 121a5-6. Cf. also **NGTMTPH** 10b6; **CHBY** 144b2 (Bu-ston cited by **BZH** Stein ed. 54.10-12); **HBCHBY** (JA) 119b5; **DTHZHG** 66.9-14.

Cf. foremost Demiéville, 1952, p. 19; Stein, 1971, pp. 1-30; Uebach, 1987, p. 103, n. 473; Ruegg, 1989, p. 63 *et passim*.

1367 Also [*br*]*tse*[*n*] *min/mun* [*pa*], derived from Chinese: *jian-men* [*pai*], i.e. the gradualist (*rim gyis pa*)

ba, darśana, drṣṭi) of the Middle Path (*dbu ma, madhyamaka*). [The two parties] disputed while [they could not agree internal[ly within Buddhism] and on [doctrinal] views.[1368]

At that point, in accordance with the abbot's testament, Ye-shes dbang-po invited the learned Kamalaśīla [from India via Nepal], who eventually arrived in Tibet.[1369] When [he] approached the shore [at the foot] of the mountain direct opposite [to bSam-yas], *ha-shang* [Mahāyāna], having arrived at the hither shore [nearest to bSam-yas], spoke:[1370] "I have come to receive the arriving *paṇḍita*."

Kamalaśīla,[1371] [on his side] saw the *ha-shang* approaching and thought [to himself] that if this *ha-shang* possesses [the faculty of] logic (*rigs pa, yukti, nyaya*), then I shall definitely conquer [him], but if not [I] shall not [be able] to triumph over [him]. In order to test the *ha-shang*'s logic, Kamalaśīla brandished his staff (*phyag shing*) trice around [his] head in order to signalize by gesture the question: "What is the cause for roaming around in the transmigratory cycle (*saṃsāra*) of the three spheres (*khams gsum 'khor bar 'khyam pa'i rgyu*)?". This was observed by *ha-shang* [Mahāyāna] and in order to give an answer saying: "The cause for roaming about in the transmigratory cycle stems from the object-subject dichotomization (*gzung 'dzin gnyis las byung*)", [he] took hold of the tail of his cloak (*bar gyi thu ba*) and threw [it] twice to the ground. [This] made Kamalaśīla think [to himself] that the *ha-shang* was [indeed] endowed with [the faculty] of logic, wherefore I shall [be able] to subdue [him], [a thought] which [made] him rejoice greatly.

Thereupon [he] arrived at bSam-yas where the king said:[1372] "I am greatly devoted to the Teaching of Buddha, wherefore [I] have erected a temple with [its] precincts (*sde skor*) and invited *paṇḍita*-s from India. [They] have translated and systematized properly all the books (*chos*) of the Tripiṭaka. [I] have established communities for the congregation (*dge 'dun gyi sde*) and although the intention in [the Buddhist] Dharma (*chos*) is unanimous (*gcig tu mthun pa*), after *ha-shang* had arrived from China, [with]in the Dharma (*chos*) the [doctrinal] views have been split without [any] agreement [to be found]. So the learned Kamalaśīla has been invited. As it is unsuitable (*mi 'ongs pas*) with two teachers for one

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or the gradual engagement (*rim gyis 'jug pa*) of the Indian mKhan-po Kamalaśīla. The basic sources have retained a pseudo-etymological explanation of the term, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 54.13-16, Chin. ed. 64.19-65.1) = **HBCHBY** 115a3-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 427a1-2; **MBNTH** 121a6-b2; cf. also **NGTMTPH** 10b6; **CHBY** 144b2 (cited by **BZH** Stein ed. 54.10-12); **HBCHBY** (JA) 119b5. Cf. previous note.

1368 The literature on the bSam-yas Debate is by now enormous. Suffice it to refer to the pioneering study by Demiéville and, most recently and cogently, Ruegg, 1989. Houston, 1980, has compiled a handy source-book employing the standard Tibetan historiographical sources. It is as such useful, but should be quoted with caution due to a number of cases of faulty transcriptions and translations.

1369 **BZH** (Stein ed. 56.12-13, Chin. ed. 66.22-67.1) = **HBCHBY** 116a4; **CHBYMTNYP** 428a4-5; **MBNTH** 123a1-2; **NGTMTPH** 10b7; **CHBY** 143a1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 115b7.

1370 This direct citation is lacking from other sources, but cf. parallel: **BZH** (Stein ed. 56.12-14, Chin. ed. 66.22-67.1) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 116a4-5: Kamalaśīla first arrived at [the palace of] Rlung-tshugs (cf. also note 1193 *supra*), whereafter the Tibetan court went to welcome his arrival at the bank of gTsang-po/Brahmaputra (*chab khar*; *chab* is *zhe sa* for 'water', and a synonym for gTsang-po) followed by Hva-shang and his retinue. Cf. also briefer **CHBYMTNYP** 428b6.

1371 A parallel to the following passage is found, somewhat briefer, in **BZH** (Stein ed. 56.14-16, Chin. ed. 67.1-5) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 116a5-6.

1372 This passage is lacking from other versions, but a briefer parallel is retained in **BZH** (Stein ed. 57.5-14, Chin. ed. 67.12-68.9) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 116b1-6; **CHBY** 143a2-3.

teaching[-system], [therefore] conduct a Debate on arguments ([*b*[*s*]*gros gleng gi rtsod pa*)[1373] in order to [re-establish] unity in the intention of [the Teaching] of Buddha Bhagavat! The vanquished must strew flowers to the one being victorious [in] the Debate, [and the triumphator on his side] [should] abstain from [showing] any arrogance!"

For [this purpose] a great throne was prepared in the [chapel of] Sems-bskyed Byang-chub-gling,[1374] where the king was seated in the middle, *ha-shang*, the chief [Chinese competitor] and [his] disciples (*dpon* [*dang*] *slob*[*ma*]) were seated to the right and Kamalaśīla, the chief [Indian competitor] and [his] disciples were seated to the left. When they had disputed, the learned Kamalaśīla turned out victorious, *ha-shang* accepted [his] defeat and strewed flowers [to the feet of the victor].[1375]

Thereupon, when *ha-shang* [Mahāyāna] set out for China again, one of [his] boots was left behind in Tibet, wherefore *ha-shang* [Mahāyāna] proclaimed:[1376] "There are [after all] still [going to be] some adherents of my doctrine in Tibet."

Thus, the learned *paṇḍita*-s came from India and the king acted as patron (*yon bdag*, *dānapati*). The king decreed: "[Everybody] should turn to Buddhism, [the doctrine] which has been translated and systematized by the learned translators!"

The learned ones [brought] harmony in the intent [of Buddha's Teaching], [causing] the spread and dissemination of the Holy Law (Saddharma).

1373 **GLR** A: *sgrogs lens*(?), B: *sgrogs gling*; rather than reading *sgrogs gleng* [*mdzad pa*], albeit feasible, we should possibly construe the proper reading as *bgro* or *gros gleng*, to 'contend and argue [in debate]'.

1374 Cf. more detailed and verbatim **BZH** (Stein ed. 57.1-5, Chin. ed. 67.6-13) = **CHBYMTNYP** 429a1-4 = **MBNTH** 123a3-4 (briefer) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 116a6-b1; cf. also **CHBY** 143a1-2.

For Byang-chub-gling, cf. note 1291.

1375 The strewing of flowers as a gesture of defeat and submission, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 62.2-3, Chin. ed. 72.11-12) = **CHBYMTNYP** 435a6 = **MBNTH** 123a5 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 118b7; cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 116b5-6; **CHBY** 144a6-b1.

For the lengthy and detailed exposition of the Grand Debate, omitted in **GLR** altogether, cf. almost similar-worded **BZH** (Stein ed. 57.14-62.3, Chin. ed. 68.9-72.12) = **CHBYMTNYP** 430a2-435a6 = **MBNTH** 123a5-126b3 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 116b6-118b7; cf. also **CHBY** 143a3-144b1 (Szerb, pp. 39-41).

1376 This valedictory dictum and prophecy by the Chinese *hva-shang* is lacking altogether from **BZH** and other earlier sources, except by Nyang-ral, *op. cit.* 436b1-3, where the prophetic statement by the *ha-shang* is put in the mouth of some people (*la la*), adding that the Chinese master had dispaired and left for his homeland; others, again, claimed that the master had put fire to his own head and (thereby) gone to Sukhāvatī, others that he had committed suicide by beating his own genitalia. All these rumours are rejected by Nyang-ral as not reflecting reality.

A similar, and more detailed, declaration by (another) Chinese *h*[*v*]*a-shang* is retained in **BZH**, only it is not related to H[v]a-shang Mahāyāna or to the present episode of the bSam-yas Debate, cf. Appendix, note 1094, *ad* subnote 17 for further discussions. While this piece of information is also retained in Nyang-ral, it remains to be settled whether Bla-ma dam-pa is responsible for this piece of literary garbling, or whether this statement verily originates from e.g. the non-extant **bSam-yas [b]Ka[']-tshigs chen-mo**.

BZH (Stein ed. 62.16-63.1, Chin. ed. 76.8-9); **CHBYMTNYP** 435b5-6, **MBNTH** 126b3; **BZH** records that the Chinese master erected a *gtsug lag khang* and again returned to China, whereas Nyang-ral purports that he went to Vajrāsana in India, not China. **CHBY** 144b2 merely states that he returned to China and his writings were collected and treasury-buried [in Tibet], also maintained by Nyang-ral, 436a5.

[Thereupon] the prince Mu-ne btsan-po was commissioned [with] the royal power,[1377] whereafter the father went to the royal palace of sMyug-ma-mkhar [in] Zung-mkhar[1378] and took up residence there.

The [above] data are [only] an abbreviated outline, [should you] wish for a detailed [exposition] [you] may look up in the **bSam-yas kyi bKa'-gtsigs chen-mo**![1379]

Thus king Khri-srong lde-btsan passed away at Zung-mkhar[1380] at the age of fifty-six in a wood-female-ox year.[1381]

The tomb of his was raised at Mu-ra-ri,
Being located to the right side behind the [tomb of] the father
The [tomb] being raised by the [king] himself before [he] passed away,
Its name being ''Phrul-ri btsug-snang',[1382]
It was installed with a *rdo-ring* [pillar-inscription] at its foot,
The tomb was universally known as the 'External Ornamented One'. [So it is] said.

1377 **BZH** (Stein ed. 65.3-4, 65.10-11, Chin. ed. 81.22, 82.6-7) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 126b2; **CHBYMTNYP** 439b1.

1378 **GLR** A: sNyag-ma-mkhar. **BZH** (Stein ed. 65.13, Chin. ed. 82.8) = **CHBYMTNYP** 439b2-3 = **MBNTH** 128b4 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 123a1-2, 126b5: He went there to meditate (*sgom du gshegs*); **YLJBCHBY** 62.19-63.1; **NGTMTPH** 6a4 (Uebach, pp. 78-81): 'Khar-stong-sna of Zung-mkhar; **GBYTSH** 141b5.

Zung-mkhar is, according to Petech, 1967, p. 247, a tributary valley located on the left flank of gTsang-po, west of bSam-yas. Cf. also Tucci, *Tombs*, p. 79 and his *MBT*, I, p. 32. Cf. also note 1226 *supra*. With this statement **BZH**'s main text comes to an end. While just mentioning that the king went to this location to meditate (and not to pass away), **BZH** thereby convey the impression that it was composed/compiled around 797 A.D.

1379 This source is currently not extant. This title probably reflects one of (the?) earliest and most detailed verions of **sBa-bzhed**, which however in many points differ from the extant versions of **BZH**. Cf. the *rNam-thar* of Rva Lotsāva (as mentioned by Tucci, *TPS*, I, p. 143: *mNga'-bdag Khri-srong lde'u-btsan gyi zhal-chems bSam-yas Ka-brtsigs chen-mo* (= the non-extant **rGyal-bzhed**). Cf. the introduction and the present book's colophon.

1380 **BGR** 198b2 = **NGTMTPH** 6a4 (Uebach, p. 78-79); **KTHDNG** (NGA) 406.12-13; **YLJBCHBY** 62.13.

Cf. note 1358 *supra*.

1381 **BGR** 198b2 (so also in 'Phags-pa Bla-ma's homonymous **Bod kyi rgyal-rabs** 361a2; = **NGTMTPH** 6a4 (Uebach, p. 78-79)); **GBCHBY** 358.10-14; **DCHBY** 132.16-17: Age fifty-six; **DTHMP** 18a1; **YLJBCHBY** 62.12-13; but **CHBYMTNYP** 440a4: Age sixty-six; **CHBY** 144b3: Age sixty-nine; **DTHMPSM** 27b6-28a1 (Tucci, p. 156); **HBCHBY** (JA) 126b4-127a3, 131a2-3; **DTHZHG** 66.15-16: He died in an iron-male-dragon year, i.e. 800 A.D.

This would correspond to 785 A.D. since he was, according to **GLR**'s own computation (cf. note 1150 *supra*) born in 730 A.D. It is a mistake for fire-ox, i.e. 797 A.D. His birth date is ascertained. **GLR** tallies with most sources.

1382 **CHBYMTNYP** 440a5: At Yar-lung sGyer-pa; **GBCHBY** 378.9-11: 'Phrul-ri gtsug-nam; **DCHBY** 132.17-19; **YLJBCHBY** 62.14-18; **GBYTSH** 141b5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 123a2-3; **DTHZHG** 66.19-20.

Cf. Panglung, 1988, pp. 340-342.

[XIV] [King Mu-ne btsan-po]

Prince Mu-ne btsan-po[1383] was born in Brag-dmar in the water-male-tiger year.[1384] At the age of twenty-eight, [he] seized the [reins of] power and exerted [full] control over the [entire] kingdom. [He] married the consort Ru-yong[s]-bza' mDo-rgyal.[1385] [The king] adhered to [the Buddhist doctrine of] the ten virtuous [deeds] (*daśakuśala*). In order to fulfill the father's intention, [he] instituted offerings by means of [the Baskets of] **Vinaya**, **Abhidharma** and **Sūtra**. He connected the baldachins above the four *caitya*-sanctuaries with the balcony (*bya 'dab*) atop the Central dBu-rtse Chapel by way of iron-chains.[1386] Large flags and ornaments were hung up and an unmeasurable [amount of] offerings were presented.

The king [then] spoke:[1387] "The entire Tibetan population must, aside from horse and cattle and [their] weapons, offer whatever other [items] they may possess of goods such as

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1383 We do not know how many sons Khri-srong lde-btsan fathered. The historigraphical tradition usually speaks of three or four: Mu-khri btsan-po, Mu-ne btsan-po, Mu-tig btsan-po and Sad-na-legs, cf. e.g. **BGR** 197b4; **MBNTH** 128a4-5, **GBCHBY** 358.16-17; **DCHBY** 133.1-3.

In the Dunhuang *Annals*, one son is registered as being born in the year 760 A.D. (before the *Annals* is discontinued). This may obviously allude to Mu-khri btsan-po, who passed away a tender age. The complicated picture illustrating his sons and the nebulous heir-succession is barely clarified by the literature presented. Reading the numerous Tibetan historiographical sources, we are faced with a wealth of discording and confusing data which are almost impossible to penetrate. The number and names of his sons are therefore still largely unresolved. The delineation in **GLR** of the following royal figures is no exception to this picture.

Cf. the survey in Haarh, 1960, pp. 146ff.; Haarh, 1969, pp. 57-60; Karmay, 1972, pp. 102-103; Uebach, 1987, p. 81, n. 294; Panglung, 1988, pp. 355-56.

For Mu-ne btsan-po's different names, cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 57.

1384 Cf. **BGR** 198b3 and **NGTMTPH** 6a4 (Uebach, pp. 80-81): Water-tiger year; **GBCHBY** 358.17-18; **DCHBY** 133.3-4: Born in Brag-dmar in a tiger year; **CHBY** 144b4 (Szerb, p. 42): Bu-ston records the same year for the appropriation of the throne; **DTHMP** 18a1-2; **YLJBCHBY** 63.9-10; **GBYTSH** 142a1-2; **DTHMPSM** 28a1-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 126a3-4: The father was thirty-four years of age and age twenty-three he took over power.

Following the unanimous calculation made by later tradition, Mu-ne btsan-po was born in 762 A.D. (but no correspondence in the *Annals* for that year). dPa'-bo claims that the father was thirty-four years of age when Mu-ne was born. According to the majority of sources (cf. note 1150 *supra*) Khri-srong lde-btsan's birth was fixed to 730 A.D. (against the correct 742 A.D.), which then would situate Mu-ne btsan-po's birth in 763 A.D. Tucci, 1950, pp. 76-77, retaining the tiger year as the only reliable yardstick and calculating from the father's factual birth year arrives at 774 A.D., which thereafter, for lack of anything more convincing, has been generally accepted as the birth year of Mu-ne btsan-po, fitting also nicely, incidentally, with the information given by dPa'-bo that he took over power aged twenty-three, i.e. in 796 A.D. (less Tibetico). According to **GLR** he took over power in 789 A.D.

1385 **CHBYMTNYP** 440a6-b1: He married Ru-yongs-za rGyal-mo age twenty-five; **MBNTH** 128b5-6: Age fifteen; **HBCHBY** (JA) 126a5.

Cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 57.

1386 **BZH** (Stein ed. 51.11-13, Chin. ed. 59.22-23) = **CHBYMTNYP** 441a1-2 = **MBNTH** 129a3-5 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 104b2-3.

1387 **BZH** (Stein ed. 66.12-14) = **CHBYMTNYP** 441b1-3 = **MBNTH** 129a5-b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 126a7-b1.

gold, silver, turquoise and pearls etc. to these temple of my father!" and since the king's command was harsh (*rje'i bka' btsan pas*), some [people] offered precious objects [such as] gold and silver, some offered turquoises and cloaks [of] finest silk (*ber dar zab*). Others [again] offered cloth and ornaments, some [less wealthy individuals] offered [their] ragged garments (*gos hrul po*) and [pieces of] calico (*ras slag*) etc.[1388] This made the king declare:[1389] "The difference in the size of faith among the Tibetan population is great indeed: Some have offered measureless amounts of riches, others offered nothing but (*min pa mi 'bul*) cotton rags (*re* [= *ras*] *hrul*) and [pieces of] calico!" The Tibetan people answered [in unison]:[1390] "There is no difference in the size of faith [among us people towards Buddhism], [the difference in presents offered] is caused by [the fact] that the rich people have something to offer, whereas poor people have nothing!" [To this] the king reacted:[1391] "That it has come to so much difference between penury and wealth (*ltogs phyug*) among the people under my sway here is improper!" Levelling three times the [difference between] rich and poor, [the only result yielded was that] except for about one single year (*lo re tsam ma gtogs*) the rich people were like before rich and the poor people were just like before poor.[1392] This made the king declare: "Although [I] have levelled [the difference between] rich and poor, how come that [there] is [still] so much difference in [living condition between] happiness and sorrow (*skyid sdug*)? What is the reason (*gang gis lan*)?"

The chaplains (*mchod gnas*) declared:[1393] "These [circumstances] are [caused by] the power of alms [offered in] former lives." [This explanation] made the king gain [renewed] faith in the karmic [law] of cause and effect (*las rgyu 'bras*). Thus, the king spread and diffused the Teaching of Buddha.

The chaplains and the ordained [monks] were carried aloof [by the king] like a head-turban, their subsistance being supplied by the court (*'tsho ba bla nas sbyor*) and the royal power was safeguarded by welfare and happiness.[1394]

The queen called Pho-yong-bza' rGyal-mo-btsun[1395] was [recognized as] a [re]birth of rGya-mo-bza' [Gyim-sheng Kong-jo], the mother to the father, the [old] king, wherefore [she] [had] been [particularly] dear to the father [i.e. Khri-srong lde-btsan].[1396] When the

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1388 **BZH** (Stein ed. 66.14-16) = **CHBYMTNYP** 441b3-6 = **MBNTH** 129b1-3.

1389 **BZH** (Stein ed. 67.1-3) = **CHBYMYNYP** 441b6-442a2 = **MBNTH** 129b3-4.

1390 **BZH** (Stein ed. 67.3-4) = **CHBYMTNYP** 442a2-4 = **MBNTH** 129b4-5.

1391 **BZH** (Stein ed. 67.5-6) = **CHBYMTNYP** 441a4-5 = **MBNTH** 129b5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 126b7.

1392 **BZH** (Stein ed. 67.7-14) (which is both different and more detailed) = **CHBYMTNYP** 442a6-445a4 (folio 442 to 444 are counted as one folio in the Berlin HS!) = **MBNTH** 129b5-130b1; **CHBY** 144b4; **DTHMP** 18a2: levelling four times; **YLJBCHBY** 63.11; **HBCHBY** (JA) 123a4, 126a7-b1; **DTHZHG** 66.22-67.1.
Cf. also Bogoslovskij, 1972, p. 61.

1393 This statement is lacking in other versions and appears to be Bla-ma dam-pa's own commentary.

1394 **BZH** (Stein ed. 67.14-16) = **CHBYMTNYP** 445a2-4.
The subsistence proffered by the court to the religious community was instituted already by the former kings, cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein 51.7-8, 53.3, Chin. ed. 60.5, 62.4); **DCHBY** 131.5-6; **MBNTH** 120a4. Cf. also the notes 954-56 *supra*.

1395 **BZH** (Stein ed. 67.16-68.1) = **CHBYMTNYP** 445a4.
Cf. the notes 1233-34 *supra*.

1396 **BZH** (Stein ed. 68.1-2) = **CHBYMTNYP** 445a4-6 = **MBNTH** 130b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 126b2.
No mention in these versions that she was considered the rebirth of Gyim-sheng Kong-jo (cf.

father [once] resided in Zung-mkhar,[1397] she was trusted to the heir [Mu-ne btsan-po].[1398] When the [old] king passed away, the [queen] Pho-yong-bza' refused to take off the ornaments [of regalia] (*rgyan ma bkrol*), and [she] was accused with libels that [she] was not mourning [as prescribed by her husband's passing] (*mya ngan ma byas zer ba la snyad btags*).[1399] The mother[-queen] Tshe sPong-bza' grew jealous, engaged a hangman (*gshed ma bskos*) who was sent to assassinate [her rival consort], but the prince-king [i.e. Mu-ne btsan-po] protected [her]. The mother[-queen i.e. Tshe-spong-bza'] [out of anger] generated adverse thoughts (*log lta skyes*) and served [the young king] [a dish of] baneful food (*gsol ngan drangs*).[1400] [As a consequence] the prince-king Mu-ne btsan-po, having [barely] ruled one year and nine months, passed away at an age of twenty-nine at Brag-dmar.[1401]

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note 1137). But it is worth noting that in a Bon-text, cf. Karmay, *Treasury*, this Chinese wife of Khri-srong lde-btsan, rGya-bza' Kong-cu is said also to be known under the name Pho-yangs-bza' or Gyim-sham-bza'. Yet, the basic source for this equation remains to be found.

1397 Cf. note 1378 *supra*.

1398 **BZH** (Stein ed. 68.2-3) = **CHBYMTNYP** 445a4-6 = **MBNTH** 130b2-3: At the point of death of the father, [the latter] declared: "[Queen] Pho-yong-bza' must marry the divine son (*lha sras*) [i.e. Mu-ne btsan-po]!"

In other words, one of the departing king's queen kept a firm grip of power, one among many factors which led to the ensuing tumult and abruption in the royal succession. dPa'-bo tersely states that the king, i.e. Mu-ne btsan-po fell in love with Pho-yong-bza'.

1399 **BZH** (Stein ed. 68.3-5) = **CHBYMTNYP** 445b1-2 (slightly different) = **MBNTH** 130b3-4.

This reflects the muddled political situation following in the wake of the passing of the old king and the ensuing turmoil anent the succession. Cf. e.g. Haarh, 1960, *passim*.

1400 **BZH** (Stein ed. 68.3-11) = **CHBYMTNYP** 445b1-6 = **MBNTH** 130b5-131a2: Appointing a minister named sKu-ngas lTe-chung/Te-gyu Te-chung as cook (*phyag tshang*), the queen-mother served the prince-son a baneful dish at the palace of Yum-bu-mkhar. The mother thereupon slowly committed suicide; **GBCHBY** 358.18, 376.2-3: Killed by the mother before he assumed power; **DCHBY** 133.6-7; **DTHMP** 18a3; **YLJBCHBY** 63.18; **PMKTH** Chap. 97, 602.3-4; **KTHDNG** (KHA) (Chap. 7, 115.2); **GBYTSH** 142a5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 126b2-3; **DTHZHG** 67.4-5.

Cf. also Karmay, 1972, p. 102. The source for Bla-ma dam-pa's slightly diverging version remains to be identified.

1401 **BZH** (Stein ed. 68.8-9): He ruled for seventeen month, and passed away age seventeen = **MBNTH** 130b6; **BGR** 197b5, 198b3 and **NGTMTPH** 6a4 (Uebach, pp. 80-81): At the age of twenty-five + one year and nine months of rule he was murdered by his mother, i.e. at twenty-seven years of age; **CHBYMTNYP** 445b4: After twelve months of rule and at the age of twenty-seven, he died; so also **CHBY** 144a4 (Szerb pp. 42-43); **GBCHBY** 358.17: He was poisoned without appropriating power; **DCHBY** 133.3-7: He assumed power age fifteen and died age seventeen, having ruled one year and nine months; **DTHMP** 18a2-3: Age twenty-nine he died, having ruled one year and nine months; so also **YLJBCHBY** 63.9-13; **KTHDNG** (NGA) Chap. 33, 406.13-14): He ruled twenty-five years, and died in a sheep year, age forty; **DTHMPSM** 28a1-b2: Offering a polemic note that it would be impossible for Mu-ne btsan-po, within a regency less than two years, to carry through three large-scale social experiences; **HBCHBY** (JA) 126b2-3, 127a3: Having ruled nineteen months, he died in a wood-ox year, 785 A.D.

Aside from illustrating the considerable muddle prevailing concerning his data, the calculation offered by Bla-ma dam-pa nevertheless indicates that Mu-ne btsan-po passed away in 790 A.D. (762 + 29). This, however, as most other chronological data in Tibetan Buddhist historiography suggest, tallies poorly with non-Tibetan sources, which suggest that Mu-ne btsan-po must have succeeded his father, albeit briefly, in 797 A.D. Unfortunately neither from Chinese nor from Tibetan sources are the events that follow in the ensuing years chronologically transparent. Cf. also Chab-spel,

Prince Mu-ne btsan-po's tomb
Was located on the right side, in front of the tomb of [Mes] Ag-tshom[s].
[Its] name was 'lHa-ri ldem-po'.[1402] [So] it is said.

[XV] [King Mu-tig btsan-po]

Thereupon, when the second (*'bring po*) [prince-]son Mu-tig btsan-po[1403] was about to be handed over the royal power, Mu-tig btsan-po too was killed by the sNa-nam-pa [clan] as a revenge (*ngan lan*) for the murdering, [though] innocent (*nyes med*), of the minister [sNa-nam] Zhang dBu-ring[1404] at a time when the late father [Khri-srong lde-btsan] was alive (*snga gong yab bzhugs dus*).

His tomb was raised in Don-mkhar-mda',

1989(b), pp. 333ff.

1402 **BZH** (Stein ed. 68.8-9) = **CHBYMTNYP** 445b5 = **MBNTH** 130b6: *bang so sKye'u/Kye'u ldem bu can brtsigs*; **GBCHBY** 378.15-16; **DCHBY** 133.7-8: *lHa ri ldem bu*; following **GLR**: **YLJBCHBY** 63.16-19; **GBYTSH** 142a6-b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 123a4; **DTHZHG** 67.5: Tomb raised on Mu-ra-ri.

Cf. Panglung, pp. 342-43.

1403 This royal figure never ascended the throne. His name is variously transmitted in Tibetan historiography, such as Mu-tig, Mu-rug or Mu-rub btsan-po. Cf. Haarh, 1969, pp. 57-58. The confusion is not decreased by the fact that Mu-tig occasionally was conflated with the next king Sad-na-legs. Cf. Haarh, 1960, pp. 149ff. O-rgyan gling-pa, **PMKTH** Chap. 97, 602.4-7, notwithstanding maintains that Mu-tig btsan-po rose to power, married trice (such as one Ngang-tshul dPal, cf. note 1423 *infra*) and safeguarded the realm; and dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 126a3 points out that he was born in a water-hare year, i.e. 763 A.D., but as we have seen (note 1383) the data in most later chronicles are fixed one year-cycle too low, wherefore Mu-tig btsan-po's birth tentatively must be fixed to 775 A.D.

1404 **BZH** (Stein ed. 68.11-13) = **CHBYMTNYP** 445b6-446a2 (slightly more detailed) = **MBNTH** 131a2-3: Banned to Mon for the murder of the sNa-nam minister, it was decided to invest him with power, and being invited back, he was accused and killed by the sNa-nam clan by having his breast cut open (*brang kha phye*); cf. also **NGTMTPH** 11a3 (Uebach, pp. 104-05, n. 478); **HBCHBY** (JA) 126b3-4.

For a narrative of the circumstances behind the killing of Blon-po Zhang dBu/'U-ring[s] btsan, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 65.4-13, Chin. ed. 81.23-82.8) = **CHBYMTNYP** 439ba1-b3 = **MBNTH** 128a5-b4; **GBCHBY** 359.1-6 (see also 376.6-7) and **DCHBY** 132.8-9: The latter two versions, besides confirming the same background-story for his banishment, add that after his sentence he went/was banished not to Mon, but sKyed-tshal (or 'the pleasance') of Shangs (the region situated east of present-day gZhis-kha-rtse; cf. note 1745), where he retired (*thang mtshams su phab*). 'U-ring was son of sNa-nam rGyal-tsha lha-snang (cf. note 1302 *supra*). No mention of any execution. cf. also **DTHMP** 18a3-4; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. 20, 193.7-15; **YLJBCHBY** 63.12-14 and **DTHMPSM** 28b6-29a1: He was killed when the sNa-nam-pas frightened his horse. So also **HBCHBY** (JA) 122b7-123a1, 123a5, 125b2-5; **DTHZHG** 67.14-68.5.

For further sources, cf. Haarh, 1960, pp. 151, 158-164. Descriptions of his fate thus vary. Zhang bzher 'U-ring or bTsan-pa 'U-ring is listed a sNa-nam minister in **KTHDNG** (CA) 436.3.

Its name being 'Kya-ring kyang-ldem'.[1405] [So it] is said.

[XVI] [King Khri-lde srong-btsan Sad-na-legs]

The youngest son Khri-lde srong-btsan Sad-na-legs 'Jing-yon[1406] was then entrusted with the royal power, and [he] ruled the [entire] kingdom, established communities for the congregation and [had] hitherto unavailable **sūtra**-s translated. To the chaplains [of his], the *pandita* Viśvakara,[1407] [one] called Vairocana-mchog[1408] and Kamalaśīla[1409] etc. service was

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1405 **BZH** (Stein ed. 68.12) = **CHBYMTNYP** 446a2 = **MBNTH** 131a3: *bang so sKya'o bzang zang/rGya bo zang zang brtsigs*; **GBYTSH** 142a1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 123a5.
Cf. Panglung, 1988, pp. 344-45.

1406 **BZH** (Stein ed. 68.13-69.6) = **CHBYMTNYP** 446a2-b3 = **MBNTH** 131a6-b2: In addition to an etymological explanation of his name, it is here claimed that he assumed power age twenty-four (**BZH**: four!); but Nyang-ral, *op. cit.* 449a4-5: He was born in a fire-male-dog year, he ruled for thirty-one years, passing away age fifty-four in a fire-bird year. These data by Nyang-ral are pointedly wrong; **BGR** 198b3 and **NGTMTPH** 6a5 (Uebach, pp. 80-81): Born in a wood-dragon year in Brag-dmar, he took over power age twenty-four; **GBCHBY** 359.7-13: Born in a dragon year, age thirteen the father died and he held power for eighteen years; **DCHBY** 133.10-12: Age twenty-three the father died, and he held power for twenty-five years; **CHBY** 144b5: He assumed power age four [*sic*] (so also **DTHZHG** 68.6-7) possibly inspired by **BZH**'s corruptive entry (mistake for twenty-four); **DTHMP** 18a4-5: Born in the wood-male-dragon year, age twenty-three he assumed power and he ruled thirty-two years; so also **YLJBCHBY** 64.1-3; **GBYTSH** 142b2-3; **DTHMPSM** 29a1-2 (Tucci, p. 157); **HBCHBY** (JA) 126a3-4, 127b1: Born in a wood-dragon year and he took over power age twenty-three in a fire-male-tiger year.
For his various names, cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 58. Cf. also detailed Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 345-382.
According to the general consensus, the king was born in 764 A.D. But as indicated by dPa'-bo, the father was thirty-five at the birth of this prince, so, as suggested by Tucci, 1950, pp. 76-77, another dragon year is preferable: 776 A.D. and as alluded to by dPa'-bo, he assumed power in a fire-tiger year, i.e. 786 A.D., but read again the next tiger year, earth-tiger, 798 A.D. Cf. note 1414 *infra*.

1407 I.e. Viśvakāra. **DTHMP** 18a5, **YLJBCHBY** 64.5, **GBYTSH** 142b6: Bal-po *pandita* Hūṃkāra;
Nowhere is a *pandita* named Viśvakāra registered, the mistake must be credited Bla-ma dam-pa or a scribe.

1408 **DTHMP** 18a5, **YLJBCHBY** 64.4, **GBYTSH** 142b6: The Indian *pandita* Vimalamitra.
Again we must assume that Bla-ma dam-pa or a scribe has misquoted a source. Nowhere is a Vairocana-mchog, a combination of an Indian and Tibetan name, attested. Possibly, a clue may be found in the fact that **DTHMP** in his short listing of religious masters to whom service were rendered lastly mentions rMa Rin-chen-mchog. For Vairocana, cf. the notes 1205 and 1326.

1409 **DTHMP** 18a5, **YLJBCHBY** 64.4, **GBYTSH** 142b6. All following a common source.
These sources corroborate that service was rendered to one Kamalaśīla etc. during this king's reign. It can only refer, of course, to *slob dpon* Kamalaśīla or Padma'i ngang-tshul, the main Indian proponent in the bSam-yas Debate. A chronological problem is at play, while a number of sources unanimously record that this Indian master was killed by his Chinese opponent and his body-guards in the wake of their defeat. The grand Debate came, in all likelihood, to a close in 794 A.D. only Kamalaśīla is here registered as chaplain under Sad-na-legs, who, at the earliest, assumed power in 798 A.D.

rendered. Offerings and [altar-]lamps were presented to the temples erected by the deceased father. When [he] reached the age of nineteen, [he] married a queen called lHa-rtse,[1410] to whom a son was born. When [he] had assumed the age of thirteen, the father died, the tomb [of which] was erected in Don-mkhar-mda'.[1411]

Prince lDeng-khri[1412] [i.e. Khri-lde [srong-btsan]] took over the royal power at an age of fourteen. To his junior consort, the princes lHa-rje and lHun-grub, two [among others], five in all were born.[1413] [He] established communities for the congregation and [he] rendered service [on] a grand [scale] to the temples raised by his deceased [grand]father[s]. When this king reached the age of fifty-five, he passed away in sGrags kyi phu,[1414] in a fire-female-bird year.[1415]

1410 **BZH** (Stein ed. 69.6-7) = **CHBYMTNYP** 447a1 = **MBNTH** 131b2-3: Pho-yongs-bza' lHa-btsun and 'Bro-bza' Ma[ng]-mo/po lHa-rgyal. **BGR** 197b5 and **NGTMTPH** 3b3 (Uebach, pp. 60-61): 'Bro-bza' lHa-rgyal gung-skar-ma (or 'A-gza' lTar-rgyal gung-skar-ma); lHa-rtse is only confirmed by **HBCHBY** (JA) 130b7-131a1 (citing **GLR**). Dunhuang Ms 242 (82.34): 'Bro-za lHa-rgyal Mang-mo-rje. In this light, lHa-rtse is arguably a corruption for lHa-btsun or lHa-rgyal.

Other data vary. So according to the king's edict (rendered **HBCHBY** (JA) 129b7-130a1): Sad-na-legs had three consorts: 'Bro-bza' Khri-mo-legs, mChims-rgyal-bza' Legs-mo-brtsan and Cog-ro-bza' brTsan-rgyal. Cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 58.

1411 I.e. king Khri-srong lde-btsan, cf. the notes 1381-82; Panglung, pp. 344-45. According to this information, this king should have passed away in 788 A.D.

1412 The form lDeng-khri appears to be a metathetical misprint for Khri-lde ([*not*: Khri-lde**ng**] [srong-btsan] Sad-na-legs), a *lapsus calami* made by the scribe obviously, rather than Bla-ma dam-pa himself conceived lDeng-khri as a separate royal head, which, however, from the context cannot be excluded. At least this is the opinion of dPa'-bo, who has retained this curious form/figure also, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 131a1-2, another indication that dPa'-bo slavishly (and uncritically? or draws from a common proto-version sharing this faulty entry?) follows **GLR**. Further, it is also the opinion of bSod-nams grags-pa, **DTHMPSM** 29b1-2, who critically comments this entry in **GLR**. It further aroused some confusion among historians, who registered lDeng-khri as a separate king, cf. Tucci, 1950, p. 30 and later e.g. Haarh, who also indexed lDeng-khri as a separate prince. Cf. finally Cha-ris, 1990.

1413 The picture of the five sons of Sad-na-legs is slightly garbled: **BZH** (Stein ed. 70.9-10): *lha sras* gTsang-ma, *khri* Dar-ma 'U-dum-btsan, lHa-rje [and?] lHa-che-grub [(listed as one or two persons?) and] [as] elder brother [*sic*] (*gcen*) Khri-gtsug lde-btsan [i.e. Ral-pa-can]; **CHBYMTNYP** 449a6-b1 = **MBNTH** 132b2-3: Khri-gtsug-lde Ral-pa-can, lHa-sras gTsang-ma, Khri Dar-ma 'U-dum-btsan, lHa-rje lhun-grub and Khri-chen 'De'u; **GBCHBY** 317.20, 318.4-5, 359.14-15 and **DCHBY** 133.19-134.1: lDen/lHa-rje [and] lHun-grub gnyis, Ral-pa-can, gTsang-ma, Dar-ma; **DTHMP** 18a6; **CHBY** 144b5 lists: Ral-pa-can, gTsang-ma, *khri* Dar-ma 'U-dum-btsan, lHa-rje lHun-grub (by Bu-ston conceived as one person!) and Khri chen-po; **YLJBCHBY** 64.12-13; **GBYTSH**143b5-6; **DTHMPSM** 29a6-b1 (Tucci, p. 159), where bSod-nams grags-pa registers Bu-ston's faulty equation; **HBCHBY** (JA) 131a3-4; **DTHZHG** 69.5-6.

Although the majority of sources opts for regarding lHa-rje and lHun-grub (who both died a tender age) as two distinct persons, another tradition, upon which Nyang-ral and Bu-ston based themselves, while evidently holding them as one person, offers an additional Khri-chen. Cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 59.

1414 **BGR** 198b4; **NGTMTPH** 6a6 (Uebach, pp. 80-81); **GBCHBY** 359.10; **DCHBY** 133.16-18; **YLJBCHBY** 64.7-8; **HBCHBY** (JA) 127a7

For sGrags, cf. also note 1098 *supra*.

1415 **CHBYMTNYP** 449b1: Age fifty-four in a fire-bird year; so also **BGR** 198b4 and **NGTMTPH** 61a5-6 (Uebach, pp. 80-81): He died at the age of fifty-four in the autumn of a fire-bird year;

His tomb was located to the left of 'Phrul-rgyal,
This tomb too was filled with a wealth of precious objects.
It was high [i.e. dignified] while [it] was filled with the prowess (*chab gang*)
of the mother (*yum kyi chab gang bskang pas mtho ba*);[1416]
Its name was 'the Tomb [of] rGyal-chen'.[1417] [So it] is said.

[XVII] [King mNga'-bdag Ral-pa-can]

Now, the eldest [prince-]son gTsang-ma[1418] became a renunciate (*rab tu byung*) [i.e. ordained monk] while he took an interest in the Dharma. The [prince-son] Dar-ma [i.e. Glang-dar-ma, on the other hand,] took an interest in vicious [ideas, i.e. the creed of Bon] and therefore was [deemed] unfit as ruler (*rje'i 'os min*). The middle [prince-son] Ral-pa-can[1419] was [consequently] committed with the power. King mNga'-bdag Ral-pa-can was born in a fire-male-dog year.[1420] At the age of twelve, the father passed away, whereafter

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GBCHBY 359.10 and **DCHBY** 133.16-17, 137.15-16 [*sic*]: Age forty/forty-four, he died in a sheep year; **DTHMP** 19a6; **YLJBCHBY** 64.7-8; **GBYTSH** 143b3-4 and **HBCHBY** (JA) 127a7: He died age fifty-four, having ruled thirty-two years and passed away in a fire-female-bird year, i.e. 817 A.D.

mKhas-pa lDe'u, **GBCHBY** 376.4-5, in a unique list (based upon the *gSang-ba Phyag-rgya-can*) which etiologically enumerates ten recorded cases of regicide and regal fatalities during the dynasty, states that Khri-lde srong-btsan, (who in the list is placed between his two equally ill-fated brothers Mu-ne and Mu-tig btsan-po) by accident was killed by arrow in the darkness (*srag* [= *smag* or less likely *sras*?] *gis mun mda' brgyab*).

Bla-ma dam-pa does not indicate any birth year for this king, but it is retained in the above sources: Wood-dragon year (cf. note 1404), corresponding to 764 A.D. (but as noted earlier, read fire-dragon, i.e. 776 A.D.) and he thus died in the year 817 A.D. or alternatively 825 A.D. Another calculation, foremost represented by dPa'-bo, maintains that he assumed the age fifty-four and thus, being born in 764 A.D., reigned from 798 and passed away in 817 A.D. Better altogether is the alternative option in the two lDe'u-versions, which suggests the following tentative dates: Born dragon year, 776 A.D. and he passed away in a sheep year, 815 A.D., age forty.

1416 Cf. Panglung, 1988, pp. 344-45, n. 57. for a discussion of this enigmatic phrase (*chab gang* = *chu gang*).

1417 **GBCHBY** 378.11-13; **DCHBY** 133.17-18, 137.15-16 [sic]; **YLJBCHBY** 64.9-11; **GBYTSH** 143b3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 127a7; **DTHZHG** 68.20.

Cf. also Panglung, 1988, pp. 344-347.

1418 **BZH** (Stein ed. 70.10) = **CHBYMTNYP** 449a1 etc.

For this passage Bla-ma dam-pa seems to rely on **DTHMP** 18a7. For his fortune, cf. note 1499 *infra*. Cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 59.

1419 I.e. Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan. **BZH** (Stein ed. 70.10-11): Elder brother (*gcen*) [*sic*] Khri-gtsug lde-btsan alias Ral-pa-can; = **CHBYMTNYP** 449a6 = **MBNTH** 132b2; **GBYTSH** 144a1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 133a1-2.

For his different names, cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 59 and Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 382-410.

1420 **CHBYMTNYP** 449b2-3: He was born in a water-dragon year (i.e. 812 A.D.), was enthroned at the age of twelve in a fire-bird year (corresp. to 817 A.D.). Nyang-ral's first date is thus incorrect, and if anything, it must be predated to 806 A.D. in conformity with other sources; **BGR** 198b4 and **NGTMTPH** 6a6 (Uebach, pp. 80-81): Born in a fire-dog year and enthroned at the age of twelve when the father [i.e. Sad-na-legs] died; **GBCHBY** 359.16-17 and **DCHBY** 134.2-4: Born in a dog

he assumed the throne.[1421] Bran-k[h]a dPal gyi yon-tan[1422] functioned as Commanding Minister (*bka'i blon*), [and thereby the king] ruled over the [entire] kingdom. [Ral-pa-can] married five senior and junior (*che chung*) consorts such as Cog-ro-bza' dPal gyi ngang-tshul etc.[1423] [He] observed the law [based] upon the ten [Buddhist] virtues (*daśakuśala*). [He] invited Indian *pandita*-s[1424] such as Dzi-na mi-tra (i.e. Jinamitra),[1425] Śī-lendra bo-dhi (i.e. Śīlendrabodhi),[1426] and Dā-na shi-la (i.e. Dānaśīla)[1427] etc.

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year in 'On-ljang-rdo, he was two [*sic*!]/twenty-two when the father died; **DTHMP** 18a8 and **YLJBCHBY** 64.14-15: Born in a fire-male-dog year, when twelve of age, his father died; **GBYTSH** 144a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 133a1-2; **DTHZHG** 70.16-18.

Accordingly, in conformity with the majority of sources, the data of Ral-pa-can are as follows: He was born in 806 A.D., became enthroned in 817 A.D. and passed away in 841 A.D. Cf. note 1501 *infra*.

1421 **BZH** (Stein ed. 70.10-11): He appropriated the throne at the age of ten years. **GBCHBY** 349.17 and **DCHBY** 134.3: Age twelve/twenty-two (*nyer* = *nyi gnyis*) he appropriated the power; **CHBY** 144b6: Bu-ston merely states that he assumed power at the age of eighteen; **HBCHBY** (JA) 132a2: Appropriated power in 817 A.D. Cf. previous note for further sources.

According to Bla-ma dam-pa and the majority of sources, Ral-pa-can was enthroned in 817 A.D.

1422 **BZH** (Stein ed. 70.13) = **CHBYMTNYP** 449b5-6 = **MBNTH** 132b5: Ban chen-po [= *bande chen po*, Great Monk] dPal gyi yon-tan functioned as was Grand Minister of Religion; **GBCHBY** 359.17-19; **DCHBY** 134.4-5; **NGTMTPH** 4a3; cf. also **CHBY** 145b1; **DTHMP** 18a7; **YLJBCHBY** 64.15-16; **GBYTSH** 144a3-4; **DTHMPSM** 30a1-2; **DTHZHG** 70.20.

He was, as said, Grand Minister of Dharma under Ral-pa-can, and he is registered in the *rdo-ring* Inscription of the 821/822 Edict, North Inscription, l. 9 (Richardson, 1985, p. 128) and in the reconfirmatory edict of Sad-na-legs, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 130a2. For his role cf. also Haarh, 1960, and Szerb, 1981, p. 381. For the hapless fate of the first monk who headed the Tibetan state, cf. note 1500 *infra*.

1423 **BZH** (Stein ed. 70.11-12): gCo-ro-gza' dPal gyi ngang-tshul; **CHBYMTNYP** 449b3-4: Cog-ro-bza' dPal gyi ngang-tshul-ma, mChims-bza' Khyung dkar-ma, sNa-nam-bza' A-rje pho-legs, Tshe-spong-bza' lHun gyi bu-mo, lHa-lung-bza' Me-tog-ma; **MBNTH** 132b4; **DCHBY** 135.5-8: Cog-ro-za dPal gyi ngang-tshul, mChims-gza' Yon-tan sgron-ma, Tshe-spong-gza' Yum-chen btsun-mo-phan; **NGTMTPH** 4a3; **DTHMPSM** 30a1.

According to O-rgyan gling-pa, **PMKTH** Chap. 97, 602.5-6, one Ngang-byung dPal [= dPal gyi ngang-tshul?] was married to Mu-tig btsan-po. Cf. Haarh, 1969, p. 59.

1424 **BZH** (Stein ed. 73.6-8); **CHBYMTNYP** 420b6ff, 454a5-6; **GBCHBY** 317.20-318.1; **DCHBY** 135.12-13; **SHBRS** 19a5-6; **NGTMTPH** 11a4-5 (Uebach, pp. 104-05); **DTHMP** 18a8-9; **KTHDNG** (NGA) (Chap. 33, 406.16-17; **YLJBCHBY** 64.16-17; **GBYTSH** 144a4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 132b3; **DTHMPSM** 30a2-3; **DTHZHG** 70.23-71.2.

This list of *pandita*-s and translators, sometimes listed under king Sad-na-legs, sometimes under Ral-pa-can, and invariably repeated in most later Tibetan sources reflects a list (ultimately) gleaned from the IXth century glossological manual: **sGra-byor bam-po gnyis-pa**, cf. *ad* **CHBY** 145a2-4 (Szerb, pp. 45-46), Simonsson, 1957, p. 241f.

1425 I.e. the Kashmirian Upādhyāya (*mkhan po*) and *pandita* Jinamitra (*rGyal-ba'i bshes-gnyen), who was collaborator on the **Mahāvyutpatti** (cf. Simonsson, 1957, p. 241). Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 73.8); **CHBYMTNTYP** 421a2, 454a5; **MBNTH** 135a3-4; **DCHBY** 135.12-13; **NGTMTPH** 11b3, 15b6; **CHBY** 142a2, 145a2, 151b4,6, 152a4,6, 156b5; **KTHDNG** (KHA) 406.16-17; **GBYTSH** 144a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 105b7, 132b3,5.

1426 Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 73.8); **CHBYMTNYP** 420b6, 454a6; **MBNTH** 135a4; **NGTMTPH** 11a4; **CHBY** 145a2, 156b5 (where, e.g., the Tib. form of his name is rendered: Tshul-khrims dbang-po

The translators [s]Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs,[1428] Klu'i rgyal-mtshan [of] Cog-ro[1429] and *bandhe* Ye-shes-sde[1430] translated the Dharma [i.e. Buddhist treatises into Tibetan]. All the [Buddhist] writings (*chos thams cad*) were linguistically revised and systematized (*skad gsar bcad gyis gtan la phab*) and the revised language (*bka'* = *bkas bcad*) were made in three codices (*rnam pa gsum du mdzad*).[1431] [Recourse was] even [taken to] bring the *bre*-measures, *srang*- and *zho*-weights in harmony with India[n pattern].[1432]

[He] [further] established Meditation-colleges (*sgom gr[v]a*) for studying (*thos*, *śruta*), reflection (*bsam*, *cintā*) and contemplation (*sgom*, *bhāvanā*), the three.[1433] [He] established

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byang-chub); **DTHMPSM** 30a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 132b3.

Śīlendrabodhi must be distinguished from Surendrabodhi, who is also listed to have come to Tibet during the same period.

1427 Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 73.8); **CHBYMTNYP** 454a6; **MBNTH** 135a4; **GBCHBY** 317.21; **DTHMP** 18a8; **NGTMTPH** 11a4; **CHBY** 145a2, 151b4, 156b5 (rendering his Tibetan name as: sByin-pa'i ngang-tshul); **DTHMPSM** 30a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 105b7, 132b5-7.

1428 Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 73.6); **CHBYMTNYP** 454a1 = **MBNTH** 135a2-3; **NGTMTPH** 11a5 etc. Cf. note 1357 *supra*.

1429 Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 73.7); **CHBYMTNYP** 454a2 = **MBNTH** 135a3; **NGTMTPH** 11a6 etc. Cf. note 1358 *supra*.

1430 Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 73.7): sNa-nam Ye-shes-sde [gloss: of Ngam-shod]; **CHBYMTNYP** 454a2 = **MBNTH** 135a3; etc.
Cf. note 1359 *supra*.

1431 Cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 73.10-11); **CHBYMTNYP** 453b1-456b1 = **MBNTH** 135a4-6; **GBCHBY** 363.5-7; **DCHBY** 135.14-17; **NGTMTPH** 11a6, 11b4-5; **CHBY** 145a4-5; **YLJBCHBY** 64.17; **GBYTSH** 143a1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 132b5; **DTHZHG** 71.2-16.
Bla-ma dam-pa has here committed a chronological peccadillo by assigning the linguistic revision to the reign of Ral-pa-can, whereas it should properly be ascribed the period of Sad-na-legs. As chronicled by dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 105b7-106a2, the enterprise was launched in a dragon year, which must correspond to 812 A.D. The revision was in the main concerned with, aside from a syntactic and grammatical revision of the Tibetan language, a terminological and glossological systematization and codification of the Tibetan language in order meet the demands of, in particular, the rich Indian religious language. Simonsson, 1957, pp. 210-233, 241ff.; Snellgrove, 1987, pp. 441-442.

1432 Verbatim parallel with **BZH** (Stein ed. 73.11-12) = **CHBYMTNYP** 456b2-3 = **MBNTH** 135a6-b1: These means were regulated or set in system (*gtan la phab*) in Shong/Sho-ma-ra of [s]Kyi[d]-shod. For this important administrative seat, cf. note 527 *supra*. Nyang-ral adds that the measurements were in harmony with the Magadha or Indian system; **CHBY** 145a5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 133a1.

1433 **GLR**'s testimony here for the thirty Dharma colleges, patterned upon the Indian Śrī Nalendra monastic complex, is somewhat concocted and obviously reflects a later attempt at rationalization.
In fact, aside from the erection of (twelve) meditation colleges or *sgom gr[v]a* mentioned here, established, it is said, for silence (*smra bcad*) and Dharma-thought (*sems chos*), (twelve) great teaching-colleges or *bshad gr[v]a*/*bslab pa'i grva* for *thos*, *bsam* and *blo sbyong* (corresponding to *lung* (*āgama*), *rigs* (*yukti*) and *man ngag* (*upadeśa*)) were erected in dBus, Khams and mDo-smad (cf. next note). Finally six vocational or examination colleges, or *khyad grva*, *ltang 'bul gyi grva*, were established (cf. note 1436).
Although the sources occasionally are mutually conflicting, while they count and name the colleges differently and even place them under different kings, a fair consensus can be established. Cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 425b1-4 (no names listed, placed under king Khri-srong lde-btsan); **GBCHBY** 356.18-358.2; **DCHBY** 131.2-15 and **NGTMTPH** 11b5-12a3: (Uebach, pp. 106-108); **HBCHBY**

Exegetical colleges (*bshad gr[v]a*) [dedicated the study of] [exegetical] exposition, [doctrinal] disputation and [literary-scholastic] composition (*'chad rtsod rtsom gsum*), the three.[1434] [He] established colleges for the concregation, thirty Dharma-colleges (*chos gr[v]a*) [in all].[1435] [He] established Vinaya-colleges (*'dul gr[v]a*) [to test] the [degree of intellectual] sagacity, the [moral] piousness and the [altruistic] honesty (*mkhas btsun bzang gsum*), the three [of the monks].[1436] For rendering service to each single ordained [monk] seventy households (*'bangs mi khyim*) were [made] responsible.[1437]

The king took up [his] seat in the centre, and he fastened a silk ribbon (*dar yug*) to the end of the left and right [pigtail of] his [long] mane on [his] head. Distributed to the left and right were rows of seated [members of his] congregation (*dge 'dun, samgha*). [He thus used to] revere [his congregation of monks] sitting upon these [strips of silk attached to his hair-locks] (*de'i steng du dge 'dun bzhugs par mos la*) [as if they were sitting on his head], and these two [seated groups] were known as the 'Head-communities' (*dbu sde*) of the Congregation.[1438]

Wishing to erect as his personal tutelary (*thugs dam du*) [temple] of 'U-shang-rdo, the temple of dPe-med bKra-shis dge-'phel ('The Peerless, Auspicious and Virtue-Enhancing

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(JA) 131b3-4. Cf. also **PMKTH** (Chap. 85, 506.9-507.10).

For a detailed discussion and survey of the thirty Dharma colleges, cf. Uebach, 1987, p. 107 and 1990.

1434 Cf. previous note. Cf. e.g. **NGTMTPH** 11b5-7 (Uebach, pp. 106-107): Twelve great *bshad gr[v]a* were established in dBus, Khams and mDo-smad. cf. Uebach, p. 107.

Again the introduction of the triad *'chad rtsod rtsom gsum* to reflect the activities of the Buddhist scholar cannot be ascribed to the dynastic period, but appears to be an expression originating with the Sa-skya-pas, in vogue by a writer such as e.g. Sa-skya Pandita.

1435 Cf. note 1433.

1436 The *'dul gr[v]a* should properly be counted among the thirty Dharma-colleges as delineated in note 1433 above. The term *'dul grva* does not occur in the older parallel texts, f. ex. mKhas-pa lDe'u, lDe'u Jo-sras, Nyang-ral and Nel-pa speak e.g. about twelve mind-training colleges *blo sbyong grva* and about (six) vocational colleges (*khyad gr[v]a*) aiming at probing i.e. testing whether the monk was ripe for meditation or not (*bsgom ran mi ran 'dri ba*), possessed (doctrinal) sagacity and (moral) piousness (*mkhas btsun ltang 'bul gyi khyad gr[v]a*).

In this light the testimony in **GLR**: *mkhas btsun bzang* (an otherwise well-known triad) must possibly be rectified to *mkhas btsun ltang* [*'bul*], a rephrasing by the author of **GLR**-compiler to actualize or enhance the understanding, where the somewhat obsolete term *ltang 'bul* (written variously *lhar/ltar/stangs 'bul*, due, probably, to etymological uncertainty), probably made limited sense to the XIVth century reader.

1437 **BZH** (Stein ed. 74.4-8) = **CHBYMTNYP** 457a5-b3 = **MBNTH** 135b6-136a1: [For the subsistence of each monk] seven households (*'bangs khyim bdun*) were [made responsible]. Nyang-ral, furthermore, details on the amount and character of implements and utentils supplied annually by the court and accorded not only the *chos dpon* (i.e. *chos kyi ring lugs*), but also each *sgom chen* and *chos slob pa* etc., cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 425a1-3, 425b4-5 (under Khri-srong lde-btsan), 437b2-438a3, 454b3 (as here under Ral-pa-can); **GBCHBY** 363.19-20; **DCHBY** 131.10-19; **CHBY** 145a5-6 (Szerb, p. 46); **DTHMP** 18b1; **DTHMPSM** 30a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 133a1-2; **DTHZHG** 73.16-17.

The entry in **GLR** of seventy household in lieu of seven responsible for the subsistence (*'tsho ba*), as unanimously given in other sources, is probably due to scribal negligence.

1438 Cf. also **DTHMPSM** 30a4-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 133a2-3.

The source for this depiction remains untraced.

Temple),[1439] [the king] summoned craftsmen (*bzo bo*) well-versed in the art [of construction ([*bzo'i*] *rig byed*)] from Khotan (Li-yul) and from Nepal [he] summoned image sculptors (*lha bzo*) and many stone masons (*rdo'i bzo ba*),[1440] whereafter a nine-storeyed temple was constructed: The three lower storeys were equipped with door-projections (*sgo dpe* = *spe*) and made from stone [exclusively]. The three middle storeys were [equally] endowed with door-projections and made from brickwork. The three upper storeys [also] equipped with door-projections were made from wood.[1441] The Chinese [pagoda] roof had nine layers (*dgu brtsegs*). In between the [winged] balconies (*bya 'dab*) on each roof, ordained [monks] were sitting studying and expounding the Dharma. The topmost roof, equipped with golden and turquoise[-coloured] [figures of] dragon, was turning round when agitated by the wind [just] like a canopy.[1442] On the intermediate [section] of the building, [were installed] the jewel[-laden] copings (*pha gu*) embellished [with features such as] railings (*mda' yab*, *ovidhyana*) and parapets (*pu shu*, *harmikā*), screened with lattice-nets (*dra ba*, *jālin*) and half-nets (*dra phyed*, *ardhahāra*) [along with features such as] umbrellas (*gdugs*, *channa*), victory-banners (*rgyal mtshan*, *gañjira*), jewel-strings (*rin po che'i phreng ba*, *ratnamālā*), silken crowns (*cod pan*, *mukuṭa*) and peals of bells (*dril bu g.yer kha*, *kiṅkiṇī*) sounding. The golden letter (*gser 'bru*) [fastened] to the summit of the topmost roof was in height equal to the rear mountain [towering behind the temple]. In entire Tibet it was without peer (*'gran zla dang bral*), merely by beholding [it], one [would] become breathless [from awe] (*dngangs bar byed pa*).[1443]

1439 For a detailed exposition of Ral-pa-can's *thugs dam* temple at 'U-shang-rdo, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 70.13-73.5) = **CHBYMTNYP** 450b1-454a1 (slightly longer, otherwise verbatim identical) = **MBNTH** 132b6-134b4; **GBCHBY** 296.18-20, 318.12-13: g.Yu'i lha khang dgu thog; **DCHBY** 134.16-17; **NGTMTPH** 11a7 (Uebach, pp. 104-05): 'On-cang-rdo dPag-med legs-pa g.yung-drung *gtsug lag khang*; **CHBY** 145b6 (gloss, Szerb, p. 47); **DTHMP** 18b4 and **YLJBCHBY** 65.1-2; **KTHDNG** (KHA) (Chap. 33, 406.15-16); **GBYTSH** 143a3-5; **DTHMPSM** 30a6-b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 133a3-b3; **DTHZHG** 73.20-74.9.

The narrative of the erection of 'U-shang-rdo in **BZH**, **CHBYMTNYP**, **GLR** (where Bla-ma dam-pa on the points of the building is slightly more detailed), despite varying length and diverging details, is drawn from a common proto-version.

1440 **BZH** (Stein ed. 71.5-72.4) = **CHBYMTNYP** 450b6-452a4 = **MBNTH** 133a4-134a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 133a3.

These identical versions contain a lengthy description, absent from **GLR** altogether, of the invitation of a Khotanese stone mason and the conflict with a Khotanese king of lCang-ra smug-po (for this place, cf. note 921 *supra*).

1441 **BZH** (Stein ed. 72.4-5, 72.9) = **CHBYMTNYP** 452a4-5, 452b2-3 = **MBNTH** 134a3-4, 134a6: Adding that on the upper storeys material such as copper and hide (*ko ba*) were also employed; **DTHZHG** 73.21-23; **HBCHBY** (JA) 133a5-6.

1442 **BZH** (Stein ed. 72.10-11) = **CHBYMTNYP** 452b4 = **MBNTH** 134a6-b1: Underneath the Chinese *rgya phibs* roof, the wind set in motion the [Dharma]-wheel (*rlung gis 'khor los bskor*), [around which] many renunciates, i.e. ordained [monks] [perpetually] made circumambulations. Cf. similarly **HBCHBY** (JA) 133a7-b1.

1443 **GLR** B: Created devotion (*dang bar byed pa*).

These ornamental details are lacking from **BZH** and **CHBYMTNYP**. As confirmed in **CHBYMTNYP** 453a2-4 (lacking in **BZH**) and **GBCHBY** 363.1-3, Ral-pa-can's 'U-shang-rdo temple distinguished (*khyad par 'phags pa*) itself in twelve/thirteen architectural or artistic points (*bzo sna*; not listed) from all earlier temples hitherto erected in Tibet. The text by Nyang-ral is here somewhat corrupt, cf. also Appendix, note 770, subnote 20. These twelve artistic or architectural

[Four] iron-chains were fastened from the four directions around the Chinese roof [against] the gale [blowing] (*rlung chen rgya phub kyi phyogs bzhir lcags thag[s] btang*)[1444] and [then] attached to the stone lions [installed] in the four directions [around] the building. The three upper storeys were housed by the ruler's tutelary [statue] (*rje'i thugs dam bzhugs*) [and other emblems and sanctuaries representing Triratna]. The three middle storeys were the seat of the chaplains [and] the concregation and the three lower storeys were occupied by the ruler, [his] ministers and [their] retinue.

Accordingly,[1445] for a [first] specimen offering (*phud*) [of material going to be employed] for the erection of the temple of dPe-med bKra-shis dge-'phel [of] 'U-shang-rdo, [king Ral-pa-can] offered as clay specimen offering (*sa phud*) at the lHa-sa [*vihāra*, i.e. 'Phrul-snang] [clay-images (*lder tsho*) of] Brahma and Indra;[1446] [further] as a wood specimen offering (*shing phud*), four *gnam yangs*-pillars (*ka ba*)[1447] [were erected in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang] bedecked with precious objects. As a [first] specimen offering for [the execution of] frescoes (*ri mo'i phud*), in an attempt to repair dilapidated [buildings] (*rnying gso rgyu nyan pa*), one hundred and eight *be'u bum* [were] donated[1448] and, [finally] for the

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wonders, in number, resembles the ditto wonders associated with queen Pho-yongs-bza' rGyal-mo-btsun's Bu-tshal gSer-khang-gling, cf. note 1313 *supra*.

1444 This probably refers to the topmost layer of a roof where the wind strikes foremost. I here take *btang* = *btod*, *rtod*, i.e. teddered, in lieu of: moved or agitated (= *bskyod*, *ded*). More clear is **BZH** (Stein ed. 72.11-14) = **CHBYMTNYP** 452b4-453a1 = **MBNTH** 134b1-3 (and **HBCHBY** (JA) 133b1-2): Four iron-chains [being hung] in the four directions from the balcony (*bya 'dab*) were tethered (*bstod* = [*b*]*rtod*) to four great *caitya*-s, and when the great wind rose from the west, the iron-chain [in] the eastern [direction] slackened (*lhod*) and the [entire] *rgya phibs* slanted slightly towards the east, etc. Same procedure at the dBu-rtse chapel in bSam-yas, cf. *ad* note 1386.

1445 A parallel is retained in **BZH** (Stein ed. 72.5-8) = **CHBYMTNYP** 452a5-b2 = **MBNTH** 134a3-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 133a3-4.

From the above sources the rather defective passage in **GLR** can be clarified further. The present narrative relates how king Ral-pa-can, in accordance with king Srong-btsan sgam-po's will, expanded the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang temple. In deference and gratitude to his ancestral forefather and promoter of Dharma (*chos srol gtod*) in Tibet, Ral-pa-can, as delineated here, presented to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang a number of so-called first specimen offerings (*phud*) of various materials to be used in erecting and constructing his own *thugs dam* temple of 'On-shang-rdo. In fact, this event is actually depicted to be anticipated by king Srong-btsan sgam-po in a prophetic declaration, cf. note 950 *supra*. Cf. also Vitali, 1990, p. 79. The same procedure was followed during the erection of bSam-yas, the *thugs dam* temple of Khri-srong lde-btsan, cf. *ad* note 1314.

1446 Installed as door-guardians (*dvarapāla*) of the Byams-pa chapel in the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang temple.

1447 **GLR** reads *gnam yas*. Other versions preferably read: *gnam yangs*, a pillar, aside from being a specific name of a pillar, that refers to a kind of wooden temple-pillar endowed with 'spacious sky' capitals being symbolically painted. Their present whereabouts in present-day Jo-khang are uncertain. But the Vth Dalai Lama, **TSLKHKCH** 15b1 mentions twelve (not four) *gnam g.yengs rdo rje rva ba ka ba*, albeit an equation here remains to be substantiated. Read differently, one may tentatively suggest to retain *gnam yas ka ba* and construe it as **gnam yas 'degs pa'i ka ba*, pillars upholding space above, i.e. huge pillars. Anyway, the entry *gnam yas* in **GLR** urged Jäschke, Dict. p. 309, followed by Das, Dict. p. 749, to assume that gNam-yas refers to the name of a certain castle or temple in Tibet!

1448 Cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 72.7): *ri mo'i phud du dar gyi be brum brgya rtsa brgyad phul* = **CHBYMTNYP** 452a6-b1: *ri mo'i phud du dar du bris pa'i ma dpe bum* [= *ma dpe be'u 'bum*?] *brgya rtsa brgyad phul*; these one hundred and eight *be'u 'bum* allegedly painted on silk are

[first] specimen offering for the cast[-images] (*lugs ma'i phud*), bells (*lcong* = *cong*) [etc.] were donated.

Furthermore, the king's chaplain [named] Nyang [= Myang] Sha'i spyan[1449] [etc.] and a few ministers erected to the east of Lhasa [the temples of] Ka [= dKar]-ru[1450] and rMe-ru.[1451] To the south, [they raised] [the temples of] dGa'-ba[1452] and dGa'-ba'i 'od;[1453] to the north [the temples] of Bran-khang[1454] and Bran-khang tha-ma[1455] etc.

Thus, king Khri-gtsug lde-btsan Ral-pa-can was [a personage] whose knowledge had manifested [itself] in the form of supernatural noetic power (*'phrul gyi tshul chags*), whose

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depictions or murals of ancient, often edifying tales and fables originally sung by bards, motifs already found in plentiful in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang. The witness retained by dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 133a4, reads: *be'u bum brgya rtsa brgyad gsos*, i.e. restored [the murals depicting] the one hundred and eight *be'u bum*. Cf. the introduction and Appendix, notes 392, 874.

1449 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 133b4: Sha'i sPyan-can. He might arguably be identical with Nyang/Myang Sha-mi go-cha, who together with his brother, Nyang/Myang Ting-nge-'dzin bzang-po and Nyang/Myang Shi-ti-co etc. raised a number of temples, cf. **GBCHBY** 297.9-16; **DCHBY** 135.10-11; **NGTMTPH** 13a1-3 (Uebach, pp. 110-113). **BZH** (Stein ed. 27.14, Chin. ed. 34.14) lists Nyang Sha-mi/Sho-ma as a Dharma-participant in a Bon-Buddhist Contest (of 759 A.D. (cf. note 1186), if identical he must be a very old man indeed during Ral-pa-can's reign) and (Stein ed. 57.11) records Myang Sha-mi as follower of the Chinese *hva-shang* Mahāyāna and **CHBYMTNYP** 426b3 = **MBNTH** 121b2-3 reports how he inflicted wounds upon his own body (accounting for his name Sha-mi go-cha, '[own] human flesh [as] weapon'?, thereby killing himself?) prior to the bSam-yas Debate. His *floruit* and a conclusive identification are however still unsettled, while he (or a similar-named) figure is mentioned under different kings spanning from Khri-srong lde-btsan until Ral-pa-can. He is moreover listed as seventh in a line of abbots of bSam-yas in an old Dunhuang document, cf. Karmay, 1988, p. 78.

Together with *nang blon chen po* Nyang (or Rlangs?, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 104a3) Khams-pa go-cha, cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 427a1; **GBCHBY** 358.9 and **CHBY** 157b4 e.g. and his powerful relative Myang Ting-nge-'dzin bzang-po, the Nyang/Myang clan adhered to the most powerful religious figures at the end of the VIIIth and the beginning of the IXth century who cultivated close ties with the court.

Many of the temples mentioned here in **GLR** do not always figure in the long list of temples raised by the *kalyāṇamitra*-s, the *bla'i mchod gnas*, and by a number of ministers as their *thugs dam gyi rten*, found enumerated in most of these older sources, except, in part, by Nel-pa. The source for Bla-ma dam-pa and Nel-pa therefore remains to be identified.

1450 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 133b3; **TSLKHKCH** 14a4. I.e. the temple of dKar-ru (White Horn), a temple erected in lHa-sa, adjacent to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang. No more extant.

1451 Originally the temple of dMar-ru, [Red Horn], nowadays, rMe-ru. **NGTMTPH** 13a1: Raised by Nyang Sha-mi go-cha (but according to **GBCHBY** 297.10: He raised rGya-tshal gyo lha khang); **HBCHBY** (JA) 133b3; **TSLKHKCH** 14a4.

Cf. Ferrari, p. 41, n. 70. For another ancient temple named Ma-ru [of Pha-bong-kha], cf. note 769 *supra*.

1452 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 133b3; **TSLKHKCH** 14a4.
Unidentified.

1453 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 133b3; **TSLKHKCH** 14a4.
Unidentified.

1454 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 133b3; **TSLKHKCH** 14a4.
Unidentified.

1455 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 133b3; **TSLKHKCH** 14a4.
Unidentified.

feats were in accordance with the ways of the gods and whose power and material welfare equalled [those] of the Lord of the Gods Śakra.[1456] By [his] power and prowess [alone] the malevolent demons (*bdud*) were terrified and he was victorious in [all] four directions holding sway over two third of Jambudvīpa.[1457]

[XVIII] [The Sino-Tibetan Dynastic Relationship in Retrospect]

Thus,[1458] again, [as to] the nature of the relationship (*'brel tshul*) between China and Tibet in former times (*snga gong nas*): [Generally,] when harmony [prevailed] [in] the history of the successive appearance of kings [and emperors], nephew and uncle (*btsan po dbon zhang rim bzhin byon pa rnams kyi lo rgyus*), then [there] was a mutual exchange of presents (*skyes 'bul res mdzad*) [between the royal houses] and when discord [ruled] [they] would mutually wage war [against] one another, [suchlike] incidences [could be] cited in great number (*rnam grangs mang du mdzad*). To wit, in the **Great Chronicle of China** (**rGya'i deb-ther chen-mo**), [also] called **[Thang-]zhu Thu-han chan** (*Tangshu Tufan*),[1459] [it is said] that one thousand five hundred and sixty-six years after the *nirvāna* of the Venerable One (*bhagavat*), the Chinese emperor [of the Chinese Dynasty] called Thang appeared,[1460] a contemporary of the Tibetan king gNam-ri srong-btsan. The time of [his] son, emperor Tha'i dzung [i.e.

1456 This reflects an almost verbatim passage gleaned from the so-called Inscription of the Treaty of 821-822 A.D. East Face, l. 51-53: *'phrul gyi lha btsan po khri gtsug lde brtsan zha snga nas || mkhyen pa ni || 'phrul gyi tshul chags || mdzad pa ni lha'i lugs dang mthun te || bka' drin chen pos || phyi nang gnyis su snyoms...*| Cf. Richardson, 1985, pp. 116-117. For the term *'phrul*, cf. note 642 *supra*.

1457 A well-known epithet of this king. Cf. **BGR** 198b5, **NGTMTPH** 7a7; **KTHDNG** (KHA) 117.17.

1458 The following narrative section is evidently intercalated into the general genealogical and dynastic exposition by Bla-ma dam-pa. This can be deduced from the fact that sources such as **BZH** and **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH**, but also later sources such as **HBCHBY** etc., with which Bla-ma dam-pa even in details shares the same narrative and thematic sequence, all ultimately relying on the same original, continue the dynastic narrative of Ral-pa-can (cf. note 1488 *infra*), taken up again in the next section. The single source for the lion share of the following inserted section was a Tibetan-written annotated rendition of the Tibetan or Tufan section of the Tang-Annals and Si-ma Guang's *Tong-jian*, a work entitled **rGya'i deb-ther**, critically compiled by Gu-shri Rin-chen-grags, cf. note 135 *supra* for details. Through this now no more extant work the Tibetans acquired a rare view of Chinese historiography and, not unimportant, of the chronological data found therein, although it possibly only to a limited degree wielded any impact on later Tibetan historians in their calculations.

1459 **DTHMP** 8b9-12b6; **YLJBCHBY** 27.6-32.9, 32.15-33.3, 66.12-67.11; **DTHNGP** (I, 73.12-80.7, Roerich, pp. 48-55).

In this exposition **YLJBCHBY** occasionally contains information not shared by **DTHMP** or **GLR**. Although they all faithfully contain, roughly speaking, the same historical narrative, individual traits indicate that these authors each had direct access to the original **rGya'i deb-ther**. The present lengthy extract in **GLR** taken from **rGya'i deb-ther** has already been translated by Tucci, 1950, pp. 24-28.

1460 **YLJBCHBY** 27.6-8. Cf. note 159 *supra*.

Tai-zong] coincided with the period of the Tibetan king Srong-btsan sgam-po.[1461] [This] Tibetan king send an envoy [to China] to ask for the emperor's daughter. But the Chinese emperor refused to give the daughter [in marriage] and [the envoy had] to return [empty-handed] to Tibet, [where he, however,] falsely reported to the king: "The Chinese emperor is highly fond of us [Tibetans] and [was about] to give the girl [in marriage], but when the Yellow Uigurs[, i.e.] the Thu-lu-hun (i.e. Tu-yu-hun, Tui-hun)[1462] [arrived] and gave slandering reports [about us Tibetans] to the Chinese emperor, [they instead] took [away the princess]."[1463] The Tibetan king became enraged, and leading a Tibetan army [counting] one hundred thousand [soldiers], [he] reached [as far as] the area called Zung-ciu [i.e. Song *zhou*].[1464] Thereafter the [Tibetan] minister called g.Ya'-thung[1465] was commissioned with an army, which was sent to conquer the land[s] of the Tu-lu-hūn [i.e. the A-zha principality]. The people of Thu-lu-hun fled [all the way] to the Blue Lake (*mtsho sngon*) [i.e. Koko Nor, Qinghai] in the gTsong-kha [i.e. Tsong-kha, Onion Land] District. [All] men and valuables (*mi nor*) left behind were taken [as booty] by [the] Tibet[ans]. Thereafter, [the Chinese acceded to the alliance and] the Tibetan king charged [his] minister Se-le stong-btsan[1466] with various forms of precious objects and dispatched him in order to ask for [the hand of] the daughter of the Chinese emperor. So, [having escorted the Chinese princess from China, the minister] arrived in Tibet, [bringing] along 'Un-shing Kong-jo (i.e. Wencheng Gongzhu), the Jo-bo Shākya and [her] numerous dowries. In the iron-male-dog year [i.e. 650 A.D.][1467]

1461 Cf. the notes 160-161.

1462 **DTHMP** 9a1-2; **YLJBCHBY** 25.13.

Both texts, basing themselves upon the **rGya'i deb-ther**, have that envoys from Hor and the Thu-lu-hun asked for a matrimonial alliance with China. This reflects historical truth, since not only the Turks (here Hor) but also the Thu-lu/yu-hun requested for and received a princess for their royal houses. The Thu-yu-hun is also called Togon, in Tibetan even A-zha, reflecting Ch. A-chai. Cf. e.g. G. Molé, 1970, *The T'u-yü-hun from the Northern Wei until the Time of the Five Dynasties*.

1463 **DTHMP** 9a1-4; **YLJBCHBY** 27.10-28.2.

GLR reads *phra ma zhus pas lan* (or: *lon*). If we retain the reading *lan*, the sentence may also be construed: the reason (*lan*, i.e. consequence) [for why we [Tibetans] did not, after all, receive a princess was] because the Yellow Uigurs gave a calumnity [about the Tibetans]. The Tibetan envoy's untruthful report is lacking in **DTHMP**, but retained in **YLJBCHBY**.

This reflects historical fact. In 634-635 A.D. Srong-btsan sgam-po repeatedly dispatched emissaries to the Chinese court to ask for a matrimonial alliance, but the proposals were both times rejected. As Beckwith, 1987, pp. 21-23, adduces, the Tibetan envoy was initially accorded a welcome at the Chang-an court, but when the A-zha [i.e. Tu-yü-hun] mission arrived [in the same errand] the Tibetan legation was affronted by being refused a nuptial alliance. This was duly reported to king Srong-btsan sgam-po upon the envoy's return. In revenge the Tibetan king attacked the A-zha/Tu-yü-hun in 637-38, before he raided the Chinese border town of Song *zhou* in the autumn of 638.

1464 **DTHMP** 9a2-4; **YLJBCHBY** 28.5-6.

Also mentioned in *Annals* (p. 39), but under another year-entry: Zong-cu. Cf. also Uray, 1978; Beckwith, 1987, pp. 22-24.

1465 **YLJBCHBY** 28.2-3.

Unidentified.

1466 **YLJBCHBY** 28.7: Pe-le stong-btsan. I.e. mGar sTong-btsan yul-bzung. cf. note 516 *supra*.

1467 **DTHMP** 9a3-8, 9b3; **YLJBCHBY** 28.9-11.

These two texts record that the princess was given to the Tibetan king in the year of 641 A.D. and that he passed away in 650 A.D. Cf. note 1046 *supra*. In the *Annals*, the king died in the earth-

king Srong-btsan sgam-po passed away, whereafter an envoy turned up from China bringing along numerous valuable objects [intended] as [funeral] offerings [at] the tomb [of the king].*[1468] His grandson Mang-srong mang-btsan took over the royal power at the age of thirteen,[1469] and being [only] tender in age, [his] governmental achievements were [in] no [way] grand (*rgyal srid bya ba cher ma byung kyang*) [due to his minority], nevertheless minister mGar safeguarded [on his behalf most victoriously] the law [i.e. Tibetan rule] in the four borders (*mtha' bzhi'i khrims bsrungs*). When, at that time, the Chinese army [made its] arrival in Tibet and conquered [the land], Tibet too, making minister mGar general, led an army [counting] two hundred thousand [soldiers] and inflicted a defeat on the Chinese. [The Tibetans] conquered [many Chinese-held] territories (*yul 'khor rnams bcom*), and minister mGar himself was killed in battle.[1470]

During the time of the son of this king, 'Dur [= 'Dus]-srong 'Phrul gyi rgyal-po, an envoy arrived [in Tibet] from China carrying along numerous valuable [items to be presented] as offerings [to] the father's tomb.

Thereafter the son of mGar, [called] sNya[n]-btsan ldem-bu together with two revolting ministers of the Thu-lu-hun [i.e. of the A-zha principality], leading an army [counting] thirty thousand [soldiers], went to conquer a fortified [garrison-town] (*mkhar*) located along the banks of the Yellow River (rMa-chu, Huanghe) and [other] prefectures (*mi sde*). [There they] encountered the army of the Chinese [general] Li-kying [i.e. Li-jing Xuan] [and?] Hen-chen.[1471] When [they] fought, the Chinese were defeated. Immediately (*de ma khad*), Ling-

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bird year, 649 A.D.

1468 **gloss*: *In the rGya'i deb-ther it is [among other things] said that a Chinese army arrived in Tibet, [where they] put the Potala to fire. [They] searched for the Jo-bo Rin-po-che statue, but were [unable] to find [it]. [Instead they] carried the Jo-bo Mi-bskyod rdo-rje [away] [the distance] of one [full] morning-march, etc. [This happened] at the time of this [i.e. Srong-btsan sgam-po] king.*
Cf. Appendix, note 1094.

1469 **DTHMP** 9b2-3: Age thirteen; **YLJBCHBY** 28.15-18: At the age of twelve years. Cf. note 1091 *supra*.

1470 Cf. also **DTHMP** 9b2-6.
This alludes to the great offensive launched in 670 A.D. by the Tibetans, headed by General mGar Khri-'bring, at Da-feichuan alias Jima Khol (*Annals*, 668-670 A.D.: Zi-ma Khol), a river situated in the 'A-zha territory just south of Koko Nor, cf. Petech, *Glosse* (repr. *Selected Papers*, p. 270); Beckwith, 1987, pp. 33-36. The enormous number of Tibetan soldiers mentioned in this Tibetan massacre on the Chinese differs in the Chinese sources from 20.000 through 200.000 until 400.000! The indication given that mGar died in battle lacks historical foundation. Actually it is only claimed in **GLR**, whereas **DTHMP** merely states that mGar had passed away and that his eldest son then inflicted a defeat on the Chinese, whereas **YLJBCHBY** is silent. mGar Srong-btsan yul-[g]zung had already passed away as an old man peacefully at Ris-pu in 667 A.D. (*Annals*, p. 32) and his sons, the generals mGar bTsan-snya ldom-bu (cf. note 1100) and Khri-'bring survived the battle unwounded. The reference here may therefore be to Da[r]-rgyal Mang-po-rje, an 'A-sha prince, cf. Tucci, 1950, p. 80.

1471 **DTHMP** 9b5-9; **YLJBCHBY** 28.19-30.1. Both texts falsely record that king Mang-srong died in the year earth-female-hare year (= 679 A.D.), whereas *the Annals* has the fire-rat year (= 676 A.D.).
This passage refers, *inter alia*, to the Chinese offensive against the Tibetan-held territories in the Koko-Nor area in 678 A.D. Lijing Xuan was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Tao He *dao* Expeditionary Army and Inspector of the Shan *zhou* Military-Governorship in that year, cf. Beckwith, 1987, pp. 43-45. The name Hen-chen, Tucci suggests, *op. cit.* p. 80, could be to Xian,

kying reinforced the [defeated] Chinese army with three thousand [soldiers], and [again] went to battle with [the] Tibet[ans], [with the result] that the Tibetan army [this time] took to flight.[1472]

The strength (*stobs*), might (*mnga' thang*) and prowess (*dbang phyug*) of the Tibetan king 'Dus-srong Mang-po-rje were superior [compared] to other [earlier Tibetan kings].

The time [of regency] of Khri-lde btsug-btsan Mes Ag-tshoms, the son of this king, coincided with the time of the Chinese emperor Dzung-dzung [i.e. Zhong-zhong].[1473] The daughter of this emperor, Gyam-shing Kong-jo [i.e. Jincheng Gongzhu],[1474] arrived in Tibet. As dowry of the daughter [she] was given many ten thousand [pieces] of fine silk, manuals on every sort of [techniques in the art] of craftmanship (*bzo'i rig byed sna tshad*) and all sorts of paraphernalia [and provisions] for journeying into the presence of the [Tibetan] king (*rgyal po'i mdun du 'gro ba'i lag cha'i rigs gang yin*), whereafter [a continent counting] many soldiers headed by two emmisaries (*mi dpon*) named Za-ya-tha'i Byang-kun and g.Yang-gu'i hen [i.e. Yang-gu][1475] were sent to escort [her from Chang-an to Tibet] [along with] the recital of amicable proclamations [in her honour on leave-taking] were given (*mthun pa'i gtam byas*).[1476]

The territories (*sa cha*) of Byang-ngos [i.e. Liangzhou] and Gha [i.e. Xiazhou][1477] too were controlled (*bdag byas*) by Tibet [for] a period of thirty years [during his reign]. In the time of his son, king Khri-srong lde-btsan, there [were] disagreement between nephew and uncle [i.e. Tibet and China], wherefore wars in turns actually were waged numerous [times] (*dmag rgyag res mang du byas 'dug*). Zhang rGya-tsha lha-snang and general lHa-bzang klu-

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prince of Zhou. Or it may allude to the Korean general Hei-chi Chang-zhi, cf. Beckwith, pp. 45-46. However, having recourse only to the Tibetan transcription of Chinese names, it is well-nigh impossible to determine whether it refes to one or two names.

1472 **DTHMP** 9b6-7; **YLJBCHBY** 28.18-29.10.

This is a somewhat contracted and inprecise depiction of the events taking place in the years of 676-78 A.D. The supporters and collaborators of the Tibetans are reported to have been, not two revolting A-zha generals, but Arśila Du-zhi, later qaγan of the Western Turks and one Li Zhe-fu, who conjointly campaigned against and conquered the Four Garrisons of Western China. The Tang-general Lijing Xuan's armies, in 678 A.D., suffered a major defeat in a battle with the Tibetans under the command of mGar Khri-'bring. The retaliating Chinese attack may refer to a provisional assult on the Tibetan camp led by a Korean Hei-chi Chang-zhi that forced the Tibetan contingent to withdraw. Cf. for details Beckwith, 1987, pp. 43-45 with ref. and previous note.

1473 **DTHMP** 10b3-4; **YLJBCHBY** 30.11-13.

Cf. the notes 165-166 *supra*.

1474 **DTHMP** 10b3-4; **YLJBCHBY** 30.11-13.

GLR is at variance with the two above sources, which correctly state that the princess was daughter to the brother of the emperor called Vi[ng]-dbang, i.e. Rui-wang. Cf. notes 167 and 1137 *supra*.

1475 **DTHMP** 10b5-6; **YLJBCHBY** 30.13-31.1: Dza g.Yu-tha'i-g.yang/jan [and?] Gung g.Yang-gyu.

Cf. Bushell, 1880, pp. 456-458; Demiéville, 1952, p. 1; Pelliot, 1961, pp. 98-99; Uray, 1978, pp. 568-569.

1476 **DTHMP** and **YLJBCHBY** both silent. Cf. Beckwith, 1983, p. 6, n. 15. This sentence may in fact also be construed as: [Tibet and China with this marriage alliance] entered negotiation on peace (*mthun pa'i gtam byas*) [i.e. communicated friendly with one another].

Cf. also M. Benedikter, "Ein Gedichtzyklus um die im Jahre 712 nach Tibet verheiratete Prinzessin Chin-ch'eng", *Oriens Extremus*, 12 (1965), pp. 11-35.

1477 Cf. the notes 174-175 *supra*.

dpal etc., leading a Tibetan army [counting] twenty thousand soldiers, conquered Shing-kun [i.e. Lin-tao], [the fortified town of] Ce'u-mkhar [Te'u Ca mkhar, i.e. Tao *zhou* City] and the territorities (*yul rnams*) of sMan-rtse [i.e. Manzi, South China].[1478] [Thereafter] the nephew and uncle exchanged presents of friendship (*mthun pa'i skyes phul*). Although it was agreed to [negotiate] on friendly terms (*'khon med par chad na'ang*), the Tibetan king concluded: "Although [the Chinese] are verbally reassuring that '[they] would [like to] stand on friendly terms with us' (*kha la rang re dang mthun par bya zer kyang*), [in their] minds [they nevertheless] appear highly spiteful (*sems sin tu gnag par byung*)."

Thus, even during the time of king Mu-ne btsan-po and Sad-na-legs there were numerous [incidences] where, [at] every occasion when peace [prevailed between the two countries] offerings of [funeral] presents [were being exchanged] and [every time] hostility [prevailed] wars in turn were being waged.

Accordingly,[1479] mNga'-bdag Ral-pa-can also, with [a period] of hostility [between] uncle and nephew [i.e. the Chinese emperor and the Tibetan king], [had] an army [counting] tens of thousand [of soldiers] led, whereafter China was invaded and all provincial fortified [garrisons] (*yul mkhar*) were conquered. The Chinese monk (*ha shang*, *heshang*) and Tibetan chaplains acted as mediators and oath-witnesses (*bar dang mna' dpang mdzad*), [the Chinese was compellled] to offer presents to please the nephew [i.e. Tibet], and henceforth (*da phyis*) [it] was agreed that no hostility [was to] prevail. At the border (*so mtshams*) [between their countries] [at a place] called [Gong-bu] rMe-ru [situated in] China,[1480] the nephew and

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1478 **DTHMP** 11a1; **YLJBCHBY** 32.2-6; **DTHMPSM** 27b2-3.

The events related refer to the massive invasion made by the Tibetans in the years 756-757 A.D., cf. Beckwith, 1987, pp. 143-146. Cf. also *Annals* (p. 64). For the two Tibetan generals [sNa-nam] Zhang rGya[l]-tsha[n] lha-snang and [Tshe-spong] lHa-bzang klu-dpal, cf. the notes 1302 and 1336 *supra*, also recorded to have been active during the construction of bSam-yas. dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** 112a5-7 chronicles how general Zhang rGyal-tsha lha-snang overtook the Chinese capital and large parts of China in 763 A.D.

1479 A conspicuous verbatim parallel to the following passage is also contained in **BZH** (Stein ed. 74.9-75.2 = **CHBYMTNYP** 457b3-459a4 (where Nyang-ral are more detailed, especially on the territories and places occupied by the Tibetans, *op. cit.* 457b6-458b3) = **MBNTH** 136a3-b4 = **YLJBCHBY** 65.15-66.7, but cf. note 1484); cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 132a3-b2 and **DTHZHG** 73.1-11 (slightly abbrev.).

This information is important, while it tells us that a source, perhaps even an older or more original version (of **BZH**?, **bSam-yas Ka-gtsigs chen-mo**? containing the appended section (*zhabs btags ma*) or parts thereof) was in circulation in the XIIth century, being first employed by Nyang-ral. The content of the following passage is only partly derivable from the treaty as recorded on the *rdo-ring* inscription in Lhasa, which suggests that late in the dynastic period or at the inception of the *phyi-dar* period, therefore, a source detailing, *inter alia*, the Sino-Tibetan treaty and its background was issued. The identity of this source remains unknown, since it cannot have been Gu-shri Rin-chen-grags' work, a work exclusively (?) presenting the ditto Chinese dynastic material. It was first issued in its Tibetan fashion, at the earliest, in 1265 A.D., but more likely in 1325 A.D. (cf. Appendix, note 135).

Although the extant appended **BZH** version in its present form at the earliest dates from the same period (while it quotes Bu-ston's **CHBY** from 1322 A.D.), the *zhabs-btags-ma* or appendix, like **BZH** itself, must be considerable older, while Nyang-ral in his *magnum opus* and in **MBNTH** has retained a similar-worded parallel to the appendix, cf. *ad* note 1387 *supra*.

1480 **BZH** (Stein ed. 74.12, 75.2): rGya'i Gong-bu rMe-ru = **CHBYMTNYP** 458b5, 459a2,4: rGya'i Gong-bu Ma-ru = **MBNTH** 136b2,4: Gong-bu dMa'-ru = **YLJBCHBY** 65.18. Cf. also **HBCHBY**

uncle, the king [and emperor] each erected a temple, on a boulder (*pha bong*) [the figure of] the sun and the moon were drawn,[1481] [the treaty thus stated]: "In space [above] the sun and the moon [harmoniously form] pair; on earth, the nephew and uncle, the king [and emperor] [similarly rule in harmony]. Beyond rMe-ru of China [downwards] no Tibetan military invasion [shall] be led. [Alternatively,] beyond that [place towards Tibet] [upwards] a Chinese military invasion shall not be conducted. Mutually the [respective] frontiers [shall] be guarded.

The lands and stones of [each country shall] rest [at ease] in their [own] bed (*sa sa mal rdo rdo mal du gnas*),[1482] so a law was made [proclaiming] that Tibetans [shall] be happy in Tibet and the Chinese be happy in China (*bod bod yul du skyid rgya rgya yul na skyid khrims mdzad*). The Three Jewels (Triratna), the sun, the moon, planets and stars and the *lha gnyan* [spirits] were placed as witnesses and the nephew and uncle swore [their] oath and pledge (*dbu snyung dang bro bor*)."

Accordingly, the text of the treaty (*chad mal gyi yi ge*) was inscribed on three stone-pillars (*rdo rings*). On the two great sides (*zheng che ba*) of the stone pillar, the texts of the sworn edict made [in form] of a treaty (*chad mal la bgyis pa'i mna' tshigs* [= *gtsigs*] *kyi yi ge*) were written by the nephew and uncle, the king [and emperor], the two. On the two minor sides (*zhen chung ba*) the name and lineage (*ming rus*) of the Tibetan and Chinese ministers and the accountants (*rtsis pa*) adhering to the [royal] command (*bka' la gtogs pa*; i.e. members of the court council) were written. Thereupon a stone-pillar was erected in lHa-sa, one stone-pillar was erected in front of the Chinese emperor's palace [in Chang-an] and [one stone-pillar] was erected at rMe-ru, at the border between China and Tibet.[1483]

"In case Tibet conducted an invasion of China, paying no respect to the wording of this treaty and the Chinese three times recited the text [inscribed] on the stone-pillar in front of the palace of the Chinese emperor, then all of Tibet would be ruined. [Alternatively,] were China to invade Tibet, and [the Tibetans] read the text of the stone-pillar in lHa-sa trice, then all of China would be lost." [Thus it was declared.] The two kings sealed [it] with [their] seals and the Tibetan and Chinese ministers adhering to the [royal] command placed [their] oath (*dmod btsugs*).

This is only a brief outline, should [you] want [to know] in details the text of the Tibetan and Chinese treaty, [you may] look at the text of the lHa-sa *rdo-rings*![1484]

Thereupon, an Uyghur (*sog po*) general [with his army] arrived in Tibet. The [Tibetan]

(JA) 132a4,6 and **DTHZHG** 73.6.

Szerb, 1983, p. 380, suggests to identify the place with De-ga g.Yu-tshal. The best reading is possibly dMar-ru. Bon texts register an early Bon centre denoted rGya'i Gong-bu dMar-ru, cf. Karmay, 1972, pp. 41, 48. rGya or China must be conceived as a complement in order to distinguish this temple and site from the lHa-sa dMar-ru or Red Horn temple, cf. note 1451 *supra*. For further discussions, cf. now Uebach, 1991.

1481 **BZH** (Stein ed. 74.14) = **CHBYMTNYP** 459a2 = **MBNTH** 136b1-2 = **YLJBCHBY** 66.1-2: *pho 'ong* (= *pha bong*) *la nyi zla'i gzugs byas*. Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 132a4-5. This single piece is also retained in **GBCHBY** 362.19-21.

1482 Cf. Richardson, 1985, p. 125.

1483 **BZH** (Stein ed. 75.1-2) = **CHBYMTNYP** 459a4-5 = **MBNTH** 136b4 = **YLJBCHBY** 67.5-7; **HBCHBY** (JA) 132a7-b1 and **DTHZHG** 73.8-9.

1484 **YLJBCHBY** 67.7-11 and **HBCHBY** (JA) 132b1 date the treaty to the sixth day of the middle month of spring in the water-male-tiger year, corresponding to 822 A.D. For the text, cf. e.g. Richardson, 1985.

minister Khyung-zhags[1485] was killed and as a result of this, it was said that the relationship between China and Tibet was broken.

This **Historical Chronicle of China and Tibet (rGya-bod kyi lo-rgyus deb-ther)**[1486] was compiled by the Archivist (*yig mkhan*) Su-khyi Han[1487] [living] during [the reign of] the Emperor Tha'i dzung [i.e. Tai-zong of Song], whereafter it was successively revised. Later it was translated into Tibetan by the Chinese translator 'U Gyang-dzu at the large prefecture (*sde chen*) of Shing-kun (i.e. Lin-tao). Inasmuch as there were some dates which did not correspond and some names of persons of that [dynastic] period which did not conform [in this Tibetan version between the Chinese data and the[ir] corresponding Tibetan renderings], Bla-ma Gu-shrī [i.e. Goushi] Rin-chen-grags, while residing in China, subjected [the data delineating] the nature of relation prevailing between China and Tibet [as described in the above unpublished translation by 'U Gyang-dzu] to an analytical test (*gtan tshigs su bzhed*) [i.e. a critical collation of the two versions] and published [his recension] in the wood-female-wood year at the large prefecture of Lin-tao, thus making it universally [accessible] to all. This [exposition given here] is merely a brief résumé, if someone wants [to know] the details of the nature of relationship between China and Tibet and the story of the Uncle and Nephew, [you] may look it up in that very printed [book] ([*s*]*par ma*)!

[XIX] [The Anti-Buddhist Revolt]

Thus, the King, the Lord (*mnga' bdag*) Ral-pa-can, being mindful of the precious Teaching of Buddha, handed over the power to the religious community (*dge 'dun*)[1488] and

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1485 **YLJBCHBY** 32.10-14: In the fire-male-dog year (= 866 A.D.) the Sog-po (here Tangut?) general Pho-ku bTsun came to Tibet and killed minister Khyu-zha, and his decapitated head was given the Chinese emperor [as a sign of submittance], whereafter the relationship between Tibet and China was broken.

As confirmed by **YLJBCHBY**, this refers to the hapless fate of the last known representative of the Tibetan imperial power, general Blon Gung-bzher, a Tibetan die-hard who continued to fight the Chinese in the north-western border regions. He was eventually captured and executed by the Tangut general Tou-ba Huai-guang in 866 A.D. before his head was handed over to Tang. For the possible source for **YLJBCHBY** maintaining that the assassinator of Gung-bzher was, not Tou-ba Huai-guang, but Pho-ku bTsun = Pugu Jun, cf. Moriyasu, 1981, p. 203 and Beckwith, 1987, pp. 169-172.

1486 Cf. note 135 *supra*.

1487 As adduced in note 135 *supra*, this seems to be a contraction of Su-khyi (the famous Song-qi, 998-1061 A.D.) and Han gSi-hu (unidentified).

1488 **BZH** (Stein ed. 75.3-4) = **CHBYMTNYP** 425b6, 459b4 = **MBNTH** 135b6-136a1. **CHBY** 145a6; **GBYTSH** 145b1-2.

BZH (Stein ed. 74.1-8, 75.2-11) = **CHBYMTNYP** 457a4-b3, 459b3-460a6 = **MBNTH** 136b4-6 provide us with a look into the background for the discontent nourished in the Tibetan society and in leading quarters against the increasingly powerful Buddhist institution. The decisive step taken by Ral-pa-can to hand over the power to the Buddhist congregation was the starting signal for the ensuing revolt that led to his assassination and, before long, to the civil war and the collapse of the dynasty. The dissatisfaction was no doubt two-pronged, the Buddhist religion and its concepts were still largely alien to the Tibetan creed and mentality and, more important, the enormous financial burden required to uphold its ever-expanding institutions, swallowing large part

systematized the religious and secular laws, the two. He rendered service to the temples raised by his ancestors such as lHa-sa, bSam-yas and dKar-chung[1489] etc. [He] fixed the entire Tibetan population to the law [based] upon the ten virtuous [acts], whereafter the perpetration of theft (*rku*), robbery (*jag*) and fraud (*g.yo zol*) were eliminated. All [those] among the ministers and population who were in opposition to Buddhism [thus] had the[ir] actions kept strongly within narrow bounds (*spyod pa shin tu dog par gyur*).[1490] The[se] people thereafter said to one another:[1491] "What is the reason (*gang gis lan*) for a limitation in our [freedom of] action like that?" "These [limitations] are caused by these [individuals] (*de dag 'di rnams kyis lan*)!", they resolved, pointing their fingers towards the [Buddhist] monks (*btsun pa rnams la mdzub mo gtad*)[1492] and looking [upon them] with envious eyes (*mig ngan bltas pas*). [This] came to the ear of the king and he [therefore] proclaimed:[1493] "It is unjust (*mi rigs pas*) to be looking [upon] my ordained [monks] with evil eyes after having pointed (*sdigs mdzub gtad*) at [them]. [It is] therefore [decided] that henceforth (*da phyis*) whoever should try [such a behaviour again] will have [their] eyes pulled out and [their] fingers cut off!"

Thus, it displeased very much the wicked ministers such as sBas sTag-rna-can[1494] etc.

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of the annual tax revenue, was in the long perspective not sustainable. The attempt to regulate the secular and religious laws mentioned here in **GLR** alludes to his systematization of *mi chos* and *lha chos*, an attempt already made by king Khri-srong lde-btsan. In an effort to pacify the growing opposition, the above texts tell us, king Ral-pa-can convoked the entire population, lay as cleric. While extolling the divine power of the Buddhist institutions, he simultaneously handed over to the discontented *zhang blon*-s, a series of *mi chos* accounts and presents, among others a number of genealogical narratives. Cf. Appendix, note 359 for these texts. Cf. also Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 402-404.

1489 Possibly better sKar-c[h]ung of the rGya[l]-sde district, on the southern bank of sKyid-chu, due south-west of lHa-sa (according to dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 128a7 located in the sKyid-shod district). **BZH** (Stein ed. 69.15-70.6) = **CHBYMTNYP** 447/448a2-449a2 (Tafel 299.3.2-301.1.2) = **MBNTH** 132a2-6, render, *inter alia*, sKar-chung's etymology and details on its construction. The form dKar-chung is also testified from ancient times, cf. also note 729 *supra*. Famous primarily for the sKar-chung Inscription (cf. Richardson, 1985, pp. 72-81). It was erected by Sad-na-legs. Cf. also **GBCHBY** 317.19-20; **DCHBY** 133.14-15.

1490 Verbatim also retained in **BZH** (Stein ed. 75.4-5) = **CHBYMTNYP** 459b5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 134b1-2.
Cf. also note 1488.

1491 **BZH** (Stein ed. 75.5-15) = **CHBYMTNYP** 459b6-460b3: more detailed and diverging. Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 134b2.

1492 **BZH** (Stein ed. 75.15-76.4) = **CHBYMTNYP** 460b5-461a2. Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 134b2-3.

1493 **BZH** (Stein ed. 76.2-6) = **CHBYMTNYP** 461a2-4. Cf. also **GBYTSH** 145b2-3; **HBCHBY** 134b2-3.

1494 The anti-Buddhist minister sTag-rna/sna-can [Tiger-ear/nose] [of] the sBas/dBas/dBa's clan. Common name rGyal-to-re [of] dBa'. **BZH** (Stein. ed. 75.15, 77.4); **CHBYMTNYP** 461b4-5, 462a6, 463a2; **GBCHBY** 265.9-12: sBas rGya-to-re stag-snang, 361.4, 365.8, 365.18-19, 367.9; **DCHBY** 137.19-138.1, 138.20; **NGTMTPH** 4a3, 14a6-7 (Uebach, pp. 66-67 (nn. 225, 229), 118-119); **CHBY** 145b2 (Szerb, p. 48); **DTHMP** 18b4; **YLJBCHBY** 12-13; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 3, 436.11-12: [sBas] rGyal rTa-ra sTag-snang; **HBCHBY** (JA) 130b2-3, where dBa'as rGyal To-re stag-snya is recorded to have sworn in the king's pro-Buddhist treaty and 134a6-135b1, where dPa'-bo offers the detailed background story of this minister's nick-naming. In the Dunhuang *Chronicle* (Bacot *et al.*, 1940, p. 102 (l. 21), p. 132): dBa's rGyal To-re sTag-snya is registered as the last

that the king was extremely pious (*dkar ba*) regarding Buddhism (*chos*). They therefore conspired to extirpate the religious laws (*chos khrims*).[1495] "If [we] do not kill the king, [we shall] not be able to eliminate the religious laws." Some delared:[1496] "Although [we] put the king to death, the Devaputra [i.e. the prince] gTsang-ma and the minister Bran-kha dPal [gyi] yon[-tan], the two, are [so] devoted to Buddhism (*chos*) that [we shall] not be able to eliminate the religious laws." So, it was decided first to have the Devaputra gTsang-ma and Bran-kha dPal gyi yon-tan eliminated (*med par byas*) followed by the execution of the king. The [court-]astrologers (*mo rtsis pa*) were suborned (*brngan par byin*) [so that they] with one voice declared:[1497] "If the Devaputra gTsang-ma remains here, [his] life will be in danger (*sku tshe la bar chod 'ong*) and the royal power shall be destroyed." The Devaputra gTsang-ma was [accordingly] banished to dPal-gro (= sPa-gro) [of] Mon[-yul].[1498]

Thereupon, sBas sTag-rna-can reported slander to the king:[1499] "The great *Chos-blon*

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figure in the minister-list.

As these sources adduce he was, similar to a number of his anti-Buddhist ministers, nicknamed 'devil (*the'u rang*), here the 'monkey-faced one' (*sprel mgo can*), while he was involved in slandering the chief minister Bran-kha paving the way for the ascent of Glang-dar-ma, cf. note 1538 *infra*. mKhas-pa lDe'u reports, *op. cit.* 265.9-14, that he erected the temple of Khrom-sna lHa-lung-srung in order to purge the amount of sin accumulated by having calumniated Bran-kha.

1495 **BZH** (Stein ed. 76.7-9) = **CHBYMTNYP** 461a5-6. Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 134b3.

1496 **BZH** (Stein ed. 76.9-12) = **CHBYMTNYP** 461a6-b3. **DTHMPSM** 30b5-6 and **HBCHBY** (JA) 134b3-4.

1497 Lacking from other sources except **HBCHBY** (JA) 134b4.

1498 **BZH** (Stein ed. 76.10-77.1) = **CHBYMTNYP** 461b1-462a5, and 471a4, 472b1-6 on his activities in sPa-gro where he also died; **MBNTH** 138a1-2; **BGR** 197b5, 199a1; **GBCHBY** 366.11-13, 380.6-7; **DCHBY** 139.8-9; **NGTMTPH** 3b3, 6b1 (Uebach, pp. 60-61, 82-83; **CHBY** 145b1 (Szerb, p. 47): Banished to Gro-mo (Chumbi); **DTHMP** 18b5; **YLJBCHBY** 66.14; **GBYTSH** 147a6; **DTHMPSM** 30b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 134a5, 134b4-6; **DTHZHG** 75.9-10.

Various versions of his subsequent fate are preserved in Tibetan literature. A dominant version, first employed in **BGR**, speaks about him being assassinated with poison by his own mother or even by the sNa-nam clan. Another, foremost represented by Nyang-ral, dwells on his religious activities in Mon (approx. = modern-day Bhutan), where he also passed away.

The story with the poisoning displays some remarkable parallels to the story and fate of Mu-tig btsan-po, (cf. note 1404 *supra*), that a case of literary confusion, itself a phenomenon of trite occurence in this kind of literature, is, as already suggested by Aris and Uebach, near at hand. That this is the case may also be bolstered the fact that this killing is absent from the list of in all ten cases of regicide and parricide that took place during the entire dynastic period, cf. **GBCHBY** 375.14-376.14.

Deeming the fact that an almost unanimous later Bhutanese tradition regards gTsang-ma, as expressed by M. Aris, 1988, *op. cit.* pp. 113-114, as "a fountainhead for all local nobility" (of the area), in other words, all major clan houses boast descent from this Tibetan refugee prince, it is altogether more likely that gTsang-ma, already depicted as a pious ordained monk, succeeded in pursuing his religious activities in Mon-yul. His body is reported to have been be buried and concealed there. Cf. the detailed discussion by Aris, *Bhutan*, pp. 83-114; Uebach, p. 61, n. 209; Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 407-410.

1499 **BZH** (Stein ed. 76.13-14) = **CHBYMTNYP** 461b3-462a3 (slightly more detailed) = **MBNTH** 138a1-2; **GBCHBY** 359.19-362.4; **NGTMTPH** 4a3 (Uebach, pp. 66-67); **CHBY** 145b1; **YLJBCHBY** 66.13-15; **GBYTSH** 147a6-b1; **DTHMPSM** 30b1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 134b6-7; **DTHZHG** 75.10-13.

mKhas-pa lde'u, **GBCHBY** (elements of this story is also retained in **HBCHBY** (JA) 134a6-b1)

Bran-kha dPal gyi yon-tan and queen Cog-ro-bza' dPal gyi ngang-tshul, the two, have been indulging in an improper liaison (*mi 'os pa'i spyod pa byas*)." [As a result] the great Chos-blon, having been innocently calumniated, was put to death.[1500]

Thereafter, being [now] thirty-six years of age, in the iron-female-bird year,[1501] the king, while being [fast] asleep having been served rice-wine, was killed by strangulation (*ltag pa bskor*) [committed] by sBas sTag-rna-can and Cog-ro lHa-lod,[1502] the two.

Until then, there had been twelve and a half happy generations (*skyid pa'i gdung rabs*) and five very happy generations.[1503]

> The tomb of mNga'-bdag Ral-pa-can
> Was erected [being located] in the left corner (*g.yon zur*) of Don-mkhar-mda'.
> This tomb too was filled with troves of precious jewels.
> Its name was said to have been 'Khri-steng rmang-ri'.[1504]

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has retained an unique version of the background behind the Bran-kha's impeachment ([*skyon*] *'bebs pa'i rgyu mtshan*) and the intrigues perpetrated by minister sBas rGyal To-re stag-snang which led to his execution.

1500 **BZH** (Stein ed. 76.14-15) = **CHBYMTNYP** 461b4-462a2. Cf. also another version of **HBCHBY** (JA) 134b7-135a6.

BZH and Nyang-ral record that minister dBa' repeatedly demanded that Bran-k[h]a be punished and that he was finally put to death at g.Yul/g.Yung-thang in 'Phan-yul. Cf. previous note for further references.

1501 **BGR** 198b5; **CHBYMTNYP** 462b3-6 (slightly more detailed); **MBNTH** 138a3: States that he was killed age twenty-five; **GBCHBY** 362.13-16: Age forty-one, he was killed by the people (*'bangs*; in contrast to *lha* or royals, always indicating non-royals, such as ministers) in a rat year at Lan-dkar; **DCHBY** 139.4: Age thirty-six killed by the people; **NGTMTPH** 6a7 (Uebach, pp. 80-81); **CHBY** 145b2; **DTHMP** 18b5; **YLJBCHBY** 66.14-16: Age thirty-six, he passed away in the iron-female-bird year in [the palace of] Zhom-par of Mal-gro; **GBYTSH** 147b1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 135a6-7: Age thirty-six, in the iron-female-bird year; **DTHZHG** 75.13-14: Killed in the water-female-bird year; cf. note 1420 *supra* for details.

As adduced by the large majority of sources, the king was killed in 841 A.D. in Lan-dkar.

1502 **BZH** (Stein ed. 77.2-4) = **CHBYMTNYP** 462a6-b4 (slightly more detailed): dBas rGyal rto-ra and Co[g]-ro Legs-sgra-ldong served the king, while he was having his hair washed (*dbu skra bsil ba*), rice-wine laced with poison, but to no avail, so in turn lDong-btsan and Cog-ro lHa-lod strangulated him at Lan-dkar; **GBCHBY** 362.13-16; **DCHBY** 139.4: Killed by the people (cf. prev. note); **NGTMTPH** 4a4 (Uebach, pp. 66-67): The king was killed by Cog-ro as a vendetta (*gsad pa'i mi sha*) [for the death of queen dPal gyi ngang-tshul of the Cog-ro clan]; **CHBY** 145b2: Killed by sBa rGyal To-re and Cog-ro Legs-sgra; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 406.19-22: [The king] was killed by the brother [Glang-]Dar-ma at Lan-kha; **GBYTSH** 147b1-2; **DTHMPSM** 30b2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 135a6-7: Strangulated by the three wicked ministers sTag-rna-can, Cog-ro lHa-lod and Legs-sdug btsan-ste; **DTHZHG** 75.3-15.

1503 **BGR** 196b6-197a1: Eight happy and three-and-a-half very happy generations; **NGTMTPH** 2b5, 3a5-b2 (Uebach, pp. 54-55): Eight-and-a-half happy generations, three-and-a-half very happy generations; **DTHMP** 18b5-6 twelve-and-a-half happy and four-and-a-half very happy generations; **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 2, 435.3-4: Twelve-and-a-half happy generations; **YLJBCHBY** 66.19-67.2; **GBYTSH** 147a1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 133b5-7.

Cf. Haarh, 1969, pp. 81-87 for further sources and discussions.

1504 **GBCHBY** 378.16-18: Khri stang smang ri; **YLJBCHBY** 66.16-17: Khri stengs rmang ri; **GBYTSH** 147b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 134a5-6; **DTHZHG** 75.15.

Thereupon,[1505] the power of the [Tibetan] rulers diminished like the descending [melting] water in winter (*dgun kha'i 'bab chu bzhin bri*). The secular laws (*rgyal khrims*) [based upon] the ten virtues went into decay like a truss of rancid straw (*sog rul gyi phom thag bzhin zhig*). The merit of the Tibetan population became like a lamp of which the oil was consumed (*snum zad kyi mar me bzhin song*). The benefit and happiness [accruing] from [political] power (*chab srid*) vanished like the rainbow in space (*nam mkha'i 'ja' bzhin yal*). The activities of a black [i.e. non-Buddhist] art has raised like the turmoil of a tempest (*yul ngan gyi ['']tshub ma bzhin langs*). The disposition of benevolence (*bzang byed gyi bsam blo*) was forgotten like a last night dream (*mdang sum gyi rmi lam bzhin brjed*). To suchlike [conditions] it had come. Without any service rendered to translators, erudites (*lo pan*) and chaplains, [they] proceeded to [their] distinct lands. The [plans for] continued translations of religious writings were thrown aside. Those [among] the ministers and population devoted to Buddhism were overcome by misery and rendered helpless.

[XX] [King Glang-dar-ma]

Since the wicked, sinful ministers such as sBas sTag-rna-can etc. now had become very powerful, king Khri Glang-dar-ma dBu-dum-can,[1506] [himself] an emanation of Māra, being in opposition to Buddhism and [moreover] endowed with a malicious character, was elected to the throne and thereby gained control over the [entire] kingdom.

Cf. also Panglung, 1988, 346-347.

1505 The last passage, consisting of a number of analogies illustrating, from a traditional Buddhist perspective, the depraved situation in Tibet with the decline of Buddhism, is lacking from **GLR**'s presumed sources. Repeated in **DTHMPSM** 31a2-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 135b6-136a1 (metrical).

Parallels in the contemporary and older literature are not absent, though listed with a different wording altogether, cf. **GBCHBY** 363.15-19 364.7-11; **DCHBY** 107.9-14; **NGTMTPH** 4a6-b4 (Uebach, pp. 66-69). Cf. parallel Bon sources, Karmay, 1972, p. 98.

1506 I.e. Khri 'U-dum-btsan, alias Glang-dar-ma. Cf. e.g. **BGR** 199a1-2; **CHBYMTNYP** 463a1-3: Age nineteen he assumed power; **MBNTH** 138a4: Age nine he took over power; **GBCHBY** 364.12-18: Born in a sheep year [i.e. 803 A.D.] in 'On-shang-rdo, age twelve the father died, he ruled one and a half year, age thirty-two he was killed in a tiger year [i.e. 834 A.D.]; **DCHBY** 137.17-18; **NGTMTPH** 6a2-3, 14a6; **CHBY** 145b2; **DTHMP** 18b6; **YLJBCHBY** 67.2; **GBYTSH** 177b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 137a2-3, 139a6: Born three years before Ral-pa-can, in a water-female-sheep year, age thirty-nine, in an iron-bird year, he took over power, and ruling six years, he died age forty-four in the fire-tiger year; **DTHZHG** 76.1. For his various names, cf. Haarh, pp. 59-60.

The chronological data contained in later Tibetan historical works concerning Glang-dar-ma show, similar to any other figure in the Tibetan royal line, considerable discrepancies. This can be explained not only by the fact that Tibetan scholars pursue different chronological systems, but also because these texts quite often have retained the data in a careless manner replete with simple cases of misquotations and miscalculations. This freqently makes it a forlorn hope to acquire a proper picture of the chronology.

According to the majority of pre-**GLR** texts, ignored by Bla-ma dam-pa in the main text albeit a corrupt attempt is made in a gloss (possibly by a scribe, cf. note 1541), the chronological data of the Buddhist apostate Glang-dar-ma can be deduced: He was born in 803 A.D. in a (water)-sheep year, he took over power and persecuted Dharma in an iron-bird year, i.e. 841 A.D. and in the water-dog year, 842 A.D. he was assassinated.

At that time the *pandita* Dānaśīla made a retreat (*mtshams bcad*) in the temple of rMe-ru in lHa-sa.[1507] Having difficulties in propitiating Dzam-lha [i.e. Jambhala], the *pandita* got furious and with the end (*rting pas*) of his [walking-]staff (*mkhar gsil*), [he] hit the stomach of the clay-made statue of Dzam-lha [i.e. Jambhala],*[1508] whereby a great [amount of] gold poured out of [the idol's] stomach. Using this as material, [he then] raised as physical receptacle (*sku'i rten*) [an idol of] Khasarpana, as verbal receptacle (*gsung gi rten*) a golden throne and as mental receptacle (*thugs kyi rten*) [he made] an [idol of a] silver-made cooing bird (*dngul bya khun bu can*).[1509] His disciple (*nye gnas*), the Kashmirian Utpala raised a silver-made [idol of] Maitreya [as well as] [memorial] offerings for the rememberance [of Buddha] were instituted.[1510]

During that period frost and hail, blight (*btsa'*) and famine (*mu ge*), animal and human plagues etc. [regularly] occured.[1511] Using this as a pretext (*de la snyad byas*) [people said], the king's mind got ensnared by a *graha* (*gdon*)-demon, whereafter [he] suppressed the Teaching of Buddha.[1512] Some of the ordained [monks] were appointed as butchers (*shan pa*

1507 **BZH** (Stein ed. 77.16-78.4) = **CHBYMTNYP** 464a6-b5 = **MBNTH** 138b5-139a1; **NGTMTPH** 12a4 (Uebach, pp. 108-109). Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 137a4.
For rMe-ru, originally dMar-ru, cf. the notes 1451, 1634.

1508 **gloss*: *It* [i.e. the instrument to hit with] *is even said to* [*have*] *be*[*en*] *an iron vajra.*
So in **BZH** (Stein ed. 78.1) = **CHBYMTNYP** 464b1 = **MBNTH** 138b6; **NGTMTPH** 12a5. Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 137a4.

1509 **BZH** and Nyang-ral read *'khum/'khun bu can*, the 'crooked' (?) silvery bird. Further elucidated in **MBNTH** 139a1, where it is stated that it was a golden bird and dPa'-bo, *op. cit.* 137a4-5, retains silver, but maintains that gold and silver poured out of the idol's stomach. One would otherwise assume that Dānaśīla employed gold exclusively as material, whereas the use of silver was reserved the disciple Utpala. Nel-pa's witness is unique in glossing that the Khasarpana is today (i.e. the XIIIth century) to be found in the Ser-stur monastery; further, the **Ārya Pañcavimśatikasahasrikā** written in gold (as *gsung rten*) and a golden bird.

1510 **BZH** (Stein ed. 78.4-5) = **CHBYMTNYP** 464b4-6 = **MBNTH** 139a2; **NGTMTPH** 12a5-6.
The latter text mentioned that the Byams-pa idol today is to be found in lHa-sa.

1511 Verbatim also **BZH** (Stein ed. 78.5-6) = **CHBYMTNYP** 464b6-465a1 = **MBNTH** 139a2-3; cf. also **NGTMTPH** 14a7; **HBCHBY** (JA) 137a5.

1512 **BZH** (Stein ed. 77.15, 78.5-81.8) = **CHBYMTNYP** 465a1-469b3 (slightly more detailed) = **MBNTH** 139a2-141b5: Details are here provided on the persecution of Buddhism perpetrated by Glang-dar-ma, the accusations launched by this king against the Chinese Kong-jo, her dowry-idol and her geomantic probes, and allegedly using natural disasters as a pretext to suppress the Buddhist emblems. This eventually prompted the pro-Buddhist circles to conclude that the king was devil-possessed; cf. also briefly **NGTMTPH** 14a7-b1 (Uebach, pp. 118-19); **CHBY** 145b4; **YLJBCHBY** 67.4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 137a5-6; **DTHZHG** 76.2-77.2.
In conformity with other sections starting from the description of bSam-yas, **BZH** and **CHBYMTNYP** contain the most detailed and mutually almost verbatim versions, here concerning the persecution of Buddhism during the reign of Glang-dar-ma. It is worthy of note, as chronicled by these two old sources, that the blame (*lan*) for the occurence of these natural calamities by king Glang-dar-ma was ascribed the arrival in Tibet of the dowry-idol, the statue of Jo-bo Shākya-muni brought along by the first Kong-jo, herself considered an embodiment of a *yakṣasī* and her ill-boding geomantic probes (cf. the notes 1154-57). This could either be understood as a general attack against Buddhism symbolized foremost by the Jo-bo statue or it may inform us that Glang-dar-ma, rather than being seen as a fierce and monstrous anti-Buddhist painted by the Buddhist posterity, should foremost be seen as an anti-Chinese nationalist. Cf. also Appendix, note 1094.
The text by Nel-pa as well as by Bla-ma dam-pa convey the impression that it was the

bcol), some were deprived of [their] insignia [of religion], some were forced to chase [and kill] game. Those disobeying were put to death (*srog dang phral*).[1513] The commencement of the destruction of temples was taken in lHa-sa (*lha khang 'jig pa'i sngon ma lha sa la byas*). Hearing that the two Jo-bo statues (*jo bo rnam gnyis*) were to be thrown into the water, the [pro-Buddhist] Dharma-ministers (*chos blon*) took [their] precautions (*thabs byas*) and concealed [them] under [their] respective thrones.[1514] The idol of Maitreya was wrapped up in cotton-linen and [it was] concealed along the bank of the lake of 'O[-ma'i] thang.[1515]

Intending to throw the [installed] [clay-]statues (*lder sku*) inside [the temples] into the water, [the anti-Buddhist ministers] fastened a rope to the neck of [the idol of] Vajrapāṇi, but those fastening [the rope] instantly vomitted blood and died, whereafter the destruction of the [Buddhist] temples was [promptly] discontinued.[1516]

The entrances to lHa-sa ['Phrul-snang] and bSam-yas etc. were walled up (*sgo rtsig*).*[1517] All other minor temples were destroyed. Some books were thrown into the water, some were burned and some were hidden like treasuries.[1518]

The ministers who were devoted to Buddhism (*dharma*) [now] knew that the king's mind had been ensnared by a *graha*-demon.[1519] Completely overcome with grief [they] cryingly declared:[1520] "Great King! It is improper to deride the precious Teaching of Buddha. Consider the good customs of former [times] and look into the documents (*yig tshang*[*s*]) of [your] ancestors!"

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emergence of these calamities that prompted people, as pretext, to mean that the king was insane. But from the testimony in **BZH**, as adduced above, it is the king who used these misfortunes as pretext to persecute the Dharma. On *gdon*/*graha* demons, cf. Nebesky-wojkowitz, 310ff.

1513 **BZH** (Stein ed. 79.8-10) = **CHBYMTNYP** 466b4-6 = **MBNTH** 140a4-5; cf. also **NGTMTPH** 14b1-2; **CHBY** 145b4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 137b3-4.

1514 **BZH** (Stein ed. 79.16-81.1) = **CHBYMTNYP** 467b3-469b3 (slightly more detailed); cf. also **CHBY** 145b4-5; **DTHMPSM** 33a3; **HBCHBY** 136a2, 137a7; **DTHZHG** 76.10-15.

Cf. Appendix, note 1094, subnote 18 and 1555 *infra*.

1515 **BZH** (Stein ed. 80.10-81.4) = **CHBYMTNYP** 469a3-b3 = **MBNTH** 141b1-5 (both more detailed and different); cf. also **DTHZHG** 76.16-17.

1516 Lacking from all other versions except **HBCHBY** (JA) 136a3, 137a6-7.

1517 **gloss*: *Except* [*the temple of*] *rMe-ru* [*in lHa-sa*].

Cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 79.15-16) = **CHBYMTNYP** 467b1-2 = **MBNTH** 140a5-6; cf. also **NGTMTPH** 14b3; **CHBY** 145b5; **PMKTH** Chap. 89, 540.5-14; **DTHMPSM** 32a3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 136a5, 137a6-b1; **DTHZHG** 18-19.

For rMe-ru, originally dMar-ru or the temple of the Red Horn in Lhasa, cf. note 1451 *supra*. **GBCHBY** 366.8-10; **DCHBY** 139.5-8: lHa-sa was destroyed by water, dKar-chung by fire and bSam-yas by sand. The testimony in the two lDe'u versions thus contradicts the above evidences, which claim that e.g. lHa-sa and bSam-yas were spared, except having their entrances walled up.

1518 **BZH** (Stein ed. 79.15-16) = **CHBYMTNYP** 467b2-3 = **MBNTH** 140a5-6; cf. also **GBCHBY** 366.9-10; **DCHBY** 139.6-7; **NGTMTPH** 14a3; **CHBY** 145b5; **PMKTH** Chap. 89, 539.7-541.10; **HBCHBY** (JA) 136a5, 137a1-2; **DTHZHG** 76.12-13.

1519 **BZH** (Stein ed. 80.1-2) = **CHBYMTNYP** 467b4 = **MBNTH** 140b1-2; **NGTMTPH** 14b3-4.

1520 **BZH** (Stein ed. 80.2-5) = **CHBYMTNYP** 467b4-468a4 (more detailed) = **MBNTH** 140b1-4; cf. also **NGTMTPH** 14b4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 138a1-2 corroborates verbatim **GLR**.

From the above testimonies, aside from Nyang-ral, the impression is conveyed that it was the desperate ministers that read the documents of the ancestors.

At that time,[1521] at the meditation college (*sgom gr[v]a*) of Chu-bo-ri, while [the monks] dGe-'byung [of] g.Yo,[1522] Rab-gsal [of] gTsang[1523] and Shākyamuni [of] dMar,[1524] the three, [sat] meditating, dGe-'byung [of] g.Yo observed [how] a celibate [monk] (*btsun pa, bhadanta*) changed his religious coat (*sham thabs brjes*) [into that of a lay], [how he] took hold of arrow and bow [instead], fastened a bird-feather (*bya sgro*) to [his] head and leading a dog near at hand (*'phral du khyi khrid*), [he saw how this monk] went [off] to chase game.[1525] "Am [I] old monk deranged (*ban rgan 'khrul lam*)? [Or] is the celibate mad (*btsun pa smyo*)?", he said. "What has happened?", [his fellow monks] inquired.[1526] Pointing out this game-hunter (*ri d[v]ags pa*) [to his two fellow monks], they declared:[1527] "You are not deranged! The celibate is [evidently] mad!" [They then] summoned the celibate to their presence. When [they] asked about the reason [for his unsual behaviour], the celibate responded:[1528] "You three [evidently] have not been hit by the king's punishment. You are in great danger indeed!", whereafter [he] told in details the story about the extermination of Buddhism.

The three [fellow monks] got terrible scared and without [daring] to stay even for a moment, [they immediately] fled to Khams [setting out] along a northern route and bringing along three mule-loads (*drel rgyab gsum*) of **Vinaya**-books. [They eventually] took up residence in the rock-cave of Dan-tig-shel.[1529]

1521 **BZH** (Stein ed. 83.5-7, 89.2) = **CHBYMTNYP** 477a2-3 = **MBNTH** 143b1-2, 148a3; **NGTMTPH** 15a5; **CHBY** 147a2-3; **DTHMP** 19a4-5.

In the following passage **BZH**, and the versions compiled by Nyang-ral, Nel-pa and dPa'-bo together with Bla-ma dam-pa are, with slight variants, almost verbatim congruous, all pursuing a common original. This section on the three monks has somewhat been misplaced in **GLR**, and should properly follow after the following section (XXI) on lHa-lung's mission.

1522 I.e. dGe-ba'i 'byung-gnas of g.Yo [of] lHo-brag. **BZH** (Stein ed. 83.6) = **CHBYMTNYP** 477a2: Of lHa-brag/'brog = **MBNTH** 143b1; **NGTMTPH** 15a5 (Uebach, pp. 120-121): Nel-pa states in a gloss that he is from rBo-dong (later famed for Bo-dong E), which according to Ferrari is situated between present-day Phun-tshogs-gling and bKra-shis lhun-po; **CHBY** 147b2 Bo-dong-pa g.Yo dGe-'byung; **DTHMP** 19a5; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.6: dGe-chung of g.Yog-po; **YLJBCHBY** 88.7: Bo-Dong-pa g.Yo dGe-'byung.

1523 **BZH** (Stein ed. 83.6) = **CHBYMTNYP** 477a3: 'Jad Khyel gyi gTsang Rab-gsal = **MBNTH** 143b1-2; **NGTMTPH** 15a5 where Nel-pa in a gloss maintains that he descends from 'Jad, which acc. to Ferrari is situated east of Mus-chu, a tributary to Raga gTsang-po, cf. Map; **CHBY** 147b2: 'Jad kyi Gyel mi gTsang Rab-gsal; **DTHMP** 19a5; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.6; **YLJBCHBY** 88.6-7: 'Jang kyi 'Gyel-mi gTsang Rab-gsal.

1524 **BZH** (Stein ed. 83.5) = **CHBYMTNYP** 477a3: Shākya-muni of dMar of Byang g.Yu-ru; **MBNTH** 143b1: g.Yu-ru Byang-thang gi dMar Shākya-mune; **NGTMTPH** 15a6: dMar-ban [*bande*] Shakyamuni [of Lungs-smad]; **CHBY** 147a2: sTod-lung-pa dMar Shakyamuni; **DTHMP** 19a5; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.7; **YLJBCHBY** 88.7-8: sTod-lugs-pa dMar Shākya-mune.

1525 **BZH** (Stein ed. 83.7-9) = **CHBYMTNYP** 477a3-5 = **MBNTH** 143b2-4; **NGTMTPH** 15a6 (Uebach, pp. 122-123); **CHBY** 147a2.

1526 **BZH** (Stein ed,. 83.9-10) = **CHBYMTNYP** 477a5-6 = **MBNTH** 143b3; **NGTMTPH** 15a6.

1527 **BZH** (Stein ed. 83.10-11) = **CHBYMTNYP** 477a6 = **MBNTH** 143b4; **NGTMTPH** 14a6.

1528 **BZH** (Stein ed. 83.10-12) = **CHBYMTNYP** 477b1-3 = **MBNTH** 143b4-5; **NGTMTPH** 15a7-8.

1529 **BZH** (Stein ed. 83.12-13) = **CHBYMTNYP** 477b3-478a3 (more details on their flight) = **MBNTH** 143b5-6; **NGTMTPH** 15b1-3 (Uebach, pp. 122-123); **CHBY** 147b4: An-chung gNam-rdzong (cf. note 1533) [*sic*] Dan-tig shel gyi Yang-dgon; **DTHMP** 19a5-6; **KTHDNG** (NGA)

In their wake, K[v]a 'Od-mChog grags[-pa][1530] and Rong-ston Seng-ge rgyal-mtshan,[1531] the two, taking along many books on **Abhidharma**,[1532] fled to Khams where they took up residence in the rock-cave (*brag khung*) of An-chung gNam-rdzong.[1533]

[XXI] [The Regicide by lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje]

At that time lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje[1534] sat meditating in the rock-cave of Yer-pa.[1535] At

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407.7-8: An-chung Dan-tig *brag phug*; **YLJBCHBY** 88.9-10.

The place Dan-tig shel is perhaps to be identified with Ri-bo Dan-ti shan (**NGTMTPH** 16b4) where a *sgom gr[v]a*, a meditation-college, was established during the reign of Ral-pa-can (cf. Nel-pa, s.v.). Located close to rMa-chu, cf. Stein, *Tribus*, pp. 76-77.

Bla ma dam-pa's version is highly contracted. Cf. foremost Szerb, 1990, pp. 56, n. 17, p. 57, n. 2 for more details on their flight, the places they visited and further references, Western and indigenous.

1530 **NGTMTPH** 15b3.

Where Bla-ma dam-pa's contracted version leaves us with the impression that this religious figure escaped along with Rong-ston, the more detailed version by Nel-pa disassociates these two figures and delineates their respecive flight.

1531 **NGTMTPH** 15b4: Rong-ston Seng-ge grags[-pa].

Cf. previous note, according to Nel-pa, Rong-ston's flight to Khams was not undertaken together with K[va] 'Od-mchog, but with a certain lHa-lung Rab-'byor-dbyangs. Indirectly confirmed in **GLR**, cf. note 1603.

Bla-ma dam-pa's version is abbreviated and incomplete.

1532 **GLR** reads *mngon pa dang* [sic] *mdzod kyi po ti mang*, i.e. many books on **Abhidharma** and **Kośa**. Nel-pa merely has **Abhidharma**. If it not a case of misconstruction, what is meant is perhaps that many books on **Abhidharma** incl. Vasubandhu's famous **Abhidharmakośa**.

1533 **NGTMTPH** 12a2, 15a3 (Uebach, pp. 106-107, n. 524, 122-123): Acc. to Nel-pa's account the site An-chung was not the destination of the two monks mentioned in **GLR**, but the site occupied by another fleeing group of monks, headed by g.Yo dGe-'byung and dMar Shākyamuni; **CHBY** 147b3-4 (Szerb, pp. 56-57): where Bu-ston seems to equate Dan-tig shel (cf. note 1529) and An-chung gNam-rdzong; **DTHMP** 19a5-6. Cf. the detailed discussion in Szerb, *op. cit.* p. 57. n. 2. An-chun was a *sgom-gr[v]a* erected in Khams during the time of Ral-pa-can, s.v. Nel-pa.

1534 The figure has gone down in Tibetan history as an ardent champion and saviour of Buddhism. Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 81.8); **NGTMTPH** 14b5; **CHBY** 145b6.

In a Dunhuang document (IOL 689/2), transcribed and translated in Karmay, 1988, pp. 76-80, a list of religious masters is given. Most signally, in the lineage of bSam-yas abbots, lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje is registered as the ninth upholding this position. This fact has gone unnoticed altogether by later Tibetan historians. **HBCHBY** (JA) 106a3-108a3 provides some details on this figure. He was born in Gung-mo-che in 'Brom-ston and his lay-name was sTag Nya-bzang.

1535 **BZH** (Stein ed. 81.8-9): Yer pa Phug Be'u = **CHBYMTNTP** 474a2-3: Yer pa'i lHa ri snying po *na* sPre'u Se ru ma ru na [*sic*] = **MBNTH** 141b5-6; Yer pa'i dPe'u; **GBCHBY** 368.4-5 and **DCHBY** 140.18: lHa-ri snying-po of Yer-pa; **NGTMTPH** 14b5: sP[r]e'u Se-ru of Yer-pa; **CHBY** 145b5-6: lHa-ri snying-po of Yer-pa; **HBCHBY** (JA) 137b5; **DTHMPSM** 32a6-b1; **DTHZHG** 77.3-4.

As can be deduced from the following notes, Bla-ma dam-pa (and dPa'-bo) follows, for a description of the assassination of the king, basically an original version employed by **BZH**, Nyang-ral, Nel-pa and, as we shall see, partly by mKhas-pa lDe'u also.

midnight the Tutelary Protectress (*bstan [pa'i] srung [ma]*) of lHa-sa, dPal[-ldan] lHa-mo [i.e. Śrīdevī] appeared [in front of him] and proclaimed:[1536] "Now there is no other ascetic (*siddha*) [left] in Tibet except you. King Glang-dar-ma is posing a threat to the Teaching of Buddha. It is time to assassinate the sinful king. I shall assist you! Do not dispair (*snying ma chung cig*)!"

The following morning when [he] questioned his disciples about the background (*rgyu mtshan*), [it turned out] to be true. Without paying any heed to his own life and being mindful of the Teaching of Buddha, he generated a [volunteering] willingness (*spobs pa, pratibhāna*) [to carry through] the assassination of the king.[1537]

Using various means [such as] smearing a white horse black with charcoal, and dressing [himself] in a cloak made black [on] the outside but white from within, wearing a black hat and smearing his face [black] with cart-grease (*sol snum*), [he] inserted bow and arrow into his sleeves, rode [his] black horse and set out for lHa-sa announcing: "[I] am the Black Fearless (*bkrag = skrag med*) Demon (bDud sKrag-med nag-po)!"[1538]

1536 **BZH** (Stein ed. 81.9-10) = **CHBYMTNYP** 474a3-4 = **MBNTH** 141b6-142a1; **NGTMTPH** 14b4-6; **GBYTSH** 148a4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 137b6-7 (slightly different again); **DTHZHG** 77.4-5.

1537 **BZH** (Stein ed. 81.10-12) = **CHBYMTNYP** 474a4-b3 (more detailed) = **MBNTH** 142a2; **NGTMTPH** 14b6; **CHBY** 154b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 136a1, 137b5-6; **DTHZHG** 77.5-7.

In most of the primary and parallel sources, the lHa-lung's compassion is stressed, whereas Bla-ma dam-pa stresses his resolution to undertake the task. A number of texts records that his assistants or retinue for this mission consisted of renown figures such as (Myang) Ting-nge-'dzin, and sNubs Nam-mkha'i snying-po.

1538 **BZH** (Stein ed. 81.12-13, 82.6) = **CHBYMTNYP** 474b5-475a1, 475b4 = **MBNTH** 142a2-4; cf. also **GBCHBY** 368.5-8; **NGTMTPH** 14b6; **CHBY** 145b6, 146a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 136b1-2, 137b7, 138a4-5; **DTHZHG** 77.7-8.

A fair consensus reigns concerning lHa-lung's outfit. The outcry by lHa-lung is narrated first to be articulated, according to other versions, when he had already taken to flight and not when he set out on the mission.

Two exclamations are articulated by lHa-lung. The present one, identifying himself (sadonically) with the 'Fearless Black Demon' is only confirmed by mKhas-pa lDe'u, whereas the second exclamation, identifying himself with the Divinity lHa gNam-thel dkar-po - here conceived or seen in contrast to (or as a pro-Buddhist complement to) the ditto black anti-Buddhist aspect - and being voiced after he had passed through the river on his flight, which in appearance turned him all white (cf. also note 1548), is found in other versions also. An alternative version embedded in **BZH**, Nyang-ral and Bu-ston etc. record, as a variant of bDud sKrag-med nag-po, that he exclaims that he is bDud Ya-bzher nag-po. As dPa'-bo aptly puts it, in devil's dress (*chas*) he killed, in godly ditto he fled.

This depiction with these demonic embodiments ultimately goes back, it appears, to a common source, a Buddhist apologetic narrative (plausibly originating in the Xth cent.), which partly offered a depiction of king Glang-dar-ma (*seng ge'i mgo can*) and his three leading ministers sBas rGyal Do-re stag-snya (*sprel mgo can*) (cf. note 1494), sNa-nam rGyal-tsha Khri-'bum-rje (*khra mgo can*) and Cog-ro Legs-sgra/'Bal-'khor Zher-legs as demonic embodiments (also designated the four *yakṣa*-brothers). They are depicted not only in their former lives having caused havoc and devastation, but in particular in the present existence, where they had manifested themselves in the form of demons (*the'u rang 'gong po*) with various animal-heads leading Tibet in social anarchy (*kheng log*) and ruin (*phung ba*) (cf. note 1541 *infra*). This narrative, of which hitherto only fragments are retained, also relates how the figures gNam-thel dkar-po, Ber-thel khra-bo, Sa-thel nag-po and Phung-'gong nag-po eventually took abode in the heart of these ministers who were causing the elimination of the Buddhist tradition. Cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 463a1-b3; **GBCHBY**

[Arriving] there, [he] approached the spot where the king [Glang-dar-ma] was [busy] reading the text of the pillar[-inscription]. Pretending as if (*ltar byas*) paying [his] respect, he conjured (*dmod btsugs*) [his] [personal] tutelary (*yi dam*) deity and from his sleeves [he] drew forth bow and arrow. With the first bow [of prostration] (*phyag dang po la*), [he] put the thumb to [the bowstring] (*mtheb sprad*), with the second [bow] [he] bend the bow (*mda' bkang*) and with the third [prostration] the arrow hit the king's forehead, whereafter he took to flight.[1539]

The king, by the second bow (*phyag gnyis kyis*) grasped the arrow [lodged] in [his] forehead and immediately drew it out (*mod la drangs so*).[1540*1541]

Calling in [assistance to take up the] pursuit (*ra mda' bos*)[1542] [after the assassinator, the pursuers all] hasted in the four directions [simultaneously]. But the people of the eastern direction spoke:[1543] "As [the pursuers] were just about to seize [him] (*zin la khad yod pa la*), [he] escaped unseen when it grew dark (*sa sros nas*) [i.e. by twilight] via dGa'-mo-gdong."

364.19-366.10, 367.9-368.2; **DCHBY** 137.16-139.5; **PMKTH** Chap. 89, 537.13-17; **La-dvags rgyal-rabs** (Chin. ed. 39.17-40.3); Kah-thog's **MYDTH** 182.22-183.19. Cf. similarly a late Bon-text, Karmay, 1972, p. 107. Finally, dPa'-bo has, in addition to the version on lHa-lung's regicide being close to the one kept in **GLR**, also preserved a diverging version gleaned from old sources and from the **Yer-pa'i dkar-chag**, cf. *op. cit.* 138b7-139a6 (cf. also Appendix, note 1036).

When lHa-lung therefore proclaims that he, in turn, embodies these demons, the compiler behind the narrative has added the story an ironic bent. This is also corroborated by the alternative form Ya-bzher nag-po who is none other than rGyal-po Shing-bya-can, i.e. [d]Pe-har, the chief protector of bSam-yas, cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 370a2 and note 1292-93 *supra*. As principal guardian of bSam-yas and Tibet, lHa-lung's mission, by embodying this figure, is not only depicted as a Buddhist retaliatory endeavour, but it moreover tallies neatly with the information proffered above (cf. 1534) that lHa-lung in fact was abbot of bSam-yas. gNam-the is possible of Mongolian origin reflecting *tengri* and it was the name under which Pe-har was known to Hor or Bhata-hor, cf. **PMKTH** Chap. 63, 384.1-2, Chap. 89, 540.14-15; see also Petech, 1990, p. 11, n. 19.

1539 **BZH** (Stein ed. 82.4-6) = **CHBYMTNYP** 475b1-3 = **MBNTH** 142a4-b3; **GBCHBY** 368.7: Tersely states that the king was killed with a sword (*ral gri*); **NGTMTPH** 14b7 (Uebach, pp. 120-121): containing a diverging version which maintains that the king was killed with a spear (*mdung*); **CHBY** 146a1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 138a2-3 accords with **GLR**; **DTHZHG** 77.8-10.

1540 **GLR** A: *mod la g[r]ongs so*, i.e. immediately passed away.

1541 **gloss*: *King Glang-dar-ma was born in a bull year, in a bird year he assumed the throne and within five years Buddhism was annihilated (chos snubs). At the age of thirty-eight, in a tiger year, he passed away.*

Corruptive data: The bull year corresponds to 797/809 A.D., the bird year to 829/841, and the tiger year to 834/846 A.D. Cf. note 1506 *supra*. Possibly added by a scribe.

1542 For the escape of lHa-lung, cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 82.10-83.3) = **CHBYMTNYP** 476a2-b6 = **MBNTH** 142b6-143a2; **GBCHBY** 368.11-18; **NGTMTPH** 15a1-2, **CHBY** 146a3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 138a5-b1.

The versions differ in details, particularly in the locations passed by lHa-lung during his escape. Bla-ma dam-pa deviates in particular, and some of the locations mentioned by him are found as sites already geomantically or topographically described earlier in **GLR**. The narrative pattern with people from the various directions giving witness to the escape, is, aside from **GLR**, also found in **CHBY** and **HBCHBY**. A literary parallel is found in the Srong-btsan sgam-po Vita, where a similar narrative device is used to describe the arrival of Kong-jo. Cf. note 7.

1543 This site is lacking in the other versions, except **HBCHBY** (JA) 138a5. dGa'-mo-gdong is located close to Lhasa. Other versions have Drang-srong Srin-po-[ri'i]-sna.

The people of the southern direction spoke:[1544] "[He] escaped unseen in the darkness by way of the lakeside of Grib." The people of the western direction spoke:[1545] "[He] escaped unseen in the darkness [of twilight] by way of 'Phrang [i.e. abyss] [of] Shun." The people of the northern direction spoke:[1546] "[He] escaped unseen in the darkness [of twilight] by way of mDongs-mkhar-gdong." Most certainly [however], [he had] made the horse lie down (*lte = rta nyal byas pas*) in the water of mDar-gdong [lake] of Grib[1547] and so the charcoal smeared on the horse was washed away and [its hue] turned white [again]. He threw away his black hat and washed off the cart-grease from [his] face. He [now] wore [his] cloak by turning the white [side] on the outside. With the proclamation:[1548] "I am lHa gNam-thel dkar-po", he went away.

The pursuers (*ra mda' ba*) hasting [after him] in the four directions were un[able] to agree (*kha ma 'cham par*) [who to pursue], [while] [lHa-lung had] manifested [himself] emanationally in front of each [pursuer], and [each] said:[1549] "This [must] definitely be lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje!" and [immediately the pursuers] were sent to look for [him] at the rock[y cavern] of Yer-pa.

There, at the rock-cave (*brag khung*) [of Yer-pa], [lHa-lung] dPal gyi rdo-rje feigned to be in [a state of] *dhyāna*-contemplation (*bsam gtan la yod pa'i lugs su byas*), took hold of a pigeon and made [it] throw down earth-dust (*sa rdul 'bebs su bcug*). Thereupon [he] let worms (*mug ma*) and ants (*grog sbur*) etc. loose so that when the traces of these [animals] (*de rnams kyi rjes*) were seen by the people [chasing him], [they] realized that no [person

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1544 **BZH** (Stein ed. 82.15) = **CHBYMTNYP** 476a6 = **MBNTH** 143a3; cf. similarly **NGTMTPH** 15a1; **CHBY** 146a3-4 (Szerb, p. 51); **HBCHBY** (JA) 138a5: Grib-mtsho and Grib bSe-sgrom kyi phu, cf. also note 757 *supra*. Grib is the district lying opposite to lHasa.

1545 Variant reading: 'Brang [of] Shun. Unattested in other versions, except **HBCHBY** (JA) 138a6. Shun is attested, cf. the notes 741, 768 *supra*. The other versions unanimously list *via* Thel/Than-mo rdo-ring.

1546 Unattested in other versions, except **HBCHBY** (JA) 138a6. Interestingly in the vicinity of Lhasa a mDongs-mkhar is attested, cf. note 756 *supra*.

1547 **BZH** (Stein ed. 82.11-13) = **CHBYMTNYP** 476a3 = **MBNTH** 143a1: bDud Ya-bzher gyi *mtsho khol ma*/bDud Ya-bzher *bgyi ba* [s]Kyi[d]-chu*'i mtsho khol ma*, (i.e. the boiling lake of the Demon Ya-bzher, cf. note 1538); **NGTMTPH** 15a1: Grib-mtsho; **CHBY** 146a3 (Szerb, p. 50): Mi-nag mtsho.

1548 Cf. note 1538 *supra* for textual ref. This mythical figure, [lHa] gNam-the'u/thel dkar-po, occurs in a lengthy versified prophecy ascribed to and allegedly delivered by Srong-btsan sgam-po, forecasting e.g. the period of the Dharma-persecution during the reign of Glang-dar-ma. In this *lung bstan gdams pa* (for ref. cf. note 1050 *supra*, e.g. **KCHKKHM-2** 278.3-12; **CHBYMTNYP** 275b5-b2), this mythical figure embodies the wicked minister sBas sTag-sna-can (cf. note 1494), perhaps the singly responsible figure behind the elimination of king Ral-pa-can. The testimony given there even mentions that the wicked minister was killed by a *sngags pa* (which a gloss identifies with Ba-ri dBang-ba dPal gyi yon-tan). The embodied divinity lHa gNam-thel dkar-po is conceived as the pro-Buddhist counterpart to the anti-Buddhist bDud Sa-thel nag-po/bDud Ya-bzher nag-po, which lHa-lung personified prior to the killing. Cf. also **PMKTH** Chap. 63. For this figure, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 1975, pp. 97f., 101, 120, etc.

1549 **BZH** (Stein ed. 82.16-83.1) = **CHBYMTNYP** 476b1-2 = **MBNTH** 143a4; **GBCHBY** 368.11-12 (slightly different); **NGTMTPH** 15a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 136a2, 138a6.

could] be [present inside the cave], wherefore [they] turned back.[1550]

One knowledgeable person (*mi rig pa dang ldan pa*) [however] [decided to] go inside [the cave]. When [he] [in the darkness falteringly] placed [his] hand on the heart [of lHa-lung], [he] perceived that the heart was beating [from fear of detection] (*snying bdar ba[r] shes*). "Generally, [we] would let [him] escape, but in this special [case], [we] cannot [affort him] to slip away!" (*spyi'i tha ba* (= *thar pa*) *la sgos su shol* (= *shor*) *mi bcog*), he said and left.[1551] [In the wake of this experience], [lHa-lung] was terrified and without even waiting for a moment he fled to Khams.[1552]

[XXII] [Prince 'Od-srung[s] and Yum-brtan]

Then, after the murder of the sinful (*sdig can*) king, the junior queen (*btsun mo chung ba*) was [already] pregnant with a son (*sras lto[bo]r cig byung*), [a heir] to [carry on] the [royal] lineage (*gdung brgyud*).[1553] This made the senior queen think: "This [child] would certainly impair my power (*mnga' thang*). [She therefore] wrapped up her body in a garment (*gos kyis dkris*) and declared:[1554] "I too am pregnant with a son (*sras lto bor* [= *ltor*] *cig yod*)!", talking falsely about the size of the infant-boy.

Now, when the months [of pregnancy] for the junior queen were full, a son was born that definitely was a [legitimate heir of the royal] lineage (*gdung brgyud yin nges*).[1555] His

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1550 **BZH** (Stein ed. 83.1-3) = **CHBYMTNYP** 476b3-6 (slightly more detailed) = **MBNTH** 143a4-6; **GBCHBY** 368.12-15; **NGTMTPH** 15a2-4 (Uebach, pp. 120-121); **HBCHBY** (JA) 138a6-7. The testimonies in **BZH** and Nyang-ral and in Nel-pa are largely corresponding. Bla-ma's version similar to dPa'-bo's is, again, deviating slightly, supposing that a different original of this narrative has been employed.

1551 This text piece seems corrupt and the translation is conjectural. Almost verbatim retained in **HBCHBY** (JA) 138a7-b1 which reads: *mi nag can gyi mi 'di na 'dug ste spyi'i tha ba la sgos kyi gshol mi bcog zer*; but see also differently **GBCHBY** 368.15-17.

1552 **BZH** (Stein ed. 83.3-4) = **CHBYMTNYP** 476b6-477a1 = **MBNTH** 143a6-b1; **NGTMTPH** 15a4 (Uebach, pp. 120-121); **CHBY** 146a4 (Szerb, p. 51); **HBCHBY** (JA) 138b1.

He fled to Khams with the following treatises **Abhidharmakośa (Chos mngon-pa mdzod)** or **Abhidharmasamuccaya (mNgon-pa Kun-las btus)**; **Vinayaprabhāvatī ('Dul-ba 'Od-ldan)** and **Karmaśatakam (Las Ka-rma sha-tam)**. For an identification, cf. the notes by Uebach and Szerb.

1553 Cf. also **GBCHBY** 369.9; **DCHBY** 141.5; **DTHMP** 18b9; **YLJBCHBY** 67.19-68.1; **DTHMPSM** 33b1; **GBYTSH** 148b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 139a7: all reading *lto bar/bor kyi sras*. The mother is named g.Yor-mo Tshe-spong-bza' Yum-chen btsan-mo 'Phan.

Jäschke, Dict. *op. cit.* p. 219, adduces, referring to the present passage, that *sras ltor* (= *lto bor*) should be understood as a bastard, i.e. an illegitimate child. But this is a rationalization and basically unfounded. It just means a belly-child.

1554 Cf. also **DTHMPSM** 33b1-2. This passage is lacking from earlier sources.

1555 **BGR** 199a3: Born in the water-female-pig year (= 843 A.D.) in sPur-phu, he ruled for three years, and passed away in 'Phangs of Yar-lung in a wood-female-ox year (i.e. 905 A.D.); **Bod kyi rgyal-rabs**, *op. cit.* 361a6, written by Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa Bla-ma in 1275 A.D., closely following the homonymous **BGR** by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, adds that he assumed the age of sixty-three (i.e. 905 A.D.); **CHBYMTNYP** 483b3: Born in a water-female-pig year (i.e. 843 A.D.), he died in a wood-female-pig year (i.e. 905 A.D.); **GBCHBY** 370.4-5, 376.10-11: Born in a monkey year (i.e. 840 A.D.) in Yum-bu bla-sgang, he died age forty-five in an ox year (sic! = 881 A.D., more than less

body was exceedingly excellent. [He was] daily surrounded by people and during night [he] was safeguarded by the light from butter-lamps (*mar me'i 'od gyis bsrung*), wherefore he was called Ruler (*mnga' bdag*) 'Od-srung[s] ['The Light-Protected One'].[1556]

Thereupon, the senior queen too bought a newly born son of a beggar and pressing it to [her] breast (*sha la sbyar*), [she] claimed:[1557] "I too have given birth to this [child]." Although everybody [present] entertained [their] misgivings, the senior queen was so powerful that no-one [dared] to say [anything] and since what the [queen-]mother was saying had to be observed [very] firmly (*yum ji ltar gsungs pa bzhin brtan du bcug*), [the prince] was called Ruler Yum-brtan ['The Firm Mother'].[1558]

Tibetico!) in Yar-lung Phang-thang. He was assassinated by poison; **DCHBY** 141.6-9, 142.11-12: Born in a monkey year (i.e. 840 A.D.) in Yum-bu bla-sgang, he immediately (*sic*) took over the power and he died age fifty-five in an ox year (893 A.D.) in Yar-lung 'Phang-dang; **NGTMTPH** 6a4 (Uebach, pp. 82-83): Born in the earth-female-pig year (mistake for water-pig, i.e. 843 A.D., while Nel-pa usually follows **BGR**) in sPun-dgu, at the age of twenty-four his father (Glang-dar-ma) died and he immediately took over the royal power and he passed away in Yar-lung 'Phang-thang in an wood-female-ox year (i.e. 845/905 A.D.); **CHBY** 146a2-3 (Szerb, p. 53): Born in the wood-female-ox year (confused for his death year! 845 A.D.) and he died at the age of sixty-three (907 A.D.); **YLJBCHBY** 68.8-10: Born in a wood-female-bird year (i.e. 815/875 A.D.) in Yum-bu and passed away age thirty-nine (853/913 A.D.) in Yar-lung 'Phan-thang; **GBYTSH** 149b3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 139a7, 141ba7-b1: Born in the fire-female-hare year (i.e. 847 A.D.), he passed away age thirty-nine in a wood-snake year (i.e. 885 A.D.).

As is seen a considerable dearth of consensus prevails among the sources as to 'Od-srung's dates. Accepting tentatively the assumption that he was born after the assassination of the father, we shall here follow the most convincing testimony offered by **BGR** for his birth: He was born 843 A.D., took over the power ca. 866-867 A.D. (following here his year of appropriation given by Nel-pa, and ignoring altogether that Nel-pa suggests his *floruit* to be 819-845 A.D. in conformity with Glang-dar-ma's death year 842 A.D.). His death year is completely open. An early death year and age seem appropriate, supported by two points: He was poisoned (claimed by the royal list enumerating the fatal end of royal heads, the reason given there for his assassination was that the senior and junior consorts (of Glang-dar-ma) could not agree). Another point is that the Tibetan civil war (*kheng log*), which exploded in 869 A.D., (mainly?) took place during the reign of dPal-'khor-btsan's and that of Yum-brtan's heirs (cf. e.g. **GBCHBY** 370.16-19, **GBYTSH** 153b4-5; also confirmed by Bon-sources, cf. Karmay, 1972, p. 104). The information given by the Sa-skya-pas, followed by Bu-ston, that he assumed an age of sixty-three is nevertheless conspicuous, and would suggest, assuming the most convincing date offered by Nel-pa is trustworthy, at least plausible, that he died 881 A.D. which was an iron-female-ox (not wood-female-ox) year. So 'Od-srung: 843-881 A.D. Cf. foremost, Tucci, 1947 (reprint) pp. 457-59 and the convenient survey of his chronological data listed by Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 448-451; see also Golzio, 1984, pp. 45ff.

1556 I.e. Khri gNam-lde 'Od-srungs. **GBCHBY** 369.10-13: Also called gNam-ri 'Od-srung; **DCHBY** 141.7-9; **CHBY** 146a2-3; **DTHMP** 18b9; **YLJBCHBY** 68.2-7; **DTHMPSM** 33b1-2; **GBYTSH** 148b5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 139a7-b1; **DTHZHG** 77.18-21.

The sources offer slightly varying explanations as to why the child was so named.

1557 **CHBYMTNYP** 486a1: Khri-brtan, the son of the king's consort 'Bal-phan-bza'-ma; **GBCHBY** 369.14-20: The mother was called 'Phan-bza' 'Phan-rgyal, so also **DCHBY** 141.16 adding that he was born in dBu-ru; **CHBY** 146a5-6; **DTHMP** 18b8; **DTHMPSM** 33b2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 139b1-3; **DTHZHG** 77.21-78.1. Cf. further Richardson, 1971(a) on the question of the mothership.

These above versions show a fair correspondence even in the details.

1558 I.e. 'The [One with the] Firm Mother'. **CHBYMTNYP** 483a6; **GBCHBY** 369.14-20; **DCHBY** 141.10-16; **CHBY** 146a5-6; **DTHMP** 18b8-9; **GBYTSH** 148b4-5; **DTHMPSM** 33b2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 139b21-3.

Although both these rulers had [yet] not come of age, [they] were [nevertheless] solicited by the ministers who were devoted to Buddhism (*chos*, *dharma*) [to revive Buddhist practice, and granting their permission], the two Jo-bo [idols] and the Maitreyanātha (Byams mgon) [idol] were excavated from [their hide-out] below the earth and [were again] installed upon their respective thrones, offerings were presented [to them] and the dilapidated temples were again restored.[1559]

Discord [now] followed as to the rulership (*srid*), and so 'Od-srung took hold of [the districts] of g.Yo-ru while Yum-brtan seized [the districts pertaining to] dBu-ru, whereafter a strife ensued.[1560]

In the earth-female-ox year a social revolt (*khen* = *kheng log*) broke out.[1561] In the

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Nyang-ral claims that Yum-brtan was son of consort 'Bal-phan-bza'. The chronological data or even the mention of Yum-brtan have not been transmitted in Tibetan records, aside from stating that he died age thirty-six, cf. **BGR** 199a4; **NGTMTPH** 6b5 (Uebach, pp. 84-85); **GBYTSH** 149b2. This would highly tentatively give 843-878 A.D. However, his historicity is questioned; cf. the discussion in Richardson, 1971(a).

1559 Cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 136b4-5, 139b3-140a1.
Cf. note 1514 *supra*.

1560 **GBCHBY** 369.2-3, 369.21-370.3; **DCHBY** 141.16-142.5; **DTHMP** 19a1; **GBYTSH** 148b6; **DTHMPSM** 35a7-b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 136b5-6, 140a1-2; **DTHZHG** 78.4-8.
The mention of Yum-brtan's seizure is lacking from **GLR** B. Both **BGR** and **NGTMTPH** maintain that these two heirs were brothers (*spun*). **NGTMTPH** 4b4 (Uebach, pp. 68-69) maintains that most of the local principalities pertaining to the districts of dBu[-ru] and g.Yo[-ru] were (or became) connected to the line of Yum-brtan. Cf. note 1568.

1561 **BGR** 199a6; **CHBYMTNYP** 483b5-484a2; **GBCHBY** 361.14-362.4, 365.16-366.4, 370.7-374.13; **DCHBY** 142.13-146.4; **NGTMTPH** 4a5-4b3, 6b6 (Uebach, pp. 66-69, 84-85); **DTHMP** 19a1; **PMKTH** Chap. 89, 538.13-539.3; **GBYTSH** 149a2, 153b4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 137a1-2, 140a1-141a1; **DTHZHG** 78.9-15.
The royal feud between the two brothers in the mid-IXth century soon paved the way for a veritable *kheng log* or social eruption which in turn inflicted the ancient institution and order of the old Tibetan dynastic society a crushing blow and led to what in later literature is known as *Bod sil bu*, the decentralistic fragmentation of Tibet. While the royal feud between the rivalling heirs was restricted to Central Tibet, the civil revolt under the leadership of a ringleader (*lag dpon*) named dBa'as Kho-gzher Legs-steng, as these sources chronicle, broke out in mDo-khams in the earth-female-ox year (i.e. 869 A.D.), when both brothers were twenty-three years of age (according to dPa'-bo), but soon the rebellion swept across the entire country. As already noted by Uebach, *op. cit.* p. 62, n. 214, the term *kheng[s]* alludes to or is synonymous with *g.yung*, i.e. the lowest class in the Tibetan society designating subjects (*'bangs*) conscripted to civil service (to be distinguished from *mi rgod*, subjects that were consigned to military service). As delineated by dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** 20b1-3, also quoted by Uebach, *kheng* is in short a class term for a service-bound subject (*'bangs las byed*). But the picture is more complex and the topic deserves a special treatment. The inner-Tibetan anarchy (*nang 'khrugs*) thus alludes on one side to a social uprising by the service-bound subjects or lieges (*kheng*) launched against the ruling class (*rje*), but the conflict was, on the other hand, once it reached Central Tibet, also rooted in the lingering clan fights such as those between the 'Bro and the dBa'/sBa clan, partisans of each of the heirs 'Od-srung and Yum-brtan and their descendants who strove for supremacy. As discussed at greater length in the two lDe'u versions and by dPa'-bo, who have based their mainly metrical *kheng log* exposition on dGe-bshes Khu-ston brTson-'grus g.yung-drung's (1011-1075 A.D.) regrettably non-extant **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** (also called **Rin-chen bang-mdzod**), it was the assassination of the minister Bran-kha dPal gyi yon-tan, committed some thirty year earlier during the reign of king Ral-

fire-female-bird year [all] the [royal] tombs [in the Yar-klung Valley] were demolished.[1562]

The son of the Ruler (*mnga' bdag*) 'Od-srung[s] was the Lord (*rje*) dPal-'khor-btsan.[1563]

The son of his senior consort (*chen ma*) was sKyid-sde Nyi-ma-mgon.[1564*1565]

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pa-can, to whom the vengeful instigation (*lan*) or the role as spiritual instigator behind the revolt (*kheng log byed pa'i phyva mkhan*) is ascribed. Although we shall here see yet another case of later Buddhist apologetic martyrdom depicted, a core of truth remains as the dBa'/sBa minister rGyal-to-re stag-snya (alias sTag-rna-can) was the choreograph behind the machinations that pinned Bran-ka with allegations of adultery and who himself had an active hand in the assassination of Ral-pa-can. mKhas-pa lDe'u simultaneously claims, doubtlessly with greater pertinency, that the overall reason for the revolt was the glaring (social and economical) difference prevailing between master and servant (*rje kheng dbang khyad ches pas lan*). **PMKTH** purports that the civil war lasted twelve years, which would give the spell 869-880 A.D. (whereas other sources maintain, cf. note 1580, that it lasted well into the Xth century). Cf. similarly the lengthy discussion by Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 451-476. See further Appendix, note 1561.

1562 **BGR** 199a6; **NGTMTPH** 6b6 (Uebach, pp. 84-85); **DTHMP** 19a1; **GBYTSH** 149a2, 153b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 140b6-141a1.

The year of looting referred to is 877 A.D. Cf. also Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 468-69.

1563 **BGR** 199a4-5: dPal-'khor-btsan was born in the water-female-ox year (i.e. 893 A.D.) in 'Phans dar [= mda'] [of Yar-lung], when he was thirteen years old the father died. He held the power for eighteen years and at the age of thirty-one, in the water-female-sheep year (i.e. 923 A.D.), he died; **CHBYMTNYP** 492b1-493a1: Age thirteen his father died and he ruled for eighteen years and died age thirty-one in a water-female-sheep year (i.e. 863/923 A.D.); **GBCHBY** 370.16, 20-371.12, 376.12-14 and **DCHBY** 142.16-143.7: He was born in an ox year (the revolt year, 869 A.D.?) in 'Phang-thang, age thirteen the father died (i.e. 881 A.D.), he ruled for eighteen years and he was murdered in a sheep year (i.e. 899 A.D.), age thirty by sTag-rtse-snyags; **NGTMTPH** 4b4, 6b5 (Uebach, pp. 68-69, 84-85): Nel-pa follows **BGR**, but has confounded the years of his birth with that of his death, otherwise birth 863 A.D. and death 893 A.D.; **CHBY** 146a6: Age thirteen he came to power and he died age thirty-one; **DTHMP** 18b6; **YLJBCHBY** 68.8-11: He was born in the wood-female-bird year (i.e. 865 A.D.); **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.13-14; **GBYTSH** 150b1-2: He was born in a wood-female-bird year (i.e. 865 A.D.) and thirty-three years old (i.e. 897 A.D.) he was killed by sNyags sTag-rtse; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b1-2: Born in a wood-bird year (i.e. 865 A.D.), when the father was nineteen and he passed away age thirty; **DSYML** 69.2-6: Born 865 A.D. and died age thirty-five, 899 A.D. Cf. also note 1731 *infra*.

dPal-'khor-btsan was son of king 'Od-srungs and consort Cog-ro-bza' rGyal-mo. The chronological picture however is, as always, a muddle, and the only reliable yardstick is probably that he reached the age of thirty/thirty-one and that he was assassinated. Here we shall opt for the witness given in the two lDe'u versions: He was born 869 A.D. (would also tally with **BGR**, if this text's water-ox is altered to earth-ox) and fits neatly with the fact that the father ('Od-srung) died when he was thirteen years old, i.e. 881 A.D. dPal-'khor-brtsan died in 899 A.D. Cf. also Tucci, 1947 (repr. 1971(b)), p. 458 and for an convenient discussion incl. a chronological survey, cf. Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 476-485.

1564 **BGR** 199b5: sKyid-lde; **CHBYMTNYP** 493a3-495a1; **GBCHBY** 380.13; **DCHBY** 146.5-9; **NGTMTPH** 4b6-7, 6b6 (Uebach, pp. 68-69, 84-85): sKyid-lding; **CHBY** 146b3-4: Khri sKyid-lde Nyi-ma-mgon; **DTHMP** 19b6; **YLJBCHBY** 68.12; **GBYTSH** 153b5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b2; **DSYML** 70.21; **MYDTH** 184.11-12; **DTHZHG** 78.19-22; **DSYML** 73.6-8: He erected the castle of Nyi-ma-gzungs.

He was the younger son of dPal-'khor-btsan and queen sNa-nam-bza' Legs-btsun, whereas dPal-'byor bzang-po maintains that the consort was Tshe-spong-bza'. He settled down in g.Yo-ru. Cf. also note 1652 *infra*. In fact this king had three sons.

The son of his junior consort (*chung ma*) was bKra-shis brtsegs-pa.[1566*1567]

Whatever rulership (*srid*) these two [sons] possessed was forcibly taken away (*phrogs*) by Yum-brtan, wherefore [both rulers] fled to mNga'-ris [of Western Tibet] where they functioned as kings of mNga'-ris.[1568]

> While the beggar-son was caringly brought up (*gces par gsos pas*), he emerged as Yum-brtan.
> As a [person] of low extraction (*rigs ngan*)[1569] was elected to leadership (*dpon du bskos*), the secular laws [based] upon the ten [Buddhist] virtues were absent.
> The royal 'flesh' [line] was discontinued by [being mixed with] ordinary [blood] (*sha gong nyung mas bcad pas*), so the sun of benefit and happiness has been obscured.
> The royal line was chased away to the frontier [regions] (*mtha' la phud pas*), wherefore the lineage of [legitimate] rulers [in Tibet proper] ceased [to exist].

Thus it is said.

1565 **gloss*: *From him descended the kings of Ya-tshe and mNga'-ris.*
Cf. below *ad* notes 1652-1731.

1566 **BGR** 199b3-4: bKra-shis brtsegs-pa btsan; **CHBYMTNYP** 493a4: Khri bKra-shis brtsegs-pa dpal; **DCHBY** 141.2, 149.17-18: mChims-tsha (of mChims descent) bKra-shis mgon; **GBCHBY** 380.18-20, 384.8; **NGTMTPH** 4b5, 6b7 (Uebach, pp. 68-69, 84-85): bKra-shis brtsegs-pa-dpal; **CHBY** 146b4; **DTHMP** 19b6; **YLJBCHBY** 68.11; **GBYTSH** 153b6-154a1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b2; **DTHZHG** 79.19.

The elder son of king dPal-'khor-btsan and queen mChims-bza' bTsun-ne. According to dPal-'byor bzang-po the junior queen was 'Bal-'bza' 'Phan-rgyal. He settled down in U [= dBu]-ru, but cf. note 1560. The two brothers divided between them sTod and sMad, i.e. the Western and Eastern [part] of Tibet. Through their numerous descendants Tibet became fragmented (*khol bu, sil bu*) as delineated in the sequel. Cf. the note 1733 *infra*.

1567 **gloss*: *From him descended the Lords (Jo bo) of La-stod and Yar-[k]lung.*
Cf. below *ad* notes 1732ff.

1568 **GBCHBY** 369.2-3, 369.21-370.3; **DCHBY** 141.16-142.5; **CHBY** 146b4: Stating that Nyi-ma-mgon was exiled or banned to mNga'-ris; **DTHMP** 19b6-7; **YLJBCHBY** 68.13-14; **GBYTSH** 154a1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a1-2, 141b2-3; **DSYML** 68.18-19. Cf. Tucci, 1956, pp. 51-66.

The lDe'u versions maintain that Tshe-spong-bza' (the mother of sKyid-lde Nyi-ma-mgon) fled to the northern part of dBu-ru, where she died and having lost the battle (to Yum-brtan's line), eighteen precious ancestral heirlooms belonging to the father/mother (i.e. to Glang-dar-ma and the royal house), among which nine particularly preciously mounted items (*yum mes/yab mes kyi nor bco brgyad lags pa rje'i can dgu*), were confiscated and taken away by Yum-brtan. Most of these items were later retrieved by 'Od-srung's line, through the activities of Khri-chung, a scion of dPal-'khor-btsan, cf. for details *ad* note 1751 *infra*. For the ramification of their descendants ruling in Western Tibet, cf. *ad* the notes 1651-1730. The source for the following piece of metrical narrative remains unidentified, but possibly the **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** of Khu-ston.

1569 Referring to his real father's profession as a beggar. The flesh or *sha* below usually alludes to the mother-line (in contrast to *rus* or bone signifying the father), but since Yum-brtan here was regarded as an adopted son, i.e. the *heir presumptive*, this designation does not seem to apply. The entire adoption narrative concerning the princeling Yum-brtan may be a later invention, cf. Richardson, 1971(a).

[XXIII] [The Royal Lineage of Yum-brtan]

The son of Yum-brtan was Khri-[s]de mgon-snyan.[1570]

To him two sons were born, the eldest of which was Rig-pa mgon,[1571] the youngest Nyi-ma mgon.[1572]

The son of Nyi-ma mgon was Nyi-'od dPal-mgon.[1573] His line multiplied in [the districts of] Rlung-shod [= Klung-shod], 'Phan-yul and mDo-Khams.[1574]

The Throne[-holder] (*khri*) Rig-pa mgon had two sons born to him, the eldest of which was lDe-po.[1575]

1570 **CHBYMTNYP** 496a3: Khri-lde mgon-po; **GBCHBY** 370.16-17: mGon-spyod, but 388.11 and **DCHBY** 152.7-8: Khri-sde mgon-snyan/smyon; **CHBY** 146a6: Bu-ston has made two figures out of the son of Yum-brtan, i.e. Khri-lde mgon-po de'i sras mGon-gnyen; **DTHMP** 19a1-2: Khri-lde-mgon; **YLJBCHBY** 67.12: Khri-lde mgon-mnyen; **GBYTSH** 152b2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a4; **DSYML** 75.19.

dPal-'byor bzang-po maintains that he was the son of Yum-brtan and his consort [s]Pa-tshab-bza' bKra-shis-mtsho.

In this brief lineage of Yum-brtan's descendants there is full verbatim concordance between **DTHMP**, **GLR**, **YLJBCHBY** and **HBCHBY**, obvious following a common source first employed by dGe-ba'i blo-gros. On the other hand, the version employed by Nyang-ral, followed by Bu-ston, and in particular the two lDe'u-versions present us with further details. These supplementary data are not necessarily in discordance with the above traditional sources, but a few cases of parallel lists given suggest that more than one (authoritative) genealogical record did circulate in Tibet already from the XIIth century.

While the line of Yum-brtan at least by later Tibetan Buddhist historiography was regarded as less legitimate or at best a *heir presumptive*, being considered as an usurper of the rulership of Central Tibet and partly responsible for the fragmentation of Tibet, their genealogical ramification is, compared to the legally regarded lineage of 'Od-srung[s], more seldom expounded. For a detailed survey of the descendants and lineage of Yum-brtan based upon the above sources also, cf. Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 567-576.

1571 **CHBYMTNYP** 496a3; **GBCHBY** 388.13; **DCHBY** 152.8; **CHBY** 146b1: Rig-pa mgon; **DTHMP** 19a2; **YLJBCHBY** 67.12: Khri-lde Rig-pa-mgon; **GBYTSH** 152b3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a4; **DSYML** 75.19-20.

1572 **CHBYMTNYP** 496a3-4; **GBCHBY** 388.14; **DCHBY** 152.8-9; **CHBY** 146b1; **DTHMP** 19a2; **YLJBCHBY** 67.13; **GBYTSH** 152b3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a4.

A discrepancy in the transmission of this figure can here be observed in the sources. According to Nyang-ral and the two lDe'u versions, this figure is lacking from the line, and instead the following royal figure Nyi-'od dPal-mgon is listed as the younger son of Khri-lde mgon-snyan.

1573 **CHBYMTNYP** 496a4; **GBCHBY** 388.14; **DCHBY** 152.8-9; **CHBY** 146b1; **DTHMP** 19a2; **YLJBCHBY** 67.13: Nyi-'od dPal gyi mgon; **GBYTSH** 152b4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a4. Cf. note 1580.

1574 **DTHMP** 19a2: Rlung-shod/Klung-shod; **YLJBCHBY** 67.14: reading Klung-shod instead of Rlung-shod; **GBYTSH** 152b4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a4-5.

The district of Klung-shod is situated along sKyid-shod north-east of Lhasa, cf. Ferrari, Map. In the dynastic period the Zh[v]a'i lha khang was erected in this district, cf. e.g. **NGTMTPH** 13a2 (Uebach, pp. 110-111).

1575 **CHBYMTNYP** 496a4; **GBCHBY** 388.15; **DCHBY** 152.9; Khri-lDe; **CHBY** 146b1: Khri lDe-po; **DTHMP** 19a2-3; **YLJBCHBY** 67.14-15; **GBYTSH** 152b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a5.

The youngest was rDo-rje-'bar.[1576]

The line of lDe-po was [known] as the descendants of [the place] Bug-pa-can[1577] and Thang-la-brag.[1578]

rDo-rje-'bar's son was throne[-holder] (*khri*) dBang-phyugs btsan.[1579]

His son was Tsha-na Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan.[1580]

1576 **CHBY** vacat; **DTHMP** 19a3; **YLJBCHBY** 67.15; **GBYTSH** 152b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a5; **DSYML** 75.19.

Lacking from Nyang-ral, Bu-ston and the versions of the two lDe'u. These four older versions, on their side, display only partly correspondence in the listing of the following descendants, whereas Bu-ston and Nyang-ral share some common elements. The rest of the above sources follow **DTHMP**.

1577 I.e. Bug pa can pa. So also **DTHMP** 19a3; **YLJBCHBY** 67.15; **GBYTSH** 152b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a5.

Location unidentified, but, as seen below, situated in Yar-stod, in the district of rDo.

CHBYMTNYP 496a4-5; **GBCHBY** 388.15-389.5; **DCHBY** 152.9-153.14; **CHBY** 146b1, all drawing from a common source, offer us another line of details:

The son of Khri-lde (= lDe-po?, cf. previous note) was 'Od-po. He had three sons: Khri-lde A-tsa-ra, Khri[-lde] mgon-btsan and mGon-brtsegs.

The two lDe'u versions present us with the continuous genealogical minutiae: The five sons of A-tsa-ra: The king (*btsad po*) Klu-lde, the son [*sic*] of the Ruler of Rum-po of sPa-tshab, lHa-lde, sPa-tshab ['U-'u] Tsha (or: of sPa-tshab descent) 'Bum-lde, rKa-ba Khri-nam-lde (lacking in one version), mGon-btsan and mGon-brtsegs. Klu-lde's sons were 'Od-po and Phod/Phed-po. lHa-lde had three sons such as Grags-pa [etc.]. 'Bum-lde has the sons Nyi-ma and Zla-pa. [gNam-lde] mGon-btsan had three sons: lHa-chen grags-pa, Dar-chen grags-pa and 'Bra'o-tsha. mGon-brtsegs too had many sons.

The second son of 'Od-po was Khri-lde mGon-btsan, who too had three sons, but only the youngest survived: lHa-lde btsan. He again had two sons: rGyal-bu Yon-bdag and lHa-btsun sTon-pa. Yon-bdag had five sons, the eldest was dBang-phyugs-khri. His son was Thog-po. His son Khri-dar. His son So-na dza-ro [*sic*]. He again had eight sons and daughters, [such as] So-na Di-bu [*sic*], Bla-ma mgon[, who?] again had 'Bum-dar. The lineage of So-na represents the lineage of the king of Yar-stod, (called) sMon-lam btsan. They all settled in Bug-pa-can and Thang-la-brag.

The youngest of the three sons of lDe-po, named Khri-lde mGon-brtsegs had two sons: Ho/He-re and Khri-dpal. The son of Ho/He-re was king Ne'u-du/Ne'u Khri-[g]tsug. He had five sons who constitute the lineage of the elder brother [of lDe-po] Rig-pa-mgon. The lineage can boast of seventy dignitaries (*zhal ngo*). Cf. similarly, Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 567-576.

1578 I.e. Thang la brag pa. **DTHMP** 19a3; **YLJBCHBY** 67.15; **GBYTSH** 152b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a5.

Location unidentified, but situated in Yar-stod, cf. previous note.

1579 **DTHMP** 19a3; **YLJBCHBY** 67.16; **GBYTSH** 152b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a5; **DSYML** 75.19-20. Cf. note 1576.

1580 **CHBYMTNYP** 496a6; **GBCHBY** 370.16-17, 389.14-15; **DCHBY** 153.6-7, 17; **CHBY** 146a1-2: Tsha-nal Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan; **DTHMP** 19a3, 19b8-9: Tsha-lan Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan; **YLJBCHBY** 67.17: Tsha-na-la [= nal] Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan; **GBYTSH** 149a3-5, 152b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a5; **DSYML** 75.21-76.6: lHa btsad-po Lo-tsā-ba Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan.

Similar to the line of Rig-pa-mgon and his son lDe-po (cf. note 1577), the lineage of his brother Nyi-'od dPal-mgon, whose line Tsha-nal belongs to, **CHBYMTNYP**, **GBCHBY**, **DCHBY** and **CHBY** offer a slightly diverging family-tree: The son of Nyi-'od dPal-mgon (cf. note 1573) was mGon-spyod. Noteworthy also is perhaps that mKhas-pa lDe'u mentions that during the local reign of mGon-spyod, three types of retaliations and three kinds of civil clashes took place (*dbu yogs rnam pa gsum dang kheng log rnam pa gsum*) (cf. note 1561). mGon-spyod's son was Tsha-nal

His son was Ruler (*mnga' bdag*) Khri-pa.[1581]

During the time of these two, father and son, the extinguished fire (*me ro*) [i.e. glow] of the [Buddhist] Teaching was rekindled from mDo-Khams.[1582]

The four sons born to the Ruler Khri-pa were:

A-tsa-ra,[1583]

dGe-slong,[1584]

Bla-ma[1585] and

lHa-btsun Bo-dhi ra-tsa (= Bodhirāja).[1586]

The line of A-tsa-ra is [today known] as the descendants of [the place of] 'Phrang-po,[1587] lCang-rgyab,[1588] Glag Ba-lam,[1589] of Grib,[1590] sNye-thang[1591] and of Lum-pa

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Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan. He ruled as 'king' of bSam-yas about eighty years after the annihilation of Buddhism in Central Tibet, i.e. ca. 920-950 A.D. Cf. also the notes 1629, 1648 and 1650 *infra*. In contrast, dPal-'byor bzang-po situates Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan and his son in the period around 910 A.D. In other words, the civil war, which started in 869 A.D., was still raging in the beginning of the Xth century.

1581 **CHBY** vacat. **DTHMP** 19a3; **YLJBCHBY** 67.17; **GBYTSH** 149a3-5, 152b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a5-6; **DSYML** 76.12-13.

Lacking, aside from Bu-ston, also from the versions of Nyang-ral and the two lDe'u versions. lDe'u Jo-sras, **DCHBY**, *op. cit.* 153.8-9, 153.14-20, however, claims that Khri-pa was one out of four sons born to Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan. On the other hand, lDe'u Jo-sras presents us also with (another) Yum-brtan pedigree counting the generations singlewise (*rkyang pa*) and here Khri-pa occurs as the single son born to Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan: The son of Glang-dar-ma was Khri-lde yum-brtan. His son mGon-spyod (cf. previous note), his son Nyi-'od, his son dPal gyi mgon, his son Khri Rig-pa-mgon, his son Tsha-la sNa Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, his son Khri-pa, his son dGe-ba Ra-tsa (*sic*! = dGe-slong and A-tsa-ra, cf. the next notes), his son Zhang-nge, his son Khri-btsan, his son Khri-lde, his son Jo[r]-dga', his son Khri-tshe, his son Khri-tsug, he again had three sons Jo-dar, Khri-mgon and Khri-rgyal.

1582 **CHBYMTNYP** 496b1ff.; **GBCHBY** 390.5ff; **DCHBY** 154a1ff.; **DTHMP** 19a4; **YLJBCHBY** 17-18; **GBYTSH** 152b6-153a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a5-6; **DSYML** 76.3-13.

Cf. further the notes 1629, 1648-50 *infra*.

1583 Cf. also **DTHMP** 19b3; **GBYTSH** 153a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a6. The name A-tsa-ra occurs also among the descendants of Khri lDe-po, cf. note 1577 and 1581 *supra*. The four sons are corroborated by both **GBCHBY** 389.15-390.4 and **DCHBY** 153.7-9, only here it is merely stated that the three younger sons spread geographically, and settled down in dBu-ru 'Phan-yul, lHo-brag and Rabs-shod/Gi (= sKyid)-shod Mal-gro etc. The eldest son was called mGon-ne or Khri-pa (cf. note 1581). mKhas-pa lDe'u further lists the line of mGon-ne (= Khri-pa): He had four sons: The eldest bKra-shis (mgon) was ill-stroken (and died?). However, cf. the list *ad* note 1577.

1584 **CHBY** vacat; **DTHMP** 19b3; **GBYTSH** 153a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a6.

Like **GLR**, all ultimately drawing upon dGe-ba'i blo-gros' version.

1585 **DTHMP** 19b3; **GBYTSH** 153b3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a6.

1586 **DCHBY** 153.9; **NGTMTPH** 22a1 (Uebach, 146-147): lHa-btsun Bo-te raja; **CHBY** vacat; **DTHMP** 19b4; **GBYTSH** 153a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a6; **DSYML** 76.6-8: Bho-dhe rā-dza was ruling when Jo-bo (Atiśa, 982-1054) visited bSam-yas (ab ca. 1043 A.D.). See e.g. Eimer, **rNam-thar rgyas-pa**, sect. 303ff. p. 252ff. Further, **DTHNGP** (I, 314.15-16, Roerich, p. 257); **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung** 52b4, 58b3-4.

Ruler of bSam-yas who e.g. invited Klu-mes (cf. note 1631) to bSam-yas; lHa-btsun, i.e. celibate or monk of royal descent.

1587 I.e. 'Phrang po ba. **DTHMP** 19b4; **GBYTSH** 153a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a6.

'Phrang-po is recorded in the Dunhuang *Chronicle* (p. 98.13). In the district of 'Phrang[-po]

gTsang-po[1592] etc.

Bla-ma left no line [behind].

The line of dGe-slong is [known as] the descendants of dPe-bzhi[1593] and Mong-mkhar [of] 'On-rdo.[1594]

Bodhirāja's line is [known as] the [royal] descendants of lHa-btsun sNgon-mo,[1595] of sNyug-rum,[1596] and of lHa 'Bri-sgang[1597] etc. [all] today living in bSam-yas.

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a temple was raised called Brag-dmar, cf. **NGTMTPH** 19a4; **CHBY** 149a5.

1588 I.e. lCang rgyab pa. **DTHMP** 19b4; **GBYTSH** 153a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a6.
lCang-rgyab remains unidentified.

1589 I.e. Glag Ba lam pa. **DTHMP** 19b4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a6.
The Ba-lam Valley of the Glag district is repeatedly recorded in the Dunhuang documents, cf. most conveniently, Uebach, 1987, pp. 112-113, n. 661.

1590 I.e. Grib pa. **DTHMP** 19b4; **GBYTSH** 153a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a6.
The district of Grib is the district situated on the southern bank opposite to Lhasa.

1591 I.e. sNye thang pa. **DTHMP** 19b4; **GBYTSH** 153a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a6.
sNye-thang is situated due south-west from Lhasa, located in the sKyid-smad region of 'Or along the sKyid-chu river and famous foremost through the activities of Atiśa. Cf. Ferrari, p. 723, n. 668.

1592 I.e. Lum pa gTsang po[pa]. **DTHMP** 19b4: Khum pa gtsad po/brtsad po; **GBYTSH** 153a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a7.
The reading in the *Red Annals* is probably to prefer, i.e. the 'kings' of Khum-pa.

1593 I.e. sPe bzhi pa. **DTHMP** 19b4-5: sPel-bzhi-pa; **GBYTSH** 153a5.
Unidentified.

1594 'On-rdo Mong-mkhar-pa. **DTHMP** *vacat*. No source confirms Bla-ma dam-pa's entry. 'On-rdo = 'On-cang-rdo? located in the sKyid-smad district south-west of Lhasa along the bank of sKyid-chu. Or could it refer to the district of 'On, a valley located to the east of rTse-thang running into gTsang-po. Mong-kar is repeatedly recorded in the Dunhuang documents cf. the *Annals* (pp. 39, 43-44, 46), whereas the *Chronicle* (106.11) has one 'On gyi sMon-mkhar. Or should we read 'On, rDo and Mong-'khar, cf. note 1598. Precise location uncertain.

1595 **GBCHBY** 389.18-390.4; **DCHBY** 153.10-14; **CHBY** 150b5: Bre-btsun sNgon-mo; **DTHMP** 19b5; **GBYTSH** 153a5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a7; **DSYML** 76.7-11.
lHa-btsun sNgon-mo's real name was lHa-dbang rgya-mtsho. lHa-btsun sNgon-mo was monk or celibate of royal blood who ruled in bSam-yas. **DTHNGP** (II, 1084.5-6, 1090.3-4, Roerich, II, 1949, pp. 930, 936) makes him contemporary with lHa-chen-po of Bya-sa, the Yar-lung Lord (cf. note 1790 *infra*), whose *floruit* could be fixed to the middle of the XIIth cent. This is further supported by the fact that rTen-nas-pa (1127-1217 A.D.) from his fifteenth to his eighteenth year, i.e. 1142-1145, served under lHa-btsun sNgon-mo and Jo-bo lHa-chen-po. lHa-btsun sNgon-mo is in the rNying-ma tradition foremost regarded as a gTer-ston, through whose hands a number of Padma Vita-s passed. Cf. also **PMKTH** Chap. 93, 568.3-6 and **gSang-sngags rnying-ma'i chos-'byung legs-bshad** by Gu-ru bKra-shis (mod. Chin. ed., 1990, p. 398-99).

1596 I.e. sNyug rum pa. **DTHMP** 19b5; **GBYTSH** 153a5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a7.
GBCHBY 389.19-390.4 and **CHBY** maintain that sNgon-mo's descendants (or sons) counted dBang-lde and lHa bKa'-gdams-pa. While lHa-btsun bKa'-gdams-pa went for *mokṣa*, i.e. became renunciate (*rab byung*), Jo-bo dBang-lde had five sons, i.e. bZug-rum-pa (= sNyug-rum-pa), 'Od-lde-mgon, dGe-ba, brTan-pa and Se-ge. They became the rulers of sNyung-rum, Bya-yul and Tha-chung-rdo.
sMyug-rum is located in the Valley of Klungs-shod, cf. **YLJBCHBY** 119.9 and **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung** 171a4-5, where it is maintained that sNyug-rum-pa chen-po there erected the temple of sNyug-rum.

The line of these [families] have [thus] multiplied distinctly in all directions, and they are [known] by name as the Lords (i.e. Jo-bo) holding sway over all (*kun na yod pa*) of Kyi-g.Yor [= sKyid-shod and g.Yo-ru],[1598] for which reason it is said that their extraction (*rigs*) is very impure (*ma dag pa*; i.e. mixture of royal and non-royal blood).

[XXIV] [Buddhism Revived from Khams]

Thus, it has been said that in an iron-female-bird year,[1599] Buddhism (*chos*, *dharma*) was suppressed by Glang-dar-ma and in [another] iron-female-bird year,[1600] the extinguished flame (*me ro*, i.e. the glow of) the [Buddhist] Teaching was rekindled, wherefore for [a period] of nine [twelve-]years cycles[1601] Buddhism was not present in dBus [and] gTsang [provinces]. However, [this cannot reflect the truth,] because it was definitely [only absent in Central Tibet] for [a period] of eight [twelve-]years cycles, [i.e.] ninety-eight years[1602] that not even the name of the Dharma was found [in Central Tibet].

Thus, as alluded above, dGe-'byung of g.Yo, Rab-gsal [of] gTsang and Shākyamuni [of] dMar, the three, who had fled Chu-bo-ri, [all] escaped to Khams.[1603]

In their wake K[v]a 'Od-mChog grags-[pa], Rong-ston Seng-ge rgyal-mtshan, lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje, the three, successively fled [to Khams].[1604]

1597 I.e. lHa 'Bri gang pa. Better reading 'Bri sgang. **DTHMP** 19b5; **GBYTSH** 153a5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a7; **DSYML** 76.11-12.

The royal house of 'Bri-sgang. Location unsettled. Cf. also note 1811.

1598 **DTHMP** 19b5-6; **GBYTSH** 153a5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141a7 and **DSYML** 76.13-18: These lines spread to (the districts of) 'On, rDo (but see note 1594) and Chab-thang and are 'kings' (*brtsad po*) of bSam-yas. In other words they became rulers of a part of dBu-ru along sKyid-chu and the area of the Yar-klungs Valley. Kah-thog adds that the (royal principality of) rKyen in Kong-po is known to adhere to the lineage of Yum-brtan, whereas the descendants of lHa rgya-ri in the district of E (also spelled g.Ye) in Dvags-po too should adhere to this lineage, but other (sources) maintain that they belong to the lHa 'Bri-sgang of Yum-brtan's line.

1599 **BGR** 199b2; **CHBYMTNYP** 492a4; **NGTMTPH** 6a3, 17a4 (Uebach, pp. 82-83, 128-129); **GBYTSH** 149ba3: 843 A.D; **Myang chos-'byung** (153.3-9); **DSYML** 78.13-14. The year is 841 A.D.

1600 Must be rectified to earth-female-bird year [= 950 A.D.] according to the passage in **NGTMTPH**, *op. cit.* 17b4, with which, at least, Bla-ma dam-pa seems to share source. **GLR**'s entry would correspond to 961 A.D.

In the entire section here in **GLR** on the revival of Buddhism, the version in Nel-pa and the one used by Bla-ma dam-pa clearly display many narrative points in common.

1601 I.e. one hundred and eight years, which is a nearly correct computation: 841 + 108 = 948. However, the figures one hundred and eight are used here, cannot possibly be verified, and may in the end reflect a later attempt at idealization, since this number, as is known, is sacred in Buddhism. The basic source for this figure is unknown.

1602 Actually ninety-six years, or to be understood in the eighth twelve-years cycle, from the 96th to the 108th year. Cf. also **DSYML** 78.14-16.

1603 Cf. above the notes 1521ff.

1604 Cf. the notes 1530-1533, 1550 above.

Now, [as to how] the pupils (*slob ma*) first [re-]appeared in Khams:[1605]

[Once] when a Bon-po child (*bon po'i bu*) [named] sMu-za gSal[-'bar][1606] had gone in order to pasture the cattle (*phyugs 'tshor phyin*), [he happened to] meet with the three *bhikṣu*-s arriving from Chu-bo-ri. By virtue of *karman* (*las 'phro'i dbang gis*) [accumulated in former existences] [his] faith was aroused, and he requested to be ordained, to which [they] gave [their] consent. [They] [consequently] became [his] preceptor and teacher (*mkhan slob*),[1607] [for his ordination, his name even being] derived (*dras*) from the names of [all] three [monks] being called Shākya dGe-gsal[1608] who [eventually] became learned in the Three Baskets.

Relying upon him [for teachings], [six] men of Khams (*khams pa'i mi*):[1609]

1605 In this section of **GLR** only a highly contracted (and somewhat compounded, even careless) rendering of the Buddhist recrudescence in Tibet is offered, at least compared to the lengthy expositions within traditional historiography contained in the more outspoken 'religious histories' such as **BZH** (Stein ed. 84.15-91.10); **CHBYMTNYP** 477a2-492a6; **MBNTH** 144a2-147b1; **NGTMTPH** 16b6-23b2; **CHBY** 147a6-152b3 etc.

It will be recalled that **GLR** pertains to the *rgyal rabs* genre, rather than the *chos 'byung* ditto.

1606 **BZH** (Stein ed. 83.16-84.15): Mun-dzu dPal-'bar bon-pa'i bu Mun-dzu dGe-ba-'bar; **CHBYMTNYP** 478b3-479b5: Mun-dzam Mañdzu dPal-'bar gyi bu Mañdzu Ka-ra-phan; **MBNTH** 144a2-b5 (*id.* with **BZH**; **NGTMTPH** 15b7-16b5: Mo-zu gSal-'bar; **CHBY** 147a5-6: Mu-zu gSal-'bar; **DTHMP** 19b6; **GBYTSH** 150a3-b5; **DTHNGP** (I,89.1-94.12, Roerich, pp. 63-67).

The story about the occurence of the first ordained novice (*dge tshul, sramanena*) is in **GLR** apparently made into two distinct stories, cf. also note 1621 *infra*. Or rather Bla-ma dam-pa has rendered two fragmentary narratives of the same story as can be deduced e.g. from Nel-pa, who has retained both narrative layers. In the first fragmentary version rMu-zu gSal-'bar is the name of the son (of a Bon-po), in the other, more lengthy version, rMu-zu gSal-'bar is, as seen, the name of the Bon-po father. In the first part of the same story the novice is after his ordination called Shākya (other versions: dGe-ba) Rab-gsal. In the second part or version of the same story he is called Bla-chen-po dGongs-pa Rab-gsal. Nyang-ral too in his version has both names and Bu-ston apparently harmonizes the various names of Bla-chen-po, the key figure in the revival of Buddhism in Tibet, by stating, *op. cit.* 147a6: [*ming*]..*dGe ba Rab gsal du btags* | *phyis thugs rab che bas dGongs pa Rab gsal du grags so*. The original version of the story may therefore arguably have contained both segments. The *floruit* of dGe-ba-gsal is 892-975 A.D. (rather than 832-915 A.D.).

1607 I.e. as *mkhan po*, *upādhyāya* and *slob dpon*, *ācārya*. Both necessary in order to ordain a novice. Cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 84.14-15); **CHBYMTNYP** 479b5-6; **MBNTH** 144b4; **NGTMTPH** 16a1; **CHBY** 147a5; **GBYTSH** 150a4-5. These versions accord in maintaining that dGe-'byung of g.Yo functioned as *upādhyāya* and Rab-gsal og gTsang as *ācārya* when the boy took his *samvara* as *sramaṇena*.

1608 **BZH** (Stein 84.14-15): dGe-ba Rab-gsal; **CHBYMTNYP** 479b5; **MBNTH** 145b5: dGe-ba gSal; **NGTMTPH** 15b7-16a1: in a gloss: Mu-zu dGe-ba gsal; **CHBY** 147a4.

1609 This list enumerating the Six Men of Khams (*khams pa'i mi* [*drug*]) are e.g. also found listed in **CHBYMTNYP** 481b1-3 and **NGTMTPH** 17a3-4 (Uebach, pp. 126-129), here called *btsun pa mi drug*, the six *bhadanta*-s or celibates. A number of these figures appear in **BZH** (Stein ed. 87.3-7) under an enumeration of twelve persons (partly identical) that came to Khams from dBus-gTsang. The list in **GLR** deviates, as seen, occasionally from the versions embedded in earlier sources (which on their side display far greater congruence).

rDo-rje dbang-phyug [of] Bal,[1610]
dPal gyi Byang-chub [of] sNubs,[1611]
Ye-shes g.yung-[d]rung [of] Yang-gong,[1612]
Rin-chen [of] sBar,[1613]
Ye-shes seng-ge [of] lCang,[1614]
Shes-rab byang-chub [of] Co[g]-ro,[1615]

and furthermore,

Shed-chung-pa Shes-rab grags[-pa],[1616]
'An-bar-ba Byang-chub,[1617]
Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan [of] Grum,[1618]

1610 **CHBYMTNYP** 481b5, 482b5 'Ang-pa rDo-rje dbang-phyug; **NGTMTPH** 17a4: 'Al rDo-rje dbang-phyug, where, in a gloss, it is maintained that he did not established any religious community (*sde pa*) and together with sNubs (cf. next note) considered the two learned ones (*mkhas pa*). Possibly mentioned in **CHBY** 151a3 (Szerb, p. 80): 'Al; **GBYTSH** 150b5.

1611 **BZH** (Stein ed. 85.7, 85.15-86.5): sNubs Babs-shing [sic] = **CHBYMTNYP** 481b6-482a6, 485b5: sNubs Pha shing-rta chen-po/sNubs dPal gyi dbang-phyug = **MBNTH** 145b3-146a1; **NGTMTPH** 17a3-4, 17b2-4 (Uebach, pp. 128-129): sNubs dPal gyi byang-chub, where it is maintained that he did not establish, contrary to the majority of his religious confréres, any community, but his lineage became renown as lineage of learned ones, the lineage of sNubs; lacking in **CHBY**; **DTHMP** 19b7: sNubs dPal gyi dbang-phyug; **GBYTSH** 150b5: sNubs Phag-shi-rta.

1612 **BZH** (Stein ed. 87.7): Yang-gong Ye-shes g.yu-drung; **CHBYMTNYP** 481b2, 482b4: sPa-gon Ye-shes g.yung-drung; **MBNTH** 146b5-6: Yang-gong; **NGTMTPH** 17a4, 17a6 (Uebach, pp. 128-129): Yang-gong Ye-shes g.yung-drung mentioned in company with Par (cf. next note) and considered as the two celibates (*btsun pa*; contrary to the previous two figures, called the two learned ones); **CHBY** 151b4: Ya-gong Ye-shes g.yung-drung; **GBYTSH** 150b5: sPa-gong Ye-shes bsrungs.

Read sPang instead of Yang, as adduced by Uebach, *op. cit.* p. 128 n. 739, due to the frequent *dbu-med* graphemic confusion between *y*/*ph*?

1613 **CHBYMTNYP** 481b2, 482b5: 'Bar Rin-chen gSal; **NGTMTPH** 17a4 (Uebach, pp. 128-129): Par Rin-chen.

1614 **BZH** vacat; **CHBYMTNYP** 481b3, 482b6: Ja Ye-shes seng-ge; **NGTMTPH** 17a4 (Uebach, pp. 128-129): Nyang Ye-shes seng-ge, where it is maintained that he, together with Cog-ro (cf. next note), combined in one both learnedness (*mkhas*) and piousness (*btsun*); **GBYTSH** 1505-6: Jo-bo Ye-shes seng-ge.

1615 **CHBYMTNYP** 481b3, 482b6; **NGTMTPH** 17a4 (Uebach, pp. 128-129): Cog-ro Shes-rab byang-chub; Absent from Bu-ston's **CHBY**; **GBYTSH** 150b6. Cf. also note 1639.

1616 **CHBYMTNYP** 481b4, 482b6: Shog-chung-pa Shes-rab grags; **NGTMTPH** 17a5 (Uebach, pp. 128-129): Sho-chung-pa Shes-rab grags-pa; lacking in **CHBY**.

1617 **CHBYMTNYP** 483a1: bKa'-'bar-pa Byang-chub; **NGTMTPH** 17a5 (Uebach, pp. 128-129): An-'bar-ba Byang-chub; lacking from **CHBY**.

1618 **BZH** (Stein ed. 85.7-86.5, 87.4-5, 89.3): Grum Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan = **CHBYMTNYP** 480b3-481b1, 482b4 = **MBNTH** 145a4-b4, 146a4, 148a4: Details on his ordination and renaming (lay name Grum 'Bar-pa Byang-chub); **NGTMTPH** 17a6-18a1, 21b2 (Uebach, pp. 41, 128-129, 144-145); **CHBY** 148a1, 151b4-5, 152a4, 152a4; **DTHMP** 19a8.

A central figure in the re-establishment of Buddhism from Khams to dBus-gTsang, whose lineage e.g. is known as the lineage of *btsun pa*-s, responsible for establishing a college of *upādhyāya*-s and *ācārya*-s. The story why he was nick-named the 'Wood-Brained One' is given in

dPal gyi Byang-chub [of] gNubs [sic],[1619]
and Mañju-shrī [of] sGro etc.,[1620] [i.e.] many learned ascetics (*mkhas btsun*) arrived.

At that point, when sixty years had passed after the annihilation of Buddhism by the sinful king [Glang-dar-ma], a boy called rMu Za-'phen,[1621] the son of a Bon-po called rMu-gsal gZhen-'bar,[1622] went inside the temple sNang-gsal,[1623] [located] in Zhogs [of] 'Phan-yul, where [he] found on frescoes (*gyang ris*) figures (*gzugs*) of ordained [monks] depicted [being engaged] in studying and explicating the Dharma (*chos nyan bshad byed pa*). When [he] therefore asked:[1624] "What is [this]?" An old woman living there responded: "It is figures called 'ordained [monks] (*pravrajyā*)'." The child, perforce of former karmic [disposition] consequently generated faith [in Buddhism] and shed tears. Inquiring: "Where are the ordained [monks] now?" The old lady said:[1625] "It was when I was a young girl, [at the] time when king Glang-dar-ma annihilated Buddhism (*chos*, *dharma*), that the ordained [monks] lost [their positions] (*phab*) and thereby got deprived of their [religious] insignia, some [again] died and some were [even] killed. Today there are no ordained [monks] [left] in dBus [and] gTsang. But definitely there [must] by now [be] many ordained [monks] in Khams, [i.e. those] that have fled to Khams from Chu-bo-ri and Yer-pa etc." [Hearing this] [he] became very pleased. Without any regard for [his] [own] body or life, the young boy went to Khams. Having [there] met with lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje faith [in the Buddhist creed] was generated and [he] requested to be ordained [and embrace religion].[1626] [Only]

BZH 85.15-86a2 = **CHBYMTNYP** 481b6-482a6 = **MBNTH** 145b3-146a1; **NGTMTPH** 17b2-3 and so also according to the Bon-po-s, cf. Karmay, 1972, pp. 107-108, n. 6. Cf. also note 1638.

1619 Cf. note 1573. Is the repetition of this figure to be ascribed to carelessness or did the author assume that sNubs and gNubs dPal gyi Byang-chub were different persons?

1620 **BZH** (Stein ed. 87.4-5, 89.3) = **MBNTH** 146b4, 148a4: sGro Ma-'dzu-shrī, who was ordained by Grum Ye-shes tshul-khrims; cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 490a5, 497a2; **NGTMTPH** 17a5; **CHBY** 151b4: sGro Mañdzu-shrī, where the opposite of **BZH**'s testimony is given, i.e. that Grum took his vow from sGro.

1621 Cf. note 1606. Cf. **BZH** (Stein 83.16-84.15): Mun-dzu dGe-ba 'bar; **NGTMTPH** 16a2-b5 (Uebach, pp. 122-125): Mu-zur gSal-'phan; **CHBY** 147a4-5: Mu-gzu gSal-'bar. This part of the narrative not found in Nyang-ral, but, as seen the name retained in this text.

1622 **BZH**: Mun-dzu dPal-'bar; **NGTMTPH** Mu-gzu gSal-'bar.

1623 **NGTMTPH** confirms also that the temple of sNang-gsal is situated in Zhogs-pa of 'Phan-yul. It was later taken over by Rag-shi Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas, cf. note 1640.

1624 **NGTMTPH** 16a3-4 (Uebach, pp. 124-25).

1625 Cf. also **NGTMTPH** 16a3-5.

1626 **BZH** (Stein ed. 85.3-5) = **CHBYMTNYP** 480a5-6 = **MBNTH** 145a1-2; **CHBY** 147b1; **GBYTSH** 10a2-b5; **DSYML** 67.5-7. **GLR**'s version, being briefer and incomplete, differs in this part of the narrative, which delineates the 'biography' of dGongs-pa Rab-gsal, from the versions embodied in **BZH**, Nyang-ral and **NGTMTPH**. These texts, on their side again, reflect different biographical expositions which may originally point to the existence of at least two diverging original versions. Nel-pa's version lacks e.g. the present Bon child's meeting with lHa-lung and the present exchange of words (although it is briefly mentioned, *op. cit.* 16a7-b2). **BZH** (84.16-85.8) = **CHBYMTNYP** 480a3-b3 = **MBNTH** 144b6-145a3 and **CHBY** (147a6-b2) here follow a common original, but the meeting with lHa-lung is described to take place after the young boy had already taken his vows in the presence of g.Yo dGe-'byung and gTsang Rab-gsal and the search for lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje is therefore related to a later segment of the narrative, i.e. in relation to the Bon-child's full ordination (*bsnyen rdzogs*, *upasampadā*). Also here at least two basic versions of Rab-gsal's life

lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje declared:[1627] "Since I [was the one who] killed the sinful king, I do not have any vow [anymore]. But I shall help you!" So [the young boy] met with the [aforementioned] learned ascetics (*mkhas btsun*), became ordained and as to his name, [he] even became known as Bla-chen[-po] dGongs-pa Rab-gsal.[1628]

Thus, the Teaching of Buddha [first] spread in Khams. In Tibet [proper], with the absence of Buddhism, [the place] had [by now] become [a land] wrapped in darkness (*mun pa'i smag rum*). Then, eighty years after the annihilation of Buddhism by the wicked king, during the reign of the Ruler (*mnga' bdag*) of bSam-yas, Tsha-na Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan,[1629] [whose] [religious] service rendered was [fully] recognized (*bdag rkyen mdzad*), and the [following individuals], known as the seven men of dBus [and] gTsang, became the first to take [their] vows in Khams:[1630]

Klu-mes Shes-rab tshul-khrims,[1631]

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must have circulated, since e.g. the number of religious masters required to carry through this ordination differ. In Rab-gsal's case, it is related how, according to **BZH**, Nyang-ral and Bu-ston, five *dge slong*-s were found to be required: In order to make up for this number, the two former *dge-slong*-s (g.Yo and gTsang) came to act as *mkhan slob*, dMar functioned as *gsang ston* and, finally, on the proposal of lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje, two Chinese *ha shang*-s (named variously Ke-v/d/bang and Gyi[m]-ban/phag), acted as the necessary supplement (*kha skong*). In Nel-pa's version eight members are listed involved in Rab-gsal's final ordination, inclusive one lHa-lung Rab-'byor-dbyangs.

A chronological problem (among many no doubt) may also be involved. Following the testimony in **BZH** and **GLR**, the alleged meeting with lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje is most unlikely ever to have taken place, while the text mentions that it took place sixty years after the assassination of Glang-dar-ma by lHa-lung in 841 A.D., i.e. ca. 901 A.D. Assuming that lHa-lung was an adult when he perpetrated the regicide, lHa-lung must be a very old man in 901 A.D. Are we therefore to assume a conflation of lHa-lung dPal gyi rdo-rje with lHa-lung Rab-'byor dbyangs (cf. the notes 1531, 1603), who according to Nel-pa constituted one of the six men participating in Rab-gsal's ordination?

1627 **BZH** (Stein ed. 85.3-5) = **CHBYMTNYP** 480a5-6 = **MBNTH** 145a1-2.

1628 **BZH** (Stein ed. 84.13-15, 89.4) = **CHBYMTNYP** 479b5 = **MBNTH** 144b5, 148a3; **NGTMTPH** 16b5; **CHBY** 147a6. Rab-gsal is usually considered to have lived from 832-915 A.D. For a note on the not uncomplicated chronology of the initial spread of Buddhism in the *phyi-dar* period, not dealt with here, cf. Richardson, 1957.

1629 Cf. note 1579 *supra*. **CHBY** 146b1-2 (Szerb, p. 53): Tsha-nal Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan. He belonged to the royal lineage of Yum-brtan, through, according to **GLR**, the son of the latter named Khri-lde mgon-po, his son again Nyi-'od dPal mgon and his son mGon-spyod, the father of Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan. **DTHMP** 19a8-9: Tsha-lan Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan. Cf. note 1580 *supra* and 1648 *infra*.

1630 **BZH** (Stein 87.3-7) = **MBNTH** 146b3-4: I.e. seven and five, in all twelve men from dBus-gTsang; **CHBYMTNYP** 497a3-3ff. where Nyang-ral claims that additional histories in his time were in circulation as to how the men of dBus-gTsang took their vows from Khams; **NGTMTPH** 17a6-18a1 (Uebach, pp. 128-129): seven plus five men, twelve in all; **CHBY** 147b3-4; **DTHMP** 19a9-b1.

As is seen from the sequel, there is a fair consensus in terms of the names of the second wave of monks being ordained.

1631 **BZH** (Stein ed. 87.5,13, 88.2,9-12,15-16, 89.4): Klu-mes Shes-rab tshul-khrims (of Ba-lam); **CHBYMTNYP** 486b1-490a6 *passim*, 497a4-b6; **MBNTH** 147b4-148a1; **NGTMTPH** 17b7, 18b2, 19b4-5, 21a4 (Uebach, pp. 38, 128-131, 136-137, 142-143): Klu-mes Tshul-khrims shes-rab [*sic*]; **CHBY** 147b3,6, 148a1,5-b1, 151b4: Glag Ba-lam-pa Klu-mes Tshul-khrims shes-rab. On the location of Glag Ba-lam, cf. Uebach, 1987, pp. 112-113, n. 611; **DTHMP** 19a9; **KTHDNG** (NGA)

'Bri [= 'Bring] Ye-shes yon-tan,[1632]
Tshong-ge Shes-rab seng-ge,[1633]
Lo-ston rDo-rje dbang-phyug,[1634]
Sum-pa Ye-shes blo-gros,[1635]
rGya Blo-gros shes-rab,[1636]

407.15-16; **GBYTSH** 151a5.

As delineated in the above sources, Klu-mes, upon his return to Central Tibet, first took over the K[v]a-chu temple in the vicinity of bSam-yas, then settled down in g.Yu-sgro lha-khang dmar-po [of] dBas, then in Yer-pa area he helped erecting the Ba-rang temple/cave and finally he built the La-mo Chag De'u temple (founded A.D. 949/1009; cf. Ferrari, pp. 43, 109; Szerb, 1990, p. 63) in Upper dBu-ru. He moreover contributed to the restoration of the dBu-rtse main-chapel in bSam-yas. For a survey of his lineage of *mkhan bu*, i.e. spiritual pupils having Klu-mes as *upādhyāya* and their later filiation, especially his 'four sons', cf. **DTHNGP**. His *floruit* was in the Xth century.

BZH and **GLR** read Shes-rab tshul-khrims, whereas Nel-pa and Bu-ston read Tshul-khrims shes-rab.

1632 **BZH** (Stein ed. 87.5-6, 88.5-6, 89.4) = **MBNTH** 146b5, 147b1-2, 148a4: 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan [of Jam-dkar]; **CHBYMTNYP** 487b4, 497a4; **NGTMTPH** 17b7, 18b1, 21a6-7, 22a6-bb5 (Uebach, pp. 42, 128-131, 142-143, 146-149): 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan; **CHBY** 147b3,6, 148b1, 149a2-3: 'Bring Ye-shes yon-tan; **DTHMP** 19a9; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.16: 'Bri-zi Ye-shes yon-tan.

He re-established himself later in the Khams-gsum Zangs-khang (also called the Khams-gsum Me-tog sgron-ma) temple of bSam-yas and later erected the s/dByi-mo temple of Ngan-lam (an ancient clan and place-name identical with the later Tshal Gung-thang of Grib). He also took over the dKar-chung temple and the Brag-sna temple of sNye-thang. For the ramification of his *mkhan bu* lineage variously known as 'Bring-tsho smad, stod and bar-pa, cf. Nel-pa (summarily, Uebach, p. 42) and Bu-ston.

1633 **BZH** (Stein ed. 87.7, 88.7-8): Tshong-khe Shes-rab seng-ge [of gTsang]; **MBNTH** 146b6: Tshong-btsun Shes-rab seng-ge; **NGTMTPH** 17b7, 18b1,5-6, 21a6 (Uebach, pp. 38, 128-133, 142-143): Tshong-dge Shes-rab seng-ge; **CHBY** 147b4,6, 150a3ff.: Shab-sgo lnga'i Tshong-btsun Shes-rab seng-ge; **DTHMP** 19a9-b1: gTsang nas Tshong btsun Shes-rab seng-ge; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.15.

Shab[s] is located in the gTsang province. According to **BZH**, he and Lo-ston were offered the temple of dBu-tshal in bSam-yas, but refused. For his lineage of *mkhan bu* and their later filiation, cf. Uebach, p. 38.

1634 **BZH** (Stein ed. 87.7, 88.7-8): Lo-ston rDo-rje dbang-phyug [of gTsang]; **CHBYMTNYP** 486a4, 487b6, 497a5; **MBNTH** 146b6; **NGTMTPH** 17b7, 18b7-19a3 (Uebach, pp. 39, 128-129, 132-133): Lo-ston rDo-rje dbang-phyug; **CHBY** 147b3-4,6, 148a2,4-5, 149a3: 'Gur-mo Rab-kha-pa Lo-ston dbang-phyug; **DTHMP** 19b1; **GBYTSH** 151a6.

He later erected the rGyan-gong temple in Nyang-smad. For a brief survey of his lineage of pupils and their affiliation, cf. summarily Uebach, p. 39. The location 'Gur-mo/mGur-mo Rab-kha, his birth-place, is situated between Pa-rnam and Zha-lu in the gTsang province, cf. *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, p. 30; Ferrari, Map.

1635 **BZH** (Stein ed. 87.5, 88.14): Sum-pa Ye-shes blo-gros [of Ba-lam]; **CHBYMTNYP** 466a4, 488b1, 497a4, 498a2; **MBNTH** 146b5, 147b6; **NGTMTPH** 17b7, 19b4, 21b3 (Uebach, pp. 128-129, 136-137, 144-145); **CHBY** 147b3, 148b4-5, 151b3; **GBYTSH** 151b1: Sum-pa Ye-shes 'byung-gnas.

Returned again to Central Tibet, Sum-pa first erected (together with rDog Byang-chub 'byung-gnas) the g.Yu-sgro lha-lhang dmar-po/g.Yu-sgro khang dmar of dBas. According to Nel-pa, the temple was not erected by Sum-pa, but he and Klu-mes merely settled down there. He later erected the temple rMe-ru at 'Bro Sa-thang. The clan of dBa/sBa held sway over the area of Glag, where Ba-lam, the birth-place of Ye-shes blo-gros, was located, cf. Uebach, p. 112-113, n. 611.

1636 **NGTMTPH** 17b4 (Uebach, pp. 128-129): rGya Blo-gros shes-rab; vacat in **BZH** and **CHBY**.

gZhon-ban Chos-mchog,[1637] [these] seven requested Grum Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan[1638] to [act as] preceptor (*mkhan po*, *upādhyāya*) and Co[g]-ro Shes-rab byang-chub[1639] to [act as] teacher (*slob dpon*, *ācārya*), whereafter [they] obtained the kindness (*bka' drin mnos*) [of being ordained by these two].

The five who went [there] after them:

mTha'-bzhi rGyal-'phags,[1640]
Rag-shi Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas,[1641]
sBa-btsun Blo-gros dbang-phyug,[1642]
sKyes-legs Nyang-bran chos-skyabs,[1643]
Grum-shing Shes-rab smon-lam.[1644]

Thus, when the seven [first-mentioned] men who initially went to Khams [in order to] take [their] vow (*sdom*, *saṃvāra*) returned [towards dBus and gTsang] after having taken their vow, they [happened to] meet on the road the five men who followed them [to take

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1637 **NGTMTPH** 17b7 (Uebach, pp. 128-129): gZhon-ban Chos-mchog; lacking in **BZH**, **CHBY** and other versions, which suggests that Bla-ma dam-pa is following a version close to the one transmitted in Nel-pa also.

1638 **NGTMTPH** 18a1; **CHBY** 147b4-148a1 relates how these seven were fully ordained by having Bla chen-po acting as *mkhan po*, gTsang and g.Yo acting respectively as *las kyi slob dpon* and *gsang ston* respectively, whereas dMar and [one of the] Chinese *h[v]a-shang*-s constituted the supplement (*kha skong*). Cf. also note 1625 above and Uebach, p. 127, n. 731. For Grum, cf. note 1618 *supra*.

1639 Cf. note 1615 *supra*.

1640 **CHBYMTNYP** 481b4; **NGTMTPH** 18a1-2,5 (Uebach, pp. 128-131): mTha'-bzhi rGyal-ba 'phags; **CHBY** 149a1: mTha'-bzhi rGyal-'phags.

1641 **BZH** (Stein ed. 87.6, 88.7-10): Rab-shi Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas [of Khams]; **CHBYMTNYP** 487b4, 488a1, 497a4; **MBNTH** 146b5, 147a3: Ras-sha Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba; **NGTMTPH** 18a2,5 18b3, 21a7, 22b6, 23a3 (Uebach, pp. 130-131, 142-143, 148-151): Rag-shi Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas; **CHBY** 147b3, 148a2, 148b1,5, 149a1, where he, e.g., is listed among the seven men arriving earlier, cf. note 1629; **DTHMP** 19b1-2.

As these sources inform us this figure took possession of the dGe-rgyas and dBu-tshal temples (of bSam-yas), erected the Rag-shi 'Phrang 'og temple and took over the temples of Lan-pa'i Pha-la-bu/sPyil-bu and of the sNang-gsal (both in 'Phan-yul, for the latter, cf. note 1623 *supra*). Bu-ston moreover maintains that mTha'-bzhi (cf. previous note) was *mkhan bu* of Rag-shi.

1642 **BZH** (Stein ed. 88.7, 9-10); **CHBYMTNYP** 487b4, 497a5: sBa Tshul-khrims blo-gros; **NGTMTPH** 18a2,5 18b3, 21a7, 22b6-7, 23a3 (Uebach, pp. 130-131, 143-144, 148-151): rBa-btsun Blo-gros dbang-phyug; **CHBY** 147b3, 148a1-2, 148b1,5-6: sBa Tshul-khrims blo-gros (often listed with his *gcung*, younger brother of the s/r/dBa [clan]). Also called the sBa *mched*, the brothers of sBa, but the entries by Bu-ston correspond grossly with rBa-btsun; **DTHMP** 19b1-2.

He (and his brothers?) is/are recorded to have taken over the dGe-rgyas and dBu-tshal temples of bSam-yas after having been invited thither by the *btsad po* of bSam-yas. He built the Yungs-'gur temple in 'Phan-yul and took in possession the Lan-pa'i *pho brang*. His *mkhan bu* line is known as the s/dBa-tsho-s.

1643 **NGTMTPH** 18a2,5 (Uebach, pp. 130-131): sKye-legs Nyang-ban Chos-skyabs; **CHBY** vacat.

Nyang ban, i.e. the *bande* of Nyang/Myang would seem a feasibly better reading, but Nyang-bran, retained in **GLR**, is attested as place-name, cf. note 732 *supra* and Ferrari, p. 116.

1644 **NGTMTPH** 18a2,5 (Uebach, pp. 130-131): Grum-shing Shes-rab smon-lam. Silent in **CHBY** and other versions.

their vow].[1645] Being asked "Where are you going?", [the five men] responded: "[We] are bound for Khams to take [our] vows." The former [seven] ones then added:[1646] "[We] have taken the threefold vow (*sdom pa gsum ldan*), so it [would] suffice [for you] to be sworn in (*sdom pa phog*) by us, wherefore [you] need not go that far." Without listening, [the five men] proceeded to Khams. [There] they met with the previous[ly-mentioned] learned ascetics (*mkhas btsun*),[1647] took [their] vows and having arrived [again] back in dBus [and] gTsang [i.e. Central Tibet], the sovereign (*b[r]tsad po = rje bo*) of bSam-yas Tsha-na Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan was [already] dead. However, [the religious service rendered] by his son 'king' Khri-pa [instead] was fully acknowledged (*bdag rkyen mdzad*).[1648] Klu-mes [Shes-rab tshul-khrims][1649] etc. erected inconceivably [many] temples all over [the provinces of] dBus [and] gTsang, established convents for the congregation (*dge 'dun gyi sde btsugs*), [and thus] the precious Teaching of Buddha again spread and diffused in all directions [just] like a heap of dry wood being caught by fire. At that [point] the 'life-vein' of [Buddha's] Teaching was [again] properly seized, [its] extinguished flame had been [re]kindled making the burning lamp [of Buddhism] blaze [renewed] in the dark continent of Tibet. Very great [indeed] is the kindness [therefore] of the successively arriving learned ascetics of Khams and dBus mentioned above and [that of] the Ruler Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan [of bSam-yas].[1650]

[XXV] [The Royal Lineage of 'Od-srung[s]]

Thus, as previously explained, the royal Tibetan lineage [had] greatly favoured the precious Teaching [of Buddha] [and in order therefore to continue the exposition of the descendants of 'Od-srung[s], it can be recorded that] the son of the senior consort of the Ruler dPal-'khor-btsan,[1651] [called] sKyid-lde Nyi-ma mgon[1652] acted as king of mNga'-ris and [he]

1645 This passage also faithfully retained in **NGTMTPH** 18a2-5.

1646 Cf. also parallel **NGTMTPH** 18a3-4 (Uebach, pp. 130-131).

1647 I.e. Grum Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan etc. Cf. **NGTMTPH** 18a5.

1648 **BZH** (Stein ed. 87.11-88.5) = **MBNTH** 147a2-b1.

On the 'king' of bSam-yas, Tsha-na[l] Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan and his son Khri-pa, cf. note 1580 *supra*.

1649 Cf. note 1630ff. above.

1650 Cf. also **DSYML** 76.3-6. It will be recalled that Bla-ma dam-pa composed his genealogical history in bSam-yas.

1651 **BGR** 199a4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 492b1-493a1; **GBCHBY** 370.16, 371.12, 376.12-14; **DCHBY** 142.16-143.7; **NGTMTPH** 4b4, 6b5; **CHBY** 146a6; **DTHMP** 18b6; **YLJBCHBY** 68.8-11; **GBCHBY** 153a6-b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b1-2; **DSYML** 69.2-6, 70.18-21; **DTHZHG** 78.18.

Cf. also note 1563 *supra* for a discussion of his chronological data. Already the authors of **DTHMP** and **YLJBCHBY** register the mutually contradictory information which circulate concerning the genealogical data on the lines issued from dPal-'khor-btsan as detailed in the sequel. Aside from the basic sources above, the lineage of 'Od-srungs is e.g. also recorded in **DTHNGP** (I, 62.7-63.11, Roerich, I, pp. 37-38); **DTMPSM** 35b-39b6 (Tucci, 1971, pp. 166-170) etc., only such late texts usually combine data derived from **CHBY, DTHMP** and **GLR** and thus bring nothing new. An exception to this is Kah-thog's **DSYML** and **GTHDTH**.

Scrutinizing the data it can be adduced that in the brief list of king 'Od-srungs and the following two generations issued from him (incl. the three sons of bKra-shis brtsegs-pa, cf. the

even exerted his dominion (*dbang bsgyur*) over [the country of] sPu-rang[s].[1653]

To him three sons [were born], the eldest of which was dPal gyi mgon,[1654] who took hold of [the country of] Mar-yul.[1655]*[1656]

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notes 1735-1744), the only part of the exposition on the post-dynastic dBus-gTsang rulers that has been conserved by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer, our earliest witnesses, a fair degree of correspondence can be established. Cf. also note 1658 *infra*. A large part of the exposition of the royal house of Ya-rtse/Semjā (cf. the notes 1710-1729) issuing from the Guge royal house (cf. note 1660), is based upon a currently non-extant *rgyal rabs* written by one Rin-chen rdo-rje (to be dated prior to 1280 A.D.). The basic source for most of the traditional accounts concerning the ensuing genealogy of the post-dynastic Yar-lung Lords issued from bKra-shis brtsegs-pa (cf. note 1734) and until the sons of Khri-lde'-bar (cf. note 1764) as found conserved in **DTHMP**, **GLR** and **YLJBCHBY** and subsequently by a host of later sources, is Byang-ji ston-pa's **rGyal-rabs dPag-bsam ljon-shing** (cf. the notes 435, 1731, 1766) written in 1286 A.D. The rest of the exposition of the Yar-lung Lords in the traditional account down to the point when Bla-ma dam-pa finished his chronicle is based upon a currently non-extant *rgyal rabs* (possibly titled **rGyal-rabs deb-ther chen-mo**) written by lHa-btsun Tshul-khrims bzang-po (cf. the notes 1836-1838). A unique witness for an earlier part of the exposition of the Yar-lung Lords, at least in some details, is now offered by the two lDe'u histories and for the Gung-thang royal branch (cf. note 1740), the exposition proffered by Kah-thog Rig-'dzin.

1652 **BGR** 199b5: sKyid-lde; **CHBYMTNYP** 493a3-495a1; **GBCHBY** 380.13; **DCHBY** 146.5-9; **NGTMTPH** 4b6-7, 6b6 (Uebach, pp. 68-69, 84-85): sKyid-lding; **CHBY** 146b3-4: Khri sKyid-lde Nyi-ma-mgon; **DTHMP** 19b6; **YLJBCHBY** 68.12; **GBYTSH** 153a5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b2; **DSYML** 70.21, 73.7; **MYDTH** 184.11-12; **DTHZHG** 78.19-22.

Cf. also note 1564 *supra*.

1653 **CHBYMTNYP** 493a1-495a2; **GBCHBY** 380.13-20; **DCHBY** 146.10; **CHBY** 146b4; **YLJBCHBY** 68.13; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b3-6; **DSYML** 73.6-14; **MYDTH** 184.12-185.15; **DTHZHG** 78.21-22.

sKyid-lde Nyi-ma-mgon, most of the texts maintains, arrived in mNga'-ris during the period of the social revolt (*kheng log*) (ca. 869-910 A.D.), ahead of an army counting one hundred thousand horsemen. He there arrived among the people of Ra-la, and in a horse year (922 or 934 A.D.?), he raised the mKhar-dmar (castle) of Ra-la and in a sheep year (923 or 935 A.D.?), they erected (the palace) of rTsi-tho rgya-ri. Being invited to sPu-[h]rang as ruler, he erected the castle of Nyi-gzungs/phug. He married two consorts, Zangs-dkar-gza' and sTag-gzigs-gza' (other versions: 'Bro- or Cog-ro-gza'), offered him by his two leading ministers. Cf. also Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 488-492, 539-541.

1654 **BGR** 199b5; **CHBYMTNYP** 495a2-3; **GBCHBY** 380.19-381.3; **DCHBY** 146.11-14; **NGTMTPH** 4b7; **CHBY** 146b5: dPal gyi lde Rig-pa mgon; **YLJBCHBY** 68.14; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.20: Khri la mgon; **GBYTSH** 154a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b5; **DSYML** 73.14-16; **MYDTH** 185.5-12.

1655 **BGR** 199b5: Mar yul pa; but the homonymous and almost identical **Bod kyi rgyal-rabs** [by 'Phags-pa Bla-ma] 361b2-3: Mar lungs kyi btsan po; **GBCHBY** 380.21; **DCHBY** 146.11; **NGTMTPH** 4b7 (Uebach, pp. 68-69): Mang-yul-ba; **CHBY** 146b5: Mar-yul; **YLJBCHBY** 68.14: Mang-yul; **GBYTSH** 154a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b5; **DSYML** 73.11; **MYDTH** 185.9; **DTHZHG** 78.22.

Mar-yul in ancient times represented the westernmost area around present-day Ladakh, and Mar-yul is the eldest form found in the chronicles. However, it has often, as seen in the sources above, been substituted or confounded with Mang-yul, but Mang-yul is already a well-established, even ancient name for the area abutting sKyid-grong along the present Nepalese border. Cf. the discussion at greater length in Tucci, 1956, p. 72ff. Cf. Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 540-541.

1656 **gloss*: *From him descended [the local principalities] until the Lords of Ras-chen.*

YLJBCHBY 70.9-11: dPal gyi mgon took hold of Mang-yul, so it is said. Therefore his lineage [is present there] until the current Lords of Ras-chen, uncle and nephew (*khu dbon*). For the descendants of dPal gyi lde Rig-pa mgon, cf. **MYDTH** 185.15ff. and a resumé in Chab-spel,

The middle son bKra-shis mgon[1657] took hold of [s]Pu-rang[s],[1658] whereas the youngest son lDe-btsug mgon[1659] seized [the country of] Zhang-zhung.[1660]

These three [rulers were] called the Three Lords (*mgon[-po] gsum*) reigning over La-stod.[1661]

1989(b), pp. 541-551.

1657 **BGR** 199b5; **CHBYMTNYP** 495a3-4; **GBCHBY** 380.21; **DCHBY** 146.11-12; **NGTMTPH** 4b7; **CHBY** 146b5: bKra-shis lde-mgon; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.20; **YLJBCHBY** 68.13-14, 70.11-12; **GBYTSH** 154a2-3: bKra-shis Nyi-ma-mgon; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b5; **DSYML** 73.14-17; **MYDTH** 185.6, 12-13; **DTHZHG** 78.22-23.

1658 **BGR** 199b5: Zhang zhung phyi nang Pu rong dang Ya rtse ba lags; **CHBYMTNYP** 495a3-4; **GBCHBY** 38-.21; **DCHBY** 146.11-12; **NGTMTPH** 4b7 (Uebach, pp. 68-69): Khu'u la sogs mon pa rnams (mistake for the youngest son, cf. note 1660); **CHBY** 146b5: Pu rangs; **YLJBCHBY** 68.15, 70.11-12: sPu rengs; **GBYTSH** 154a4-5: Zhang zhung Ci cog gnyis sNyi rong Ru thog gnyis sPu-rangs mtsho gnyis; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b5; **DSYML** 73.16: Zhang-zhung Ya-rtse; **MYDTH** 185.12-13: Gu-ge Pu-rang [Ya-]rtse; **DTHZHG** 78.22-2.

While the majority of texts, possibly going back to one common source, maintains that he became ruler of Pu-rang, a number of sources differs. According to the statements embodied in particular in **BGR**, the descendants or line of bKra-shis-mgon spread not only to become the rulers of sPu-rang, but also of Ya-rtse and inner and outer Zhang-zhung/Guge. sPu-rang (var. Pu-[h]rangs, Pu-rongs, etc.) comprised the territory abutting to the east of Zhang-zhung/Guge and stretched as far as lake Manasarowar. Cf. Tucci, 1956, p. 70ff. The text in the various versions of Nyang-ral's main-work displays diverging witnesses: In the Bhutan MS 'B' 271b2-4 the text runs: *bar pa bkra shis mgon gyi rgyud pa rnams ni | zhang zhung phyi nang du | ya rtse'i rgyal po'i rgyud rnams yin zer ro || mon yul na ci rigs pa yod do*, (i.e. a witness close to **BZH**), whereas the Berlin Ms of **CHBYMTNYP**, which we generally follow in this work merely reads: *bar pa bkra shis mgon gyi rgyud pa ni | mon yul na ci rigs pa yod do*. Should we from this, if or when a case of dependency can be established, assume that Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan is relying upon Nyang-ral or are they drawing from a common terse list. Cf. further the notes 1710 and 1732 *infra*.

1659 **BGR** 199b5: sDe-gtsug-mgon; **CHBYMTNYP** 495a5; **GBCHBY** 381.1; **DCHBY** 146.12-13; **NGTMTPH** 4b7; **CHBY** 146b5; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.20; **YLJBCHBY** 68.13-14, 70.11-12; **GBYTSH** 154a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b5; **DSYML** 73.18-19; **MYDTH** 185.6, 13-14; **DTHZHG** 78.23-79.1.

1660 **BGR** 199b6: *khu bo la sogs pa mon yul rnams la yod*; **CHBYMTNYP** 495a5: Khum bu pa, Ding ri ba, Mon yul na ci rigs pa yod; **GBCHBY** 381.1; **DCHBY** 146.12; **NGTMTPH** 4b7 (Uebach, pp. 68-69): Khu'u la sogs mon pa rnams; **CHBY** 146b5; **YLJBCHBY** 68.16; **GBYTSH** 154a5-6: Gar zha Zangs dkar; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b5; **DSYML** 73.17-19: Pi ti cog'ang zangs dkar sgo gsum; **MYDTH** 185.12-13: Zangs dkar sgo gsum spi ti spi cog; **DTHZHG** 78.23-79.1.

According to Nyang-ral and the earlier Sa-skya-pa masters (followed by Nel-pa), the descendants of the youngest son thus spread in Ding-ri, Khum-bu and even to Mon-yul, which cover the people and tribes inhabiting the eastern Himalayas. But no further material corroborates this information. Another ramification is presented by dPal-byor bzang-po and Kah-thog, who maintain that the descendants spread to the local ruling houses of Zangs-dkar and Spiti.

Zhang-zhung/Gu-ge comprises the intermediate province (between Mar-yul and sPu-rangs), the centre of which was made up by the monastery of mTho-lding. Cf. most conveniently Tucci, 1956, pp. 71-75.

1661 **GBCHBY** 381.1; **DCHBY** 146.12-13; **DTHMP** 19b7; **PMKTH** Chap. 89, 539.15-16; **YLJBCHBY** 70.7-8; **GBYTSH** 154a3; **DSYML** 73.13-14; **GTHZHG** 91.8-10: sTod kyi mgon gsum.

La-stod or Las-stod, both spellings current, is a large region in the westernmost part of the gTsang-province, cf. Ferrari, Map.

lDe-btsug mgon had two sons, 'Khor-re[1662] and
Srong-nge,[1663] the two.

Srong-nge[1664] in the first part of [his] life married a consort, whereby [he] had two sons born [to him], Na-ga ra-tsa (i.e. Nāgarāja)[1665] and Dhe-ba ra-tsa (i.e. Devarāja).[1666]

1662 **CHBYMTNYP** 495a5; **GBCHBY** 381.3,12; **DCHBY** 146.13-14; **CHBY** 146b5; **DTHMP** 19b8; **YLJBCHBY** 68.17-18; **GBYTSH** 154b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b6; **DSYML** 73.20-74.3: 'Khor-re = 'Khor-lo-lde; **DTHZHG** 79.1.

The two lDe'u versions claim that they descended from the eldest son dPal mgon and call the sons respectively 'Od kyi rgyal-mtshan of dPa'/sPa-tshab extraction (*tsha*) and bKra-shis lHa-lde-btsan also called *gcen* (eldest brother) Kho-re. But the text-witness in **GBCHBY** is somewhat corrupt while mKhas-pa lDe'u initially implies that the regal name of Srong-nge is 'Od kyi rgyal-mtshan, but later by rendering *gcung po Srong nge'i ming bKra shis lHa lde btsan dang [sic] gcung po Srong nge*, suggests that he is called bKra-shis lHa-lde-btsan, whereas lDe'u Jo-sras equally prolixly writes *gcung po Srong nge'i bKra shis lde btsan zhes pa Kho re'i gcung po Srong nge*, where Nyang-ral and Kaḥ-thog maintain that they were sons of bKra-shis-mgon and that while 'Khor-re took hold of sPu-[h]rang, the brother Srong-nge seized Gu-ge. As pointed out by Karmay, 1979, *op. cit.* p. 150, the names of these sons sound odd in Tibetan and a possible solution is offered by Kaḥ-thog, who had traced an old manuscript found in an old *kanika*-stūpa in Gung-thang and which apparently reads 'Khor-lo-lde and Drang-srong-lde, their names being inspired by Skt. *cakra* and *ṛṣi*.

1663 **BZH** (Stein ed. 89.11-12) = **MBNTH** 148b1: Srong-nge/lde; **CHBYMTNYP** 495a5; **GBCHBY** 381.2 and **DCHBY** 146.13: 'Od kyi rgyal-mtshan of Pa-tshab extraction (*tsha*) [i.e. his mother adhered to the Pa-tshab clan]; **CHBY** 146b5; **DTHMP** 19b8; **YLJBCHBY** 68.17: Seng-ge; **GBYTSH** 154b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b6; **DSYML** 73.20-21: Srong-nge = Drang-srong-lde; **DTHZHG** 79.1.

Cf. previous note.

1664 **CHBYMTNYP** 495a5-6: Srong-nge; **GBCHBY** 381.4-5, 12; **DCHBY** 146.15-16, 147.1; **CHBY** 152b3; **YLJBCHBY** 69.2; **GBYTSH** 154b1-23; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b6; **DSYML** 74.3-4; **DTHZHG** 79.2.

From this chain in the genealogy of the Zhang-zhung royal lineage, Tibetan historiographical tradition displays a discrepancy in the stemma. One tradition, foremost represented by Bu-ston, dGe-ba'i blo-gros and followed by dPal-'byor bzang-po and gZhon-nu-dpal's **DTHNGP** etc., but drawing on material going further back in time, holds that 'Khor-re (= **GLR**: Srong-nge) is the elder brother and that he handed over the reins of power to his younger brother Srong-nge (**GLR**: 'Khor-re), whereafter he became ordained under the ecclesiastical name of Ye-shes-'od. As seen, this testimony is in conflict with **GLR**, which again is followed by later texts such as **YLJBCHBY**, Padma dkar-po, dPa'-bo and Kaḥ-thog etc. (all usually known to follow **GLR**). To be noted is that a number of redactions (*dbu med* Ms) of Bu-ston's *History* differ from the xylographical editions of the same text and follows the reading conserved in **GLR** also (cf. ed. AB in Szerb, 1990, pp. 84, n. 4/5 and 85, n. 20). Opting for Kho-re, the two lDe'u's witness is unique as they claim that he got three sons: lHa Bla-ma [lde] (and) lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes 'od. Later Devarāja and Nāgarāja were born. They also maintain that Srong-nge's (= 'Khor-re) real name was bKra-shis lha-lde-btsan. A solution to the problem whether it was 'Khor-re or Srong-nge that turned monk is difficult to reach, at least until more substantial textual or paleographical material surface. It may count that Kaḥ-thog, who had access to an ancient manuscript (cf. note 1662), supports the reading of Bla-ma dam-pa.

1665 **CHBYMTNYP** 495a6; **GBCHBY** 381.5; **DCHBY** 146.15-16; **CHBY** vacat; **DTHMP** 19b8; **YLJBCHBY** 69.1-3; **GBYTSH** 154b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b6; **DSYML** 74.3.

Cf. previous note.

In the last part of his life, he was ordained [as monk] and thus received the [religious] name lHa Bla-ma [i.e. 'Royal Bla-ma'] Ye-shes 'od.[1667] [He] raised the temple of mThon-mthing.[1668] [He] dispatched twenty-one sharp-witted (*blo rno ba*) [monk-novices] such as the Translator Rin-chen bzang-po[1669] and rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab[1670] etc. to India in order to study the Dharma.[1671] The [Indian] *pandita*-s Śra-ddha-ka-ra [= Śraddhākaravarman][1672] and Varma-ta [i.e. Padmakaravarman *and* Kamalagupta],[1673] the two, were invited. [He had] the

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1666 **CHBYMTNYP** 495a6; **GBCHBY** 381.5; **DCHBY** 146.15-16; **CHBY** vacat; **DTHMP** 19b8; **YLJBCHBY** 69.3; **GBYTSH** 154b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b6; **DSYML** 74.4.
Cf. note 1664.

1667 **CHBYMTNYP** 495a6-b5, 498b5-499b4; **GBCHBY** 381.6-12; **DCHBY** 146.16-147.2; **CHBY** 146b5, 152a4, 152b2, 153a2, 153b4, 158a1: Ye-shes-'od (but Bu-ston, cf. note 1664, has 'Khor-re, not Srong-ge as his original name); so also **DTHMP** 20a1; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.20: lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes 'od, son of bKra-shis mgon!; **YLJBCHBY** 69.5; **GBYTSH** 154b3-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b6-7; **DSYML** 74.8-14.
Cf. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II, *passim*; Karmay, 1979.

1668 **CHBYMTNYP** 500b2-3; **GBCHBY** 381.7; **DCHBY** 146.17; **CHBY** 152b2: lHa Bla-ma (Ye-shes-'od) rose Zhang-zhung mTho-lding gi gtsug lag khang; **DTHMP** 19b8: mTho-lding; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.2-21; **YLJBCHBY** 69.5-6; **GBYTSH** 154b55-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b6-7;
GLR has the aberrant form mThon-mthing in lieu of the common mTho-lding. It was founded in 996 A.D. Cf. for details, Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*.

1669 **CHBYMTNYP** 501a6, 501a1-b4; **DCHBY** 147.11-12; **GBCHBY** 381.18; **CHBY** 152a2, 154b4-5, 153a5, 153b1, 157b6; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.21-22; **DTHMP** 19b8-9; **YLJBCHBY** 69.6-8;
The famous Tibetan translator (958-1055 A.D.). For a study on this key-figure and Buddhist doyen in Western Tibet, cf. **DTHNGP** (I, pp. 94.13-96.14, Roerich, II, pp. 69-71), Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II; Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 614-615; cf. also note 1697.

1670 **CHBYMTNYP** 501b1, 504b4; **GBCHBY** 381.18-19; **DCHBY** 147.18: sNyi ba Legs pa'i shes rab; **CHBY** 152b5, 153b1, 158a1; **DTHMP** 19b8: Lo chung Legs pa'i shes rab; **YLJBCHBY** 69.7, 90.1-7, 126.1-127.1.
Cf. also note 1695.

1671 **CHBYMTNYP** 500b4-502a1; **GBCHBY** 381.15-19; **DCHBY** 147.9-13; **CHBY** 152b4-5; **DTHMP** 19b8-9; **YLJBCHBY** 69.8-9;
Nyang-ral and Bu-ston etc. claim that only Rin-chen bzang-po and rNgog, out of twenty-one infant novices (*khye'u*) succeded in going to India to study the Dharma, whereas the rest succumbed; **DTHMP** has twenty-seven young novices, whereas the majority of sources has a tradition which speaks about twenty-one young Tibetan boys, against the two lDe'u versions which mention eight persons.

1672 **GLR** merely reads Śraddhakara. Read in full Śraddhakāravarma[n]. Cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 503a5-6: Pra [= Sra] ta ka ra varma; **GBCHBY** 381.19-20 and **DCHBY** 147.13-14: Tra ta ka ra/Sra ka ta ra; **CHBY** 152b5, 156b6: Śraddhākaravarma (also Dad-byed go-cha); **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.21: Pra [= Sra] ta kā ra; **GBYTSH** 159a2: Sha ka ra var ma; **HBCHBY** (JA) 141b7: Śrī Ka ra varma; **DTHZHG** 80.11.
Cf. next note.

1673 **GLR** reads Varma-ta. This is evidently corrupt. Especially the stray or miswritten syllable *ta* is puzzling. Unwittingly, obviously, Bla-ma dam-pa (or a scribe) has misread two original names and conceived it as one. Bla-ma dam-pa's source may possibly have been Bu-ston. From **CHBY** 152b5-6 and **DTHMP** (where dGe-ba'i blo-gros lists no names) we are informed that five (principal) *pandita*-s were invited to Tibet during this period: Śraddhākaravarma[n], Padmakaragupta etc. Whereas the older witness **CHBYMTNYP** 502b6-503a1, 503a5 list additional *pandita*-s: Buddhaśrīśāntam, Buddhapāla, Kamalagupta and Dharmapāla, Pra ta ka ra varma, Padmakara

[Buddhist writings of] the Vehicle of [Philosophical] Sign (*mtshan nyid kyi theg pa*, **lakṣanayāna*)[1674] and of the four classes of Tantra (*rgyud sde bzhi po*) translated and [thereupon] systematized [them]. He [was responsible for the] spread[ing of] the Upper [i.e. Western] Tradition of Vinaya (*'dul ba stod lugs*).[1675]

His elder brother 'Khor-re[1676] erected the temple of Kha-char.[1677]

His son lHa lDe-po[1678] invited the *paṇḍita*-s Subha-shi-ta [i.e. Subhāṣita][1679] and rMe-

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varma.

It should be noted that four (*rnam pa bzhi*) *paṇḍita*-s carrying the name element -kara- came to Tibet. Cf. **GBCHBY** 382.12-13 and **DCHBY** 148.2-4: Pra ta ka ra [= Śraddhākara], Dharmakara, Padmakara and Dīpaṃkara (i.e. Atiśa) during the first wave.

Rather than assuming that Bla-ma dam-pa or, as said, a scribe originally intended to list Śraddhākaravarma[n] *and* e.g. Buddhaśrīśānta, an equally possible reconstruction would offer: Śraddhā-ka-ra[varman], [Padma-ka-ra-]varma[n] and [Ka-ma-la gu-p]*ta*/or [Buddhaśrīśān]*ta*. In other words three names. But assuming a derivation of the isolated syllable *ta* from a miswritten/-quoted grapheme gu-*bta* with subjoined *ta* is equally problematic. Now, Nyang-ral reads Ka-ma-la-gub-ta, which makes this construction altogether feasible. **YLJBCHBY** 69.8-9, a text, we know, which follows **GLR** almost slavishly, has solved the problem by stating: *paṇḍi ta shri ta ka ra varma la sogs pa spyan drangs*, i.e. Śraddhakaravarma[n] etc. Padmakaravarman, incidentally, is to be preferred to Padmakaragupta.

1674 Also called the *mtshan nyid kyi sde snod* and represents the usual Three Baskets. It refers *grosso modo* to *pāramitāyāna* in contrast to *mantrayāna*. Cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 503b6-504a1; **CHBY** 152b6; **YLJBCHBY** 69.9-10.

1675 For this passage on Rin-chen bzang-po, Bla-ma dam-pa here reflects almost verbatim, it appears, **CHBY** 152b5-153a2; cf. also **YLJBCHBY** 69.11-23.

For the Western Vinaya-tradition, following the Vinaya-expositions based upon the three commentators of three monastic rules, known as the 'three Pāla' tendered by the Indian *paṇḍita* Dharmapāla, cf. in brief **DTHMP** (Dung dkar's ed. 57.14-18); **YLJBCHBY** 185.18-186.4, 187.3-5; **DTHNGP** (I, 57.13-15, 96.15-3, Roerich, I, p. 34, II, 69).

1676 **GBCHBY** 381.13-14: Srong-nge; **CHBY** 153a2: Srong-ge; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.22-23: The younger brother of Ye-shes 'od was Khri-dpal; cf. note 1664.

1677 **CHBYMTNYP** 505a1: Kho-char; **GBCHBY** 381.13-14; **DCHBY** 147.2; **CHBY** vacat; **DTHMP** vacat; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.22-23: gTsang-khar (erected by Khri-dpal, cf. previous note); **YLJBCHBY** 69.13-14: Ka-tshar; **GBYTSH** 158b6.

Also 'Kha'-char/'Khab-char. For a discussion and further ref. cf. Tucci, 1933, *Indo-Tibetica*, s.v. index. Located in [s]Pu-rangs.

1678 **CHBYMTNYP** 505a1-3, 505b3: lHa[ng]-nge gzigs bKra-shis-lde (or lHa-lde); **GBCHBY** 383.13; **DCHBY** 147.3: bKra-shis lHa-lde[-btsan] (which, however, is identical with Kho-re, cf. the notes 1662-1663); **CHBY** 153a2: lHa-lde; **DTHMP** 20a2: lHa-sde; **YLJBCHBY** 69.14; **GBYTSH** 156b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a1: lHa-lde; **DTHZHG** 80.21.

Where most witnesses intercalate a chain between 'Khor-re/Srong-nge and the three sons, the two lDe'u versions not only suggest that this lHa-lde = bKra-shis lHa-lde[-btsan] arguably should be identified with 'Khor-re (but see the notes 1662-1663), but simultaneously maintain that not three, but two sons were born to him.

1679 I.e. Subhāsita (also Legs-par gsungs-pa). **CHBYMTNYP** 502b3; **GBCHBY** 381.15; **DCHBY** 147.8; **CHBY** 153a2-3, 157a1; **DTHMP** 20a2: lHa-sde invited *paṇḍita* Smṛti (but according to **CHBY** 153b4, this *paṇḍita* was invited at another occasion); **YLJBCHBY** 69.14-15; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a1.

On Subhāṣita, cf. Tucci, 1933, s.v. index.

ru [= [Pad]ma Ru[-tse] i.e. Padmaruci].[1680]

To him three sons were born, the eldest being Zhi-ba 'od.[1681]

The middle [son] was lHa Bla-ma Byang-chub 'od[1682] and the youngest 'Od-lde.[1683]

In the time of these three [royal figures], lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes 'od, being conscious about the Teaching of Buddha, went to India in order to invite *pandita*-s [to Tibet], *en route* [he] was captured by an army of [i.e. non-Buddhist] heretics.[1684] The 'vein door[s]' (*rtsa sgo*) [of his body] [from] which developed the qualities of virtuous orientation were all burned with moxabutional points (*me btsas bsregs*), which made [him] perplexed (*rmongs par byas*).[1685] Rumours (*gtam*) about that reached [the ear of] lHa Bla-ma Byang-chub 'od.[1686]

1680 **CHBYMTNYP** 498b1-5, 499b5: Bal-po Pad-ma Ru-tse; so also **CHBY** 153b4-5, but **GBYTSH** 156b4: Bal-po rMe-ru-rtse (following **GLR**); **DTHZHG** 79.4-5.

Clearly, Bla-ma dam-pa, or a scribe, has left out some syllables in this strange name. The full name of this Nepalese *pandita* is Padma Ru-[r]tse, and the enigmatic form rMe-ru is an incomplete corruption of [Pad]*ma-ru*[-rtse]. Padmaruci is recorded to have been invited, together with the *pandita*-s Smṛti and Phra-la ring-ba/*Sūkṣmadīrgha, by lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes 'od.

1681 **CHBYMTNYP** 505a3: Zhi-ba 'od; **CHBY** 153a3: Pho-brang [sic] Zhi-ba 'od; **DTHMP** 20a2: Pho-[b]rang Zhi-ba 'od; **YLJBCHBY** 69.15: Pho-brang Zhi-ba 'od; **GBYTSH** 159a1-2: (As third and youngest son) 'Od-zer go-cha; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a2; **DTHZHG** 80.21.

Both lDe'u versions are surprisingly silent.

1682 **BZH** (Stein ed. 89.12) = **MBNTH** 148b3; (Here made) son of Srong-nge; **CHBYMTNYP** 505a3; **GBCHBY** 384.1 and **DCHBY** 149.10-11: *gcen po* rTse-lde zhes pa mNga'-bdag Byang-chub 'od: **CHBY** 153a3: btsun pa Byang-chub 'od; **DTHMP** 20a3; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 407.23; **YLJBCHBY** 69.15-16; **GBYTSH** 159a1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a2; **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung** 68a6-b3.

Of particular interest is the witness in the two lDe'u versions which claims that Byang-chub 'od was also known under the regal name rTse-lde. Similarly, the terse witness in **BZH** appears to support the reading of lDe'u, where on the other side the intercalated lHa-lde (cf. note 1678) is ignored. As detailed *ad* note 1703 *infra*, the two lDe'u versions present us with two rTse-lde in the list of royal heads. If this contention reflects fact, it tallies with the information conserved e.g. in **YLJBCHBY** 127.4-5, that the nephew (*dbon po*) of Byang-chub 'od was rTse-lde.

1683 **CHBYMTNYP** 505a3: lHa-zhal, 505b3: 'Od-lde; **GBCHBY** 384.1; **DCHBY** 149.11; **CHBY** 153a3; **DTHMP** 20a3; **YLJBCHBY** 69.15; **GBYTSH** 159a1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a1-2; **DTHZHG** 80.21.

Cf. also note 1701.

1684 **DTHMP** 20a1-2; **YLJBCHBY** 90.12-93.18; **HBCHBY** (Chin. ed. 669.16ff.); **DTHZHG** 80.22-81.12.

For the famous Gar-log incidence with the capture of Ye-shes 'od and his martyrdom, cf. Eimer, "Die Gar log-Episode bei Padma dkar-po und ihre Quellen." Here further sources for this episode are discussed and collated. As suggested by Karmay, 1979, basing himself upon a biography of Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen bzang-po, the narrative appears to be a myth, while Ye-shes 'od is recorded to have died peacefully in Guge and not in captivity. It is conspicuous that only a few texts in later literature follow Bla-ma dam-pa in disseminating this legend (the provenance of which still needs to be traced), whereas all pre-**GLR** witnesses such as Nyang-ral, the two lDe'u versions etc. generally are silent. **YLJBCHBY** offers a slight variant by stating that he came to a barbaric part of India where he was captured by the Sog po, i.e. the Turks, which, however, probably is another word for the Gar-log. The Vth Dalai Lama cites the legend and subsequently subjects its to criticism. For the Turkish tribe and people of the Gar-log, i.e. Qarloq (Kharlukh, Ge-luo-lu), cf. e.g. C. Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire according to the T'ang Dynastic Histories*, 1972, *passim*.

1685 In other words, through torture he was stultified. Cf. Eimer, p. 184, n. 3.

1686 Cf. note 1682.

[He immediately] handed over [to his emissary] a measureless [amount] of wealth and dispatched [him] [in order] to redeem (*blu ru btang*) [his captured relative], but [the emissary returned with the answer] claiming:[1687] "[We] require [as ransom] gold equal in weight (*gser dang ljid mnyam*) [to lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes 'od]!" Again, [lHa Bla-ma Byang-chub 'od] handed over what[ever] gold [he] possessed, but when [it] was weighted (*rgya ma la bteg dus*), there was [still] lacking as much gold as [the weight amounting to] the [bodily] portion of the head (*dbu'i cha tsam cig gser gyis ma long par*).[1688] He [i.e. the hostage lHa Bla-ma Ye-shes 'od] [therefore] declared:[1689] "Now although you are [trying] to ransom me (*bdag blus*), it is of no avail (*yon tan med*)! [All] my 'vein-door[s]' have been burned with moxabutional points. [I] have become [dull and lamed almost] like a beast (*dud 'gro lta bu*[*r*] *yod*) so that death is even to be preferred (*bdag shi na'ang bla'i*). [Rather] bring along the [remaining] gold [originally intended] to ransom me and [take it] to India, [where] in the temple of Vikramalaśīla, the son of dGe-ba dpal [i.e. Kalyāṇaśrī][1690] [an extraordinary sage] is living, being the very crown-jewel among the five hundred *paṇḍita*-s residing [there], [all] well-versed in the five sciences, [i.e. a sage] called Jo-bo-rje Dī-paṃ ka-ra [i.e. Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, alias Atiśa].[1691] Offer the gold to him and invite [him] to Tibet and let [him] spread the Teaching of Buddha!" [Having said this, Ye-shes 'od] passed away and [his corpse] was brought [back] to [s]Pur-yul [= [s]Pu-rang[s]], [where] it was inserted into a stūpa[-receptacle] (*mchod rten du bzhugs*).[1692]

[XXVI] [The Invitation of Atiśa]

Now, according to his prophecy, rGya brTson[-'grus] seng[-ge][1693] etc. were committed with the [remaining] gold and sent [to India] in order to invite Jo-bo[-rje Atiśa to Tibet]. [There Atiśa] was entreated (*gsol ba btab*) by various means [in order to persuade him] to travel to Tibet and so Jo-bo[-rje Atiśa] arrived in Tibet, while being mindful not only (*kyang*) of the

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1687 Cf. e.g. **YLJBCHBY** 91.9-10; **HBCHBY** (Chin. ed. 670.7-8); **DTHZHG** 81.2-4.

1688 Cf. e.g. **HBCHBY** (Chin. ed. 670.8-10).

1689 Cf. e.g. **YLJBCHBY** 91.11-16; **HBCHBY** (Chin. ed. 670.10-15).

1690 **CHBYMTNYP** 506a4; **CHBY** 153a4; **DTHMP** 25b7; **YLJBCHBY** 70.1, 90.13-14; **HBCHBY** (JA) 656.9-10).

1691 Cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 91.9); **CHBY** 153a4-5; **DTHMP** 20a3-4; **YLJBCHBY** 69.15-70.3. On Atiśa cf. most conveniently the detailed studies by Eimer, 1977, 1979.

1692 Unattested in other versions.

1693 **CHBYMTNYP** 505b3-508b5; **GBCHBY** 382.6-11; **DCHBY** 148.18-149.1; **CHBY** 153a3-4, 158a1; **DTHMP** 20a2; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 405.3-5; **YLJBCHBY** 69.15-70.3, 90.19-91.2; **GBYTSH** 154b6-158b5; **HBCHBY** (Chin. ed. 669.16-674.16).

The narratives in Tibetan literature of the invitation to Tibet of the Bengali master, also restricted to the briefer versions conserved in Tibetan historiographical literature dealt with here, display differencies in many details. Various versions were from the very outset in circulations describing differently the repeated attempts and the fortunes of the Tibetans during their missions to India. The main emissaries was Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba and, as here, rGya brTson-'grus seng-ge.

For a study of Atiśa with details on his invitation based upon the traditional biographical material, cf. Eimer 1977, 1979.

[prospective] sentient beings of Tibet [and] of mNga'-ris [destined] to be converted (*v[a]ineya*) [by him], but [acted] also (*kyang*) in compliance with a prophecy (*lung bstan*) [given] by the Noble (*rje btsun ma*) Tārā. Many learned ascetics (*mkhas btsun*) [gradually] arrived such as [his] disciple Nag-tsho,[1694] [but also] Khu,[1695] rNgog[1696] and 'Brom,[1697] the three, [as well as] the Translator Rin-chen bzang-po[1698] and Lo-chung Legs-pa'i shes-rab[1699] etc. and the Teaching of Buddha here in the Snow-capped country of Tibet became like the rising sun [shining all over]. Therefore the kindness of lHa Bla-ma Byang-chub 'od towards Tibet is great indeed.[1700]

[XXVII] [The Royal House of Ya-rtse/Semjā]

The younger brother of lHa Bla-ma Byang-chub 'od, [called] 'Od-lde[1701] invited the Kashmirian *paṇḍita* Dānaśrī [= Jñānaśrī].[1702]

1694 Cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 506a1: Gung-thang-pa Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba; **CHBY** 153a3, 158a1; **DTHMP** 20a3; **YLJBCHBY** 92.1-2: Gung-thang lHas-can gdong-ba Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba; **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung** 67b2-68a6.

Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba, a celebrated translator and disciple of Atiśa. As indicated by Shākya Rin-chen, he descended from lHa-can-gdong of Gung-thang (a large district situated in the easternmost part of mNga'-ris). He was born 1011 A.D.

1695 **BZH** (Stein ed. 91.6) = **MBNTH** 150a2; **GBCHBY** 383.18-19; **DCHBY** 149.8-9; **CHBY** 153b1; **DTHMP** 20a3; **YLJBCHBY** 95.14-15; bKa'-gdams chos-'byung 74a4-75a2.

The famous triad Khu rNgog 'Brom, the three main disciples of Atiśa. Here Khu-ston brTson-'grus g.yung-drung of Yar-klungs (1011-1075 A.D.).

1696 I.e. rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab. Cf. e.g. **MBNTH** 150a2; **GBCHBY** 382.22; **DCHBY** 148.11; **CHBY** 152b5, 153b1, 158a1; **DTHMP** 20a3; **YLJBCHBY** 126.1-135.3; **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung** 75a2-77b2.

The famous translator was born 1011 A.D.

1697 I.e. 'Brom-ston[-pa] rGyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas. Cf. e.g. **MBNTH** 150a2; **CHBY** 153b1, 158a2; **DTHMP** 20a3; **YLJBCHBY** 94.11-95.1.

'Brom-ston lived between 1005-1064 A.D.

1698 Cf. note 1669.

1699 Lo-chung Legs-pa'i shes-rab, also called sPu-rangs Legs-pa'i shes-rab, is not identical with rNgog Legs-pa'i shes-rab. Cf. note 1670. Cf. also **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung** 69a2-4.

1700 Not mentioned in other versions.

1701 **GBCHBY** 384.1; **DCHBY** 149.8-9; **CHBY** 153a3, 154a1; **DTHMP** 20a4; **YLJBCHBY** 70.3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a3.

Cf. note 1683.

1702 **GBCHBY** 382.20; **DCHBY** 148.8-9; **CHBY** 154a2; **YLJBCHBY** 70a3; **GBYTSH** 159a4.

According to Bu-ston, king 'Od-lde invited *paṇḍita* Sunayaśrī (for him, cf. also **CHBY** 154a2,6, 157a2: = Legs-par rigs-pa'i dpal (corr. Sunyāyaśrī?)), whereas his son rTse-lde (silent in **GLR**) invited Dzñā-na-śrī (= Jñānaśrī); **DTHMP** 20a4: 'Od-lde invited the Kashmirian Jñānaśrī. All versions have Jñānaśrī, and the fair graphical proximity between *dzñā-na* and *dā-na/dha-na* as given in **GLR** and the renown of the two Dānaśīla-s (not Dānaśrī), one active during the dynastic period, the other teacher to Sa-skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251), though both cases would amount to gross anachronisms, possibly accounts for the miswriting in **GLR**, a *lapsus calami* most likely perpetrated by the scribe. However, another clue may be found. Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 502b5-6, in a list

His son was bTsan-lde.[1703]
His son was Bha-le.[1704]

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of religious personages arriving in Tibet in this period enumerates both one named Jñānaśrī and Dānaśīla.

1703 **CHBYMTNYP** 511a1-2, 511b3; **CHBY** 154a2; **DTHMP** 20a4; **YLJBCHBY** 70.19: Khri-lde; **GBYTSH** 160b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a3-4; **DTHZHG** 84.22.

All above sources read rTse-lde instead of (or rather in addition to) bTsan-lde in **GLR**. This bTsan-lde is obviously identical with bTsan-phyug-lde, the son of the present rTse-lde (ignored by **GLR**). It should be noted that all other sources maintain that the son of 'Od-lde is rTse-lde. But the picture is confused while two rTse-lde seem to be recorded. As indicated below, it is recorded that Byang-chub 'od was also called rTse-lde and so was his putative nephew (*dbon po*, *tsha bo*) rTse-lde here. (This second) rTse-lde is foremost known for being the convenor of the pivotal religious council at Ta-bo of sPiti in 1076 A.D. (cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 511a1-512a1; **CHBY** 154a3-4; **YLJBCHBY** 127.1-7; **DTHNGP** (I, 393.3-13, 399.8-1, Roerich, pp. 325, 328); **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung** 76b2-3). He and his son (dBang-phyug-lde) are moreover recorded, according to the above sources, to have extended patronage to rNgog Blo-ldan Shes-rab (1059-1109 A.D.) during his stay in Kashmir *ca.* 1076/1077-1093/1094 A.D.

Another line of descendants deviating slightly from the traditional succession of royal heads given in the above works is offered by newly surfaced sources (albeit themselves occasionally conserving contradictory information due to a careless transmission or editing of the Mss obviously). See **GBCHBY** 383.1-3, 12, 384.1-6; **DCHBY** 148.12, 149.11-16: The brother of rTse-lde alias [*sic*] Byang-chub 'od (cf. note 1682) was 'Od-lde. The son of the latter was rTse-lde (again, i.e. the present rTse-lde), his son was 'Od-'bar-lde (cf. next note), whose son in turn was dBang-lde (? = [Khri bKra-shis] dBang-phyug-[Nam-mkha']-btsan or bKra-shis-lde; cf. note 1705), his son was bSod-nams-lde. He had three sons: The eldest was bKra-shis-[b]rtse[gs] (killed by the Turkish Gar-log tribe), the second son (no name given) safeguarded the temporal power of mNga'-ris but was also killed and the youngest son was 'Od-'bar-lde (again (*sic*), who settled in the territory of the Gar-log-s). This lineage of the eldest brother (*gcen*) (i.e. rTse-lde, i.e. Byang-chub-'od) continued down to a king named Bya-khri.

For the lineage of the Ya-rtse rulers, cf. foremost Tucci, 1956 and Petech, 1980, pp. 86ff. (reprint *Selected Papers*, p. 369ff.). Ya-rtse (and its royal house also called the Khāsa/Khasiyā dynasty) has from inscriptions and Nepalese chronicles since long been identified by Tucci to be identical with Semjā (= Sija or Lamathada), today a little village situated in Western Nepal.

1704 **GBCHBY** 383.3, 12; **DCHBY** 148.14, 149.1; **DTHMP** 20a4: 'Bar-lde (Dung-dkar ed.): Bha-le; **YLJBCHBY** 70.19: 'Bar-lde; **GBYTSH** 160b1: Bha-lde; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a4; **DTHZHG** 86.8.

Cf. previous note. The son of rTse-lde is almost invariably recorded to have been dBang-phyug-lde (cf. also **DTHNGP** (I, 393.12, Roerich, p. 325) whereas his son appears to have been ['Od-]'bar-lde/Bha-l[d]e, rather than we should read this 'Bar-lde/Bha-re as a miswritten or variant form of dBang-lde as suggested by Petech, 1980, p. 86 (reprint *Selected Papers*, p. 370). Now dBang[-phyug]-lde and Khri bKra-shis dBang-phyug [Nam-mkha']-btsan (cf. next note) should most probably *not* be taken as one person as suggested by Petech, while both Bu-ston, *op. cit.* 154a4 and **YLJBCHBY** 127.10-11 make a clear distinction between them. Summing up, it appears that the testimony offered by the lDe'u versions makes good sense altogether, i.e. that this part of the succession of Gu-ge rulers ran accordingly: 'Od-lde was followed by rTse-lde, his son in turn was dBang[-phyug]-lde, followed by the present ['Od-]'Bar-lde. It is therefore not ['Od-]'Bar-lde who brought the line of Guge rulers to an end as suggested by Petech, but the next generation, i.e. bKra-shis-lde or in full Khri bKra-shis dBang-phyug-lde. This latter cannot be identified with the Gu-ge *chos-rgyal* Khri bKra-shis lde-btsan mentioned in a Ti-se guide composed by the 34th 'Bri-gung *gdan-rabs* and recorded to have extended patronage in 1215 A.D. to 'Bri-gung saints, cf. Petech, *Selected Papers*, pp. 358-359, 382-383.

As noted by Petech also, most later historians replace, so in **GLR**, in their listing the phrase

Thereafter came in succession (*de nas rim pa bzhin du*):
bKra-shis-lde,[1705]
Bha-re[1706] and
Na-ga-lde [i.e. Nāgarāja].[1707]
These ruled over the kingdoms of Gu-ge [i.e. Zhang-zhung], sPu-rangs and Mang-yul [i.e. Mar-yul, Ladakh] [respectively] etc.[1708]
Further, the son of Na-ga-lde, i.e. bTsan-phyug-lde [i.e. Cāpilla][1709] arrived in [the

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"his son was..." with "after him in succession...", implying a break in the genealogical list available to the historians. Rejecting therefore the equation between bTsan-lde, Bha-lde and Khri bKra-shis dBang-phyug-btsan as suggested by Petech, it follows that it was first with the next royal generation that the patronage extended by the Guge house to *pandita*-s and translators came to an end.

1705 **DCHBY** 86.8; **CHBY** 154a4: Khri bKra-shis dbang-phyugs Nam-mkha' btsan; **DTHMP** 20a4: bKra-shis lde; **YLJBCHBY** 70.19-71.1: bKra-shis lde (? = 127.11: Khri bKra-shis dBang-phyug-btsan); **GBYTSH** 160b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a4.

Cf. the two previous notes. As suggested by Petech, *ibid.* p. 86, this figure may constitute the last ethnic Tibetan royal on the throne. This either indicates that the Tibetan-ruled Guge throne went into decay or semi-oblivion (all later religiously oriented Tibetan histories are totally silent), or a power-shift took place transferring the ruling house to Ya-rtse/Semjā or, alternatively, Guge came territorially under this house. This could possibly have taken place in form of a foreign invasion, while the successor carries a conspicuously foreign 'name'. It is nevertheless a fact that the subsequent rulers of the Ya-rtse royal house felt themselves representatives of the old Tibetan Yar-klungs kings in unbroken line. This is foremost expressed by paying tribute to the holy shrines of e.g. lHa-sa (Jo-khang). It is also curious that the two lDe'u versions do not register at least the beginnings of the Ya-rtse house, cf. note 1703.

1706 **CHBY** vacat; **DTHMP** 20a5: Bha-ne/lde; **YLJBCHBY** 71.1: Bha-lde; **GBYTSH** 160b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a4: lHa-lde; **DTHZHG** 86.8: Bha-ne.

As already suggested by Tucci, this figure possibly was of foreign descent.

1707 **CHBY** vacat; **DTHMP** 20a5: Na-ga lde-ba; **YLJBCHBY** 71.1: Na-ga lde-ba; **GBYTSH** 160b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a4; **DTHZHG** 86.9.

The first Sanskrit name of the kings, reflecting, no doubt, Nāgadeva. At this point it cannot be said whether the power or the throne had been shifted to Semjā or not. As adduced by Petech, the great inscription (*kīrtistambha*) of the Ya-rtse ruler Pṛthivīmalla, dated 1354 A.D. and written in Sanskrit, displays a perfect correspondence to the list retained in the present Tibetan chronicles as shall be seen in the sequel. It begins with the ruler Nāgarāja identical, no doubt, with the present Na-ga-lde-ba of the Tibetan text. Cf. *ib.* p. 88-89.

1708 **GBCHBY** 384.4-5; **DCHBY** 149.14-15; **DTHMP** 20a5; **GBYTSH** 160b1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a4.

According to the above sources and in particular **DTHMP** (here **GLR**'s source), down to and including king Nāgadeva, as said arguably of non-Tibetan descent, the line of Tibetan Yar-klung *btsan po*-s boasted complete control over the vast mNga'-ris territory. It can thus be deduced that henceforth not only the power over the central kingdom in Guge/Zhang-zhung, but also the neighbouring royal principalities of Pu-[h]rangs and Mar-yul (cf. the notes 1653-1661 *supra*), which for now almost two hundred years had been firmly in the hands of the descendants of the earlier Yar-klung kings, were lost or taken over by Ya-rtse and from the mid-XIIth century, in the wake of the break-up of this Tibetan confederation (cf. Snellgrove, 1977, p. XII), they eventually carved out their own history. Cf. Petech, *ib.* p. 87.

1709 **CHBY** vacat; **DTHMP** 20a6; **YLJBCHBY** 71.1-2; **GBYTSH** 160b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a4; **DTHZHG** 86.10.

country of] Ya-rtse [i.e. Semjā],[1710] [where] he functioned as king.

His son was bKra-shis-lde [i.e. Krāśicalla].[1711]

His son was Grags-btsan-lde [i.e. Krādhicalla].[1712]

His son was Grags-pa-lde [i.e. Krācalla].[1713]

His son A-rog-lde.[1714]

His son A-sog-lde [i.e. Aśokacalla].[1715]

His son was Dzi-dar sMal [i.e. Jitārimalla][1716] and A-nan-ta sMal [i.e. Ānandamalla],[1717] the two.

From the Dulla inscription the successor of Nāgarāja was one called Cāpa and his son was Cāpilla. In contrast, the Tibetan sources speak of the present Tibetan-named king bTsan-phyug-lde, who according to the above sources came to Ya-rtse. Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 89, attempts to explain the course of events by stating that Cāpa, unknown to Tibetan sources, may have been a son of Nāgarāja reigning at Semjā. Then bTsan-phyug-lde/Cāpilla, whose racial background and descent are still unclar, may earlier have inherited Nāgarāja's territorial holdings along the border of Guge (or Guge itself) and came southwards to Semjā, removing (his father?) Cāpa and established himself in the capital, whereafter he cut all connections with Guge and Western Tibet proper.

1710 **DTHMP** 20a5; **YLJBCHBY** 71.1-2; **GBYTSH** 160b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a4; **DTHZHG** 86.10.
Cf. previous note. **YLJBCHBY** 72.6-7 curiously claims that the royal line of Ya-rtse derived from the *bod kyi chos blon* [*sic*] mGar Srong-btsan. Otherwise, here as elsewhere, verbal agreement between the sources is observed.

1711 **DTHMP** 20a6; **YLJBCHBY** 71.2; **GBYTSH** 160b3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a4; **DTHZHG** 86.10.

1712 **DTHMP** 20a6; **YLJBCHBY** 71.2: Drag-[= Grags]-btsan-lde; **GBYTSH** 160b4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a5; **DTHZHG** 86.11.

1713 **DTHMP** 20a6; **YLJBCHBY** 71.3; **GBYTSH** 160b4-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a5; **DTHZHG** 11-13.
The above sources maintain that this Buddhist king, *inter alia*, erected an idol of Mañjuśrīghoṣa using as material seventeen/seventy *bre*-measures of gold and a *caitya* from twenty-four *bre*-measures. According to Tucci and Petech's papers, followed here, this king, who lived in the beginning of the XIIIth century, issued a grant on a copper-plate in the Bāleśvar temple which can be dated to 1223 A.D. He is the first *rāja* of the Semjā kingdom documented to have been Buddhist, cf. Petech, *ib.* pp. 90-91 (reprint *Selected Papers*, pp. 373-74, 382-383). He was enthroned in 1207 A.D. and possibly ruled up to ca. 1245 A.D.

1714 All parallel sources are silent. Bla-ma dam-pa or a scribe has falsely inserted an extra king.

1715 **DTHMP** 20a8-9: A-sog-lde; **YLJBCHBY** 71.6-7: A-sogs-lde; **GBYTSH** 160b6-161a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a5; **DTHZHG** 86.13-14.
He possibly ruled 1255-1278 A.D. adduced from inscriptions, cf. Petech, *ib.*, pp. 91-92 (reprint *Selected Papers*, pp. 375-376). As detailed in the above Tibetan texts, this ruler purchased from Sog-po (prob. the Mamluk Sultans of Delhi) forty-two villages (*grong*) that had earlier been donated by the Dharmarāja Aśoka (hence this local ruler's name?). These he handed over to (the holy shrine of) Bodh Gayā paying by installment the Sog-po-s twelve (bars of) silver anually.

1716 **DTHMP** 20a9: 'Dzi-dar r/sMal; **YLJBCHBY** 71.9-10: 'Dzi-dar dMal; **GBYTSH** 161a2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a6; **DTHZHG** 86.14.
From inscriptions it can be adduced that he ruled approximately 1283-1293 A.D., cf. Petech, *ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

1717 **DTHMP** 20a9-21a1: A-nan sMal; **YLJBCHBY** 71.10: A-nan dMal; **GBYTSH** 161a2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a6-7; **DTHZHG** 86.14-15.
As alluded to in above sources, these kings were devoted Buddhists who extended patronage and offered costly gifts e.g. to the 'Bri-gung see. As discussed by Petech, no epigraphical record on him has been found which may help dating his rulership, but it must be situated close to the end of the XIIIth century. As alluded to in the above texts, he and his elder borther had a silver-cast

The son of A-nan-ta sMal, [i.e.] Ri-lu sMal [i.e. Ripumalla][1718] offered (*phul*) a golden roof (*gser thog*) to cover [the chapel in Jo-khang housing] the [idol of] Jo-bo Rin-po-che in lHa-sa.[1719]

He had two sons: Sang-gha sMal [i.e. Sangrāmamalla][1720] and 'Dzi-thar sMal,[1721] the two.

The son of 'Dzi-thar sMal was A-'dzi sMal [i.e. Ādityamalla].[1722]

His son was Ka-len sMal [i.e. Kalyānamalla].[1723]

His son was Bar-rti sMal [i.e. Prātapamalla].[1724]

Thereafter the royal lineage of Ya-rtse was discontinued, whereafter the Ruler (*mnga' bdag*) bSod-nams-lde[1725] took hold of the throne after having been invited [to come] to Ya-

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statue of Hevajra with retinue made, nine in all. The latter had restoration-work carried out at Bodh Gayā. He ordered the execution of a gold-written bKa'-'gyur.

1718 **DTHMP** 20b1: Ri'u/Re'u s/rMal; **YLJBCHBY** 71.12-13; **GBYTSH** 161a3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a7; **DTHZHG** 867.15-16.

As unanimously mentioned in the above sources, this king seized many territories from India. Recorded dates for this figure are 1312-1314 A.D.

1719 **DTHMP** 20b1; **YLJBCHBY** 71.14; **GBYTSH** 161a4; **KTHDNG** (NGA) 408.6-7: In the water-ox year, the king of Ya-rtse laid a golden roof in Lhasa, i.e. 1313 A.D.; **DTHMPSM** 38b6; **DTHNGP** (II, 686.15-687.1, Roerich, p. 583); **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a6; **TSLKHKCH** 14a2-4; **DTHZHG** 86.16-17.

Cf. Petech, *ibid.* p. 93 for details of this king's pilgrimage to the birth-place of Buddha at Lumbinī and subsequent visits to holy Buddhist shrines in Nepal. He and his father also sponsored restoration-work at Vajrāsana, and the erection of an silver-made idol of Bhaisajyaguru. For the golden roof (*gser thog*), i.e. pinnacle or tower over the Jo-bo image, cf. also Richardson, "The Jo Khang Cathedral of Lhasa", in *Essais sur l'art du Tibet*, p. 187.

1720 **DTHMP** 20b1; **YLJBCHBY** 71.14; **GBYTSH** 161a4-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a7; **DTHZHG** 86.17.

No epigraphical record has survived to determine his dates.

1721 **GLR** is here at variance with the parallel sources, while they only list one son, i.e. Sang-gha sMal, and refrain from listing 'Dzi-tar sMal as a son of Ri-lu sMal. Most probably Bla-ma dam-pa has misread his source and listed 'Dzi-thar sMal's name twice. For 'Dzi-thar/dar sMal cf. note 1716.

1722 **DTHMP** 20b2: A-'dzid/byid r/sMal; **YLJBCHBY** 71.15: A-'dzid dMal; **GBYTSH** 161a5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142a7-b1; **DTHZHG** 86.17-19.

He was brother to Ānandamalla and his occurence in the lineage suggests either an usurpation or the lack of issue to his uncle Sangrāmamalla. Cf. previous note for the father 'Dzi-dar sMal. A-dzi[d] sMal was active as lHa-btsun, celibate monk of royal descent at Sa-skya before he took over the throne. He erected *inter alia* a Tārā idol using eleven pieces of gold and silver. He ruled approx. 1321-1328 A.D. Cf. Petech, *ibid.* pp. 93-94 for a possible historical reconstruction.

1723 **DTHMP** 20b2: Ka-len rMal (Dung dkar's ed. reads Pri-ti sMal); **GBYTSH** vacat; **YLJBCHBY** 71.17: Ka-len dMal; **HBCHBY** vacat; **TSLKHKCH** 14a4-5; **DTHZHG** 86.19.

He and minister dPal-ldan Grags-pa offered a golden roof or tower over the throne of the see at Sa-skya and in Lhasa over the idol of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara. Cf. similarly the notes 1728-29. As stated by Petech, no epigraphical record has survived on this king and the next. After these kings the *Malla*-line of the kings of Ya-rtse died out.

1724 **DTHMP** vacat; **YLJBCHBY** 71.17-18: Bar-btab dMal; **GBYTSH** 161a6: vacat; **HBCHBY** vacat; **DTHZHG** 86.19.

1725 **DTHMP** vacat; **YLJBCHBY** 71.18-72.1: Adds in a gloss that he was known as Chos-rgyal chen-po, the Great Dharmarāja; **GBYTSH** vacat; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b1; **DTHZHG** 86.19-20.

According to Nepalese sources Punyamalla issued from a family called Gela or Gelā, a noble

rtse from sPu-rangs. [He] received the [regal] name Pu-ṇi sMal [i.e. Puṇyamalla].[1726]

His son was Pri-ti sMal [i.e. Pṛthivīmalla][1727] [who together with] minister dPal-ldan grags[-pa][1728] offered a golden roof (*gser thog*) [to cover the chapel] above [the idol of] the Eleven-headed [Avalokiteśvara] in lHa-sa.[1729]

These royal lineages residing in the Upper [*stod*, i.e. Western] [Part of Tibet] [have] been written [here] in abbreviated form (*zur tsam*) [being taken] from the **Chronicle (Yig-tshang)**[1730] [compiled] by gSer-thog-pa Rin[-chen] rdo-r[je].[1731] So, [should you] want to

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house in the Jumla region of Nepal who then continued the Ya-rtse house. But as seen from the above sources, the Tibetans have transmitted another version. From these, Pratāpamalla's successor at Ya-rtse was a member of the Tibetan royal family of Pu-hrangs called bSod-nams-lde. Ascending the throne at Ya-rtse he sanskritized his name to Puṇimalla. See Petech, *op. cit*, pp. 95-97, who provides us with solid evidence in support of the Tibetan version by way of a letter from Bu-ston dated 1339 A.D. to this Ya-rtse king.

1726 **DTHMP** vacat; **YLJBCHBY** 71.16-72.2: Su nya [= Pu-nya] dMal; **GBYTSH** vacat; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b1; **DTHZHG** 86.21.

Cf. previous note. Ascertained dates for (at least parts of) his rulership are 1336-1339 A.D.

1727 **DTHMP** 20b2-3: Ka-lan rmal (but Dung-dkar ed. p. 44.7-8: Pri-ti sMal); **YLJBCHBY** 72.3-5; **GBYTSH** 161a6; **DTHMPSM** 39a2-3: Sri [= sPri] ti sMal; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b1.

Ascertained dates for this king are 1354-1358 A.D. Cf. Petech, *ibid.* pp. 97-98 (reprint *Selected Papers*, pp. 380-381).

1728 **DTHMP** 20b2; **YLJBCHBY** 72.3-4; **GBYTSH** 161a6-b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b1.

As adduced by Petech, he is probably identical with a *mahāmātya* named Yaśovarmadeva recorded on a Dulla inscription dated 1354 A.D. The envoy is recorded to have arrived in Tibet in 1350 A.D. according to **Rlangs kyi Po-ti bse-ru** (cf. Petech, 1990, p. 109). It is also recorded in **DTHMP**, which was written between 1346 and 1364, when dGe-ba'i blo-gros passed away.

1729 **DTHMP** 20b2-3; **YLJBCHBY** 72.3-5; **GBYTSH** 161a6-b1; **DTHMPSM** 39a2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b1; **TSLKHKCH** 14a4-5.

The Ya-rtse king also donated a pulpit at the Sa-skya see.

1730 Full title of this currently non-extant work is not documented. Dung-dkar, 1981, p. 335, n. 260, claims that Rin-chen rdo-rje was author of a certain **mNga'-ris La-dvags kyi rgyal-rabs lo-rgyus**, purporting that this information is drawn from **DTHMP** which, however, I have failed to trace. Cf. next note.

1731 This is the noted figure bCu-gnyis[-pa] Rin-chen rdo-rje, alias Rin-po-che bCu-gnyis-pa or bCu-gnyis rnying-ma (1218-1280 A.D.), cf. e.g. **DTHNGP** (II, 684.3-685.5, Roerich, pp. 580-582); **DTHMPSM** 68b4-69a5. According to **DTHMP** 21a6-7 we are informed that when Byang-ji ston-pa Shes-rab-'bum wrote his historical work **rGyal-rabs dPag-bsam ljon-shing** (composed in 1286 A.D., cf. the notes 437 and 1766), he made use of information provided him by one dPag-thog-pa [= gSer-thog-pa] Rin-rdor. This was misunderstood by the author of **YLJBCHBY** 72.7-9, who maintains that it was the author of **DTHMP** that employed gSer-thog-pa as informant. See also dPal-'byor bzang-po, **GBYTSH** 162b4-5.

If the reference is to the same person above, this gathering of information, in particular if it was a personal communication, for Byang-ji's work written in 1286 A.D. must have taken place prior to 1280 when Rin-rdor passed away. The epithet gSer-thog-pa given in **GLR** refers to the fact that the see of Phag-mo gru-pa, which Rin-chen rdo-rje occupied for fourteen years (1267-1280 A.D.), was regularly receiving costly presents e.g. from the Ya-rtse rulers. In the *Blue Annals* (II, 686.16-18, Roerich, II, pp. 582-583) the epithet gSer-thog-pa is in fact given his second successor to the see, gNyis mchod-pa Grags-pa Rin-chen (1250-1310 A.D.) while the Ya-rtse kings offered him golden towers or pinnacles to cover some *sku 'bum caitya*-s (in gDan-sa-thel?). The bCu-gnyis gsar-ma Grags-pa shes-rab (1310-1370 A.D.) was furthermore half-brother to the illustrous Phag-

know in details the [noble] feat and deeds (*mdzad pa 'phrin las*) of each successive king [of these royal houses], [you] may look it up in this very **Chronicle**!

[XXVIII] [The Royal Lineage of the Yar-[k]lung Lords]

Again, in accordance with the exposition [given] above, of the Tibetan royal lineages, [to continue the narrative, then] the son of the senior consort of the Ruler (*rje*) dPal-'khor-btsan [1732]*[1733] was bKra-shis brtsegs-pa,[1734] who [himself] had three sons:

dPal-lde,[1735]
'Od-lde,[1736]
sKyid-lde,[1737] the[se] three.

These three [rulers] were called the Three lDe[-rulers] residing in Lower (*smad*, i.e. East = Central Tibet).[1738]

The son of the eldest son [called] dPal-lde arrived in sNgon-po Tshom-po,[1739] [and]

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mo-gru-pa Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (1302-1364 A.D.), the political key figure of the period. The close ties to the royal house of Ya-rtse are thus expressed in their recording in this lost work. Cf. also Blondeau, 1971, p. 107. Bla-ma dam-pa's source for the data on the last-mentioned kings of Ya-rtse until Pṛthivīmalla who is recorded to have ruled at least until 1358 A.D. at least, remains to be identified.

1732 Cf. note 1563 *supra*. Two more studies on the genealogy of the Tibetan royal houses in post-dynastic Tibet may be worth mentioning. In the light of the recent publications of the two lDe'u histories that furnish us with new or supplementary genealogical data, Chab-spel, 1989(b) in *Bod kyi lo-rgyus rags-rim g.yu yi phreng-ba*, pp. 421-531 (with convenient schemes) and in part van der Kuijp, 1992 have presented us with useful surveys which to some extent follow along our findings in the sequel.

1733 **gloss*: *From this* [*ruler*] [*it is*] *ascertained that the Tibetan royal lineage such as the Lords* (*Jo bo*) [*of the royal house of*] *La-stod, gTsang-stod, bTsong-kha, mDo-smad and Yar-lung etc. descended.*

1734 Cf. note 1566 *supra*.

For an almost similar-worded survey of the royal houses of Yar-klung, confer e.g. **DTHMPSM** 35b4-37b4 (Tucci, pp. 166-168), **DTHZHG** 86.22-88.2, both following **GLR**.

1735 **BGR** 199a4; **CHBYMTNYP** 493a5; **GBCHBY** 384.8; **DCHBY** 149.18-19; **NGTMTPH** 4b5 (Uebach, pp. 68-69); **DTHMP** 20b3; **YLJBCHBY** 72.10-11; **GBYTSH** 161b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b3.

For the descendants of dPal-lde, cf. note 1740 *infra*.

1736 **BGR** 199a4; **CHBYMTNYP** 493a6; **GBCHBY** 384.8; **DCHBY** 149.16, 150.6; **NGTMTPH** 4b5; **DTHMP** 20b3; **YLJBCHBY** 72.10; **GBYTSH** 161b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b3.

For his descendants, cf. the notes 1751ff. *infra*. According to lDe'u Jo-sras, he settled in Myang-do [= Myang/Nyang-ro?] sKong-bu-snan.

1737 **BGR** 199a5; **GBCHBY** 384.8; **DCHBY** 149.19; **NGTMTPH** 4b5; **DTHMP** 20b3; **YLJBCHBY** 72.10; **GBYTSH** 161b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b3.

1738 **GBCHBY** 384.8; **DCHBY** 149.19; **DTHMP** 20b3; **YLJBCHBY** 72.10-11; **GBYTSH** 161b3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b3; **DSYML** 73.1-2; **GTHZHG** 91.13.

lDe'u Jo-sras adds that these three were the kings of dBus-gTsang Ru-bzhi.

1739 **GBCHBY** 384.10: Tshon por sngon po; **DTHMP** 20b3-4: sNgon po'i Tshon po; **YLJBCHBY** 72.11-12: sNgon po Tshon po; **GBYTSH** 161b3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b3.

Location unidentified and this would readily refer to a place-name, although such a toponym

[his descendants constitute today] the [local principalities and descendants of] Khab-gung [= Gung-thang of Khab],[1740] Klu-rgyal,[1741] of sPyi,[1742] lHa-rtse[1743] and of Glang-chung [=

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sounds bizarre. From the construction it appears that it should be conceived as a overall concept encompassing the following place-names and the above vacillation among our sources as to this apparent toponym compels us to suggest that it is corrupt for: Earlier (*sngon du*) (his descendants) settled in great number (*tshom bu*, i.e. bundles or in variegated colours, cf. below)? i.e. his descendants spread wide and far. Chab-spel, 1989(b), *op. cit.*, pp. 493-494, adds, citing as source the **bsTan-rtsis gsal-ba'i nyin-byed**, that the lineage (*brgyud*) of dPal-lde held sway over the three 'bridges' (*zam pa gsum*): i.e. the blue-green 'barley-bridge' of lHa-rtse (*lha rtse'i nas zam sngon mo*), the red 'flesh-bridge' of Gling-bu (*gling bu'i sha zam dmar mo*) and the yellow 'gold-bridge' of Mang-yul (*mang yul gyi gser zam ser po*). In contrast, the lineage of 'Od-lde held sway over the three doors (*sgo gsum*) and the descendants of sKyid-lde held sway over the three treasuries situated to the north (*byang gi mdzod gsum*): The treasury of salt from g.Yu-mtsho sngon-mo, the treasury of the eight kinds of meat and the treasury of gold. This ninefold division, the source or origin of which we currently have no further knowledge, evidently alludes to a kind of division made in terms to trading (rights?) or access to natural resources, both being in the hands of the different members of the lineage and their descendants rather than it specifies geographical distinctions.

1740 I.e. Khab Gung pa. **BGR** 199b4: Gung thang pa; **CHBYMTNYP** 493b4: Gung thang pa; **NGTMTPH** 4b5: Gu lang pa; **DTHMP** 20b4: Khab Gung thang pa; **YLJBCHBY** 72.12; **GBYTSH** 161b4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b3.

Gung-thang of the district Khab in the western part of Tibet, cf. Ferrari, Map. Cf. also Uebach, 1987, p. 53, n. 164. Kah-thog in his **DSYML** 71.6-73.1 and in particular **GTHZHG** 91.13ff. provides us with details on the royal house of Gung-thang based upon different and slightly diverging sources such as those written by Gung-ston dPal-mdzes and Gung-thang mNga'-bdag Nor-bu-lde. Although Kah-thog offers two conflicting versions of the beginnings of the royal house of Gung-thang, the prevailing one runs accordingly: King dPal-lde and his wife Cog-ro-bza' 'Ba'-re begot two sons: 'Od-zer-lde (or: dPal-lde; in other sources: dMar-po-btsan/dMar-po-lde) and Dharmacakra (other versions: bDe-spyod-lde). As a surviving branch of the old Tibetan royalty, he was allegedly the first who, probably in the mid-Xth century, settled down in Gung-thang of the Mang-yul district and established his petty Gung-thang dynasty. His son was dBang-po-lde, his son Dung-dkar-lde and his son again bTsan-lde. He in turn had three sons: lHa-mchog-lde (also 'Dol-le), dKon-mchog-lde and the youngest son 'Od-lde (also called rTse-mo). The lineage of rTse-mo constituted the Lords of 'Jad-pa (cf. note 1749). The elder brother lHa-mchog-lde expanded his realm in Western Tibet and established his walled castle called Phyis [=Phying[-nga]] Khab-gong. He is recorded to have been a contemporary of Mi-la ras-pa (1040-1123 A.D.). Summing up, Kah-thog lists twenty-three generations (*rkyang bgrangs rgyal rabs*) of the royal house of Gung-thang from the mid-Xth cent. until 1748 A.D. Cf. also Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 494-516.

Kah-thog adds that the noble houses of Klu-rgyal, sPyi, lHa-rtse and Glang-lung (cf. the following notes) all issued from the younger brother Dharmacakra. Cf. also note 1744 *infra*. Throughout the entire spell of the Khab Gung-thang dynasty, the place, lying on the cross-road between West and Central Tibet, was visited by numerous religious figures such as Atiśa, cf. e.g. **DTHNGP** (I, 318.3, Roerich, p. 260).

1741 I.e. Klu rgyal pa. **BGR** 199b4; **CHBYMTNYP** 493a5; **NGTMTPH** 4b5; **DTHMP** 20b4; **YLJBCHBY** 72.12; **GBYTSH** 161b4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b3; **DSYML** 73.1.

The district of Klu-rgyal remains to be identified.

1742 I.e. sPyi pa. **BGR** 199b4; **CHBYMTNYP** 493a5; **NGTMTPH** 4b5; **DTHMP** 20b4: sPyi pa; **YLJBCHBY** 72.12; **GBYTSH** 161b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b3; **DSYML** 73.1.

Cf. **NGTMTPH** 2a4, where sPyi-bo is registered as a small (*bu chung*) *stong sde*, or thousand district. Uebach identifies it, doubtfully, with the Phying-ba Valley in the Yar-klungs district. Otherwise unidentified.

lung] bTsad-'khor,[1744] [comprising thus all the local royal houses] including (*man chod pa*) the descendants of [the principality of] La-stod.

The youngest son sKyid-lde settled down [as ruler of] rTa-nag [in] Shangs.[1745] Of the six sons born [to him], five [of them] migrated to the north (*byang tu gshegs*): [They in turn constituted] the sovereign (*btsad po*) of 'Bro[1746] and the sovereign (*btsad po rnams*)[1747] of

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1743 I.e. lHa rtse pa. **BGR** 199b4; **CHBYMTNYP** 493a5; **NGTMTPH** 4b5; **DTHMP** 20a4; **YLJBCHBY** 72.12; **GBYTSH** 161b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b3; **DSYML** 72.23-73.1.

For lHa-rtse, cf. Ferrari, Map, a *rdzong* situated due west, south-west of gZhis-kha-rtse.

1744 I.e. Glang lung btsad 'khor ba; **BGR** 199b4: Glang lung brtsad skor ba rnams; (the homonymous **Bod kyi rgyal-rabs** (by 'Phags-pa Bla-ma), 361ab1, has Gla lung brtsad dkor ba rnams); **CHBYMTNYP** 493a5; **GBCHBY** 384.10-11; **DCHBY** 149.20-150.1; **NGTMTPH** 4b5: Glang lu rtsad bskor ba; **DTHMP** 20b4; **YLJBCHBY** 72.13: Gla lung rtsad skor; **GBYTSH** 161b5.

Glang-lung is located in Myang-stod or Upper Myang/Nyang. Cf. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, I, p. 63. The phrase *brtsad skor/'khor* should most likely be understood as a toponymical complement to Glang-lung, but it is equally possible to conceive it: Glang-lung [including both] [the local] sovereign and [their respective] retinue [i.e. people attached to the court (*b[r]tsad [po dang] 'khor ba*). Cf. similarly the *Blue Annals* (Roerich, p. 127). In which case the complement possibly also applies to all the listed principalities i.e. Khab Gung-thang etc. rather than reserving it to Glang-lung only. However, another reading is altogether feasible. mKhas-pa lDe'u asserts that dPal-lde established himself in Glang-lung btsan-mkhar (the stronghold of Glang-lung situated in La-stod and lDe'u Jo-sras adds that dPal-lde had three sons with his consort from the Cog-ro (clan) named Mang-mo-rje (cf. note 1740) and their descendants subsequently ruled the (royal houses as far as) Lung-mdo of La-stod. The reading by the two lDe'u-s could be a *lectio facilior*, albeit it cannot *a priori* be dismissed, but the reading *btsad 'khor* is corroborated by older texts such as by Nyang-ral and by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan also.

1745 **GBCHBY** 384.11-12; **DCHBY** 150.1-2; **DTHMP** 20b4: rTa nag of 'Jad; **YLJBCHBY** 72.14; **GBYTSH** 161b6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b3-4; **DSYML** 73.4.

The two lDe'u versions, our oldest witness, maintain that the descendants of the younger son settled down in an area ranging from La-stod until rTa-nag of 'Jad, thus having full control over g.Yas-ru. sKyid-lde there begot three (not six) sons with his consort Cog-ro-bza' Mang-mo.

For the district of Shangs, cf. Ferrari, Map. Shangs is a district around Shangs-chu situated due east of present-day gZhis-kha-rtse on the upper bank of gTsang-po whereas rTa-nag is situated west, due west of gZhis-kha-rtse. Shangs as a district in the western part of the gTsang province expanded therefore earlier further west than in modern times. The location rTa-nag of Shangs surfaces repeatedly in religious texts as a religious place-name, cf. e.g. **CHBY** 151b2, 153b5; **YLJBCHBY** 174.3. The earliest reference (XIth century) to the king of rTa-nag (of 'Jad) (scions of the Yar-lung kings), we find in Bon sources, where they apparently are registered as Bon-po-s, cf. Karmay, 1972, pp. 145-146. For the place cf. also Ferrari, pp. 68, 157-58, n. 586. For further ref. cf. Uebach, 1987, p. 52, n. 152.

1746 **DTHMP** 20b5; **YLJBCHBY** 72.15.

'Bro as clan and petty dynasty is registered in the Dunhuang material to be identified as Mo-lu in China, cf. note 1231 *supra*. The 'Bro area alludes to the territorial appanage (*dbang ris*) in gTsang-stod allotted this powerful clan during the dynastic period, cf. e.g. **HBCHBY** (JA) 19b4. It is possibly the area where the 'Bro Sa-thang was erected by Sum-pa Ye-shes blo-gros (cf. note 1635), cf. e.g. **CHBY** 148b6.

1747 **GLR** corruptly reads: *gtsang po pam* [sic], but rectified according to **DTHMP** 20b5; **YLJBCHBY** 72.15-16; **GBYTSH** 161b5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b4.

GBCHBY 384.12-18 and **DCHBY** 150.2-3 further adduce that of the three sons born to him, the youngest went northwards and seized mNga'-ris. The second son stole the *stag g.yu* (an insignia with tiger head and laden with turquoises?) in his father's possession, and taking it along, he

[most districts of] g.Yas-ru and Ru-lag [representing] the [ruling] descendants of Mus[1748] and 'Jad[1749] [and of some currently] living in Nyang-stod.[1750]

The middle son 'Od-lde [himself] had four sons:
Pha-ba De-se,[1751]

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safeguarded the territories of Nyag-lde (cf. note 1754). He begot nine sons and they have up to now (i.e. mid-XIIIth century) settled down in rGyal-ba'i 'od as rulers. Cf. also the detailed discussion in Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 523-530.

1748 I.e. Mus pa. **BGR** 199a5: Mus pa; **CHBYMTNYP** 493a6; **NGTMTPH** 4b6: Mus pa ba; **DTHMP** 20b5; **YLJBCHBY** 72.15-16; **GBYTSH** 161b5.

The district of Mus is situated in the Valley of Mus-chu further west in the gTsang province, cf. Ferrari, Map and p. 68.

1749 I.e. 'Jad pa. **BGR** 199b5; **CHBYMTNYP** 493a6; **NGTMTPH** 4b6: 'Jad pa ba; **DTHMP** 20b5; **YLJBCHBY** 72.16; **GBYTSH** 161b5.

The district of 'Jad is situated east of Mus-chu, cf. Ferrari, pp. 68, 158, n. 592 (giving bZhad for 'Jad) and Map. The district of 'Jad was mainly famed for its eight places ('Jad gyi gnas brgyad), cf. **CHBY** 151b2 (Szerb, p. 80). The famed gTsang Rab-gsal orignated from this place (cf. note 1523). Cf. also the notes 1740 and 1745.

1750 **BGR** 199b5; **CHBYMTNYP** 493a6; **NGTMTPH** 4b6; **DTHMP** 20b5; **YLJBCHBY** 72.16-17; **GBYTSH** 161b6.

Upper Nyang makes up the upper districts along Nyang-chu, cf. Ferrari, Map. Read preferably Myang; for its history, cf. **Myang chos-'byung**. dPal-'byor bzang-po adds that one line arrived as rulers of rGyal-ba 'od.

1751 **GBCHBY** 384.19-385.5; **DCHBY** 150.7-11; **DTHMP** 20b5: Pha-la De-se/Pha-ba-lde, but later Pha-la De/Pha-ba De-se; **YLJBCHBY** 72.18-73.3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b4.

The two lDe'u versions (cf. also **GBCHBY** 370.2-3, 372.1-4), dGe-ba'i blo-gros and O-rgyan gling-pa, **PMKTH** Chap. 89, 538.15-19 add *inter alia* that this ruler and his brother Khri-chung went to dBus in order to take back by force nine specifically decorated precious items (*can dgu* = [*nor sna khyad par*] *can dgu*), heirlooms originally belonging to their royal ancestors, such as silver cups adorned with deer motifs (*dngul skyogs sh*[*v*]*a ba can*), but also golden thrones, golden idols and weapons, items once bequeathed to the descendants by the father (*phas phog*; i.e. Srong-btsan sgam-po through Glang-dar-ma?), by the mother (queen) and brothers etc. This heritage became confiscated by Yum-brtan during the feud between the two heirs of Glang-dar-ma in the middle and later part of the IXth century. In the above sources it is reported how Yum-brtan (rather: Yum-brtan's scions) seized the territories originally held by 'Od-srung's descendants (*ca.* 843-881 A.D.), and while the old queen-mother Tshe-spong-bza' fled to northern Tibet, the nine precious royal heirlooms (*rje'i can dgu*) were impounded by Yum-brtan. mKhas-pa lDe'u even adduces that the reason (*lan*) why the nine-set heritage and the national temple of *chos 'khor* bSam-yas (and Central Tibet we can add) fell into the hands of Yum-brtan (and his line) was because 'Od-srung's scion dPal-'khor-btsan (869-899 A.D.) proved himself unsuccesful (*go ma chod*), i.e. implying military incompetence or just karmically doomed to lose? The line of 'Od-srung was eventually driven off to mNga'-ris, cf. note 1568.

Pha-ba [l]De-se attacked the castle of 'Phying-nga rtse-khung-bu (= 'Phying-nga stag-rtse, cf. note 1762), the residence of mGon-ne (who in Atiśa's biography **rNam-thar rgyas-pa**, perhaps doubtfully, is listed as son of lHa-btsun Bodhirāja, a contemporary of Atiśa, (cf. note 1586) and ruler of bSam-yas, which would situate these incidences in the later part of the XIth century), himself an issue from Nyi-'od dPal-mgon (cf. note 1573), a scion of Yum-brtan. Whereas his brother Khri-chung set up his residence permanently in the Yar-lung Valley and became the actual progenitor for the following generations of Yar-lung Lords (cf. note 1761), Pha-ba [l]De-se soon returned to gTsang again having brought along at least one of the above heirlooms.

Khri-lde,[1752]
Khri-chung[1753] and
Nyag-lde.[1754]

The lineage from Pha-ba De-se are [today] living in sNubs-yul,[1755] Rong,[1756] g.Yag-sde[1757] and sTag-tshal [of] Nyang-stod.[1758]

1752 **GBCHBY** 384.19; **DCHBY** 150.7; **DTHMP** 20b6: Khri-lde/Sing-khri-lde; **YLJBCHBY** 72.18.

1753 **GBCHBY** 384.19, 385.17; **DCHBY** 150.7, 15; **DTHMP** 20b6; **YLJBCHBY** 73.1-2.

He settled down in the Yar-lung Valley (cf. the notes 1751 and 1761-2), his residence being called 'Bangs-[b]rtsigs, while it had been erected by his subjects.

1754 **GBCHBY** 384.20; **DCHBY** 150.7; **DTHMP** 20b6; **YLJBCHBY** 73.1.

1755 **GBCHBY** 385.12; **DCHBY** 150.12; **DTHMP** 20b6: gNubs yul; **YLJBCHBY** 73.3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b4.

Cf. next note.

1756 **GBCHBY** 385.12; **DCHBY** 150.12: Rong; **DTHMP** 20b7; **YLJBCHBY** 73.4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b4: gTsang rong; **DSYML** 73.2-3.

Rong is the district around Rong-chu, a tributary to gTsang-po, cf. Ferrari, Map. Possibly, Rong is part of sNubs-yul, which again is a larger district in the gTsang province (i.e. gTsang sNubs yul Rong), whence f. ex. gTsang-pa Rin-po-che descended. Kaḥ-thog asserts that the four sons of 'Od-lde settled in gTsang Rong i.e. Rong of gTsang, in Yar-lung (cf. note 1762ff.) and in gTsang-kha (= gTsong-kha?) of Khams.

s/gNubs-yul in gTsang was originally the territorial appanage (*dbang ris*) of the sNubs clan during the dynastic period, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 19a3.

1757 **GBCHBY** 385.12; **DCHBY** 150.13; **DTHMP** 20b7: g.Yag s/lde; **YLJBCHBY** 73.4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b4.

g.Yag is a district in the gTsang province. Or 'O-yug g.Yag-sde, cf. **PMKTH** Chap. 93, 567.3-4. Foremost known for being the birth-place of g.Yag-sde Pan-chen brTson-'grus dar-rgyas (1299-1378 A.D.).

1758 **CHBYMTNYP** 493a6; **GBCHBY** 385.12 and **DCHBY** 150.13: Myang-stod sTag-tshal rGya-ra[l] khyung-po; **DTHMP** 20b7; **YLJBCHBY** 73.4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b4.

sTag-tshal of Nyang-stod in gTsang is located in the area along the upper stretches of Nyang-chu. It was early a stronghold for Bon, cf. Karmay, 1972, pp. 40, 145. Cf. Ferrari, Map. The XIIIth century master mChims Nam-mkha' grags was also born in sTag-tshal, cf. e.g. Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, **bKa'-gdams chos-byung**, 255a3. Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 506a2. But also the famous mad-man gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka (1452-1507 A.D.) descended from this place. For some details on sTag-tshal of Myang-stod and the religious activities there, cf. **Myang chos-'byung** (Chin. ed., 113.5-120.7).

Where our text and the above sources throughout this genealogical exposition show full correspondence, another line of data is found in **BGR** 199b4-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 493a6; **NGTMTPH** 4b6-7 (and partly retained in **DTHMP** 20b6 and **GBYTSH** 161b6-162a1 also), where it is stated that the lines of 'Od-lde spread in Grom-pa (the stretches along Grum-chu (also written Khrum-chu), west, north-west of Sa-skya), Srad and Nyang/Myang-stod. These are all areas and locations in the gTsang province. This is partly corroborated by the two lDe'u, **GBCHBY** 386.8-14, **DCHBY** 150.10-13, who at some length offer details on the descendants of Pha-ba De-se: His son was Dar-ma rā-tsa [= Dharmarāja], his son Dar-ma btsan-po, his son again was Khri-'bar. He had two sons Khri-btsan-'bar (or: Srong-btsan-'bar) and bKra-shis-lde. The son of the eldest one (**GBCHBY**: of the younger brother) was bTsan-srong-lde and his son was bTsan-po lDe-'bar. They constitute the rulers of sNubs-yul, Rong, of rGya-ra Khyung-po (for this clan and people from which e.g. the rulers of Glo-bo sMan-thang (i.e. Mustang) boast ancestry, cf. Jackson, 1984, p. 112ff.) and of sTag-tshal of N/Myang-stod. In the mid-XIIth century they constituted the Lords of Sra-po/Pra-po = Srad-phu, i.e. the region Upper Srad, cf. Wylie p. 72 (n. 251), a valley situated to the west of

The lineage of Khri-lde are today those descendants living [as] sovereigns of mDo-smad such as the king (*rgyal po*) sPyan-mnga' [= snga] Don-chen etc. of gTsong-kha [= bTsong-kha][1759] in the east.

The lineage of Nyag-lde took up residence in g.Yas-ru [of] gTsang, [including the local principalities] as far as the sovereign of sKyin-mkhar.[1760]

Khri-chung*[1761] arrived in [the Valley of] Yar-[k]lung, [where] he took possession of the citadel (*sku mkhar*) of 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse.[1762]

His son was 'Od sKyid-'bar.[1763]

He [again] had seven sons, the eldest being Zhang-rje Tsha ('Nephew') Khri-'bar.[1764]

His younger brothers (*gcun po*) were the Six Brothers (*tsha spun*)[1765] of (*btsad* = *gtsang*) gTsang.

Among the six sons [born to the eldest son called] Zhang-rje Tsha Khri-'bar, the lineage of [his eldest son called] g.Yu-thog[1766] constitutes the [ruling] descendants of [places

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gZhis-kha-rtse. (In Srad-phu e.g. the founder of the Dus-mchod branch of the Sa-skya 'Khon line, Kun-dga' legs-pa'i 'byung-gnas rgyal-mtshan (1306-1336 A.D.) passed away, cf. e.g. **GBYTSH** II, 26a1-4). Nyang-ral moreover mentions a king named lHa-chen dpal, a scion of 'Od-lde settled in Nyang-stod. It would be tempting, but perhaps not unproblematic, to identify the latter with lHa-chen dPal-['bar], cf. note 1790.

1759 **DTHMP** 20b8; **YLJBCHBY** 73.6-7; **GBYTSH** 162a1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b4-5.

1760 **DCHBY** 150.16-17; **DTHMP** 20b8: [s]Kyin-mkhar; **YLJBCHBY** 73.7-8; **GBYTSH** 162a1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b5.

lDe'u Jo-sras states that the descendants constitute the kings of Kyin-dkar (= sKyin-mkhar) and they include today the (rulers) of lHa Zhar. For sKyin-mkhar, cf. also briefly **Myang chos-'byung** (Chin. ed., 107.3-108.2).

1761 **gloss*: [*He*] *is the great grandfather* (*yang mes*) *of the Yar-lung*[*s*] *Lords*.

1762 **GBCHBY** 385.5-7; **DTHMP** 20b8-9; **YLJBCHBY** 73.8-9; **GBYTSH** 162a2-3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b6.

Cf. note 382 *supra* for 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse and the notes 1751 and 1753 for details. Aside from this citadel, Khri-chung also took hold of the palace 'Bangs-brtsigs (cf. also note 1797), i.e. 'Raised by the People', which henceforth constituted the residence of the Yar-lung Lords.

1763 **GBCHBY** 385.17; **DCHBY** 150.17-18; **DTHMP** 20b9; **YLJBCHBY** 73.9; **GBYTSH** 162a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b6.

1764 Better Khri-lde-'bar. **GBCHBY** 385.17-18; **DCHBY** 150.18-19; **DTHMP** 20b9: Zhang-khri Tsha Khri-lde-'bar; **YLJBCHBY** 73.10; **GBYTSH** 162a3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b6.

The two lDe'u versions respectively read sNga-bu Tshe-spong Nang-rje Tsha Khri-lde-'bar and rNged-pu Tshe-spong Zhang-che Tsha Khri-lde-'bar.

1765 I.e. *tsha bo dang spun*, grandchildren or nephew and brothers; **GBCHBY** 385.18-19; **DCHBY** 150.19-20: Phyid pu gTsang pa Tsha mched drug; **DTHMP** 20b9: gTsang pa Tsha drug; **YLJBCHBY** 73.10-11; **GBYTSH** 162a3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b6.

GLR corruptly reads: bTsad pa (i.e. of Royal Origin?). Cf. the notes 1771-1780.

1766 **GBCHBY** 385.20-386.10; **DCHBY** 151.1-10; **DTHMP** 21a1; **YLJBCHBY** 73.13-74.2; **GBYTSH** 162a5-b1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b7-143a1.

The two lDe'u versions and in part also Yar-lung Jo-bo (who allegedly draws his information from Byang-ji ston-pa's **dPag-bsam ljon-shing**, but see below) provide details on the descendants of the eldest brother Khri-lde-'bar through his infinite number of sons:

Khri[-lde]-'bar eldest son called g.Yu-thog had three sons: [g]Nam-lde, Jo-dga' and rTse-lde.

[g]Nam-lde had six sons, led by [the eldest named] Jo-phag/'phan and 'Bum-lde. They settled in Phying-ba Zhang-mda' (for this place, cf. Panglung, 1988, p. 357).

such as] sNa-mo,[1767] 'Phying-nga,[1768] Don-mkhar[1769] and Thang-'khor.[1770]

The second son (to Khri-'bar) named Jo-dga' had one son.

The youngest son rTse-lde Zhu-tshan (or Khu-mtshan) settled in Drang-ba (or: Dra-nga) of Yar-stod. His only son, unnamed, settled in Don-mkhar (cf. note 1769). In fact, the descendants issued from g.Yu-thog are the ruling people of sNa-mo, Phying-ba, Don-mkhar and Thang-'khor.

The lineages of the next sons of Khri[-lde]-'bar named respectively Bye-chung lHa-ston/sgom, [d]Gung-lde (he settled in Don-mkhar sPe-skya) and Khri-thog[-thag] (he settled in Ma-ru-spe [*sic*]) all died out (*gdung chad*).

The next son (to Khri-[lde-]'bar) named Zla-ba had two sons, namely Thog-b[r]tsan and lDe-'ju/yun. They constitute (the ruling people) of rTa/sTag-shags and Bra/Gra-sna.

(The youngest son born to Khri[-lde]-'bar) named dByangs/bZhengs-can-'bar (or dByengs-spyan-'bar) had two sons: The eldest renounced (the world) i.e. became ordained as monk, whereafter he functioned as *dpon* under Bye-chung lHa-ston/sgom. The youngest son named Ji-ma-lod/'od settled in Zhang-mda' (of 'Phying-ba/nga), where his lineage died out. As stated by Yar-lung Jo-bo, dByangs-can-'bar's line constituted the (ruling) inhabitants of Mon-mkhar, Zhang-mda' and d/sPun-bdun-thang. Cf. similarly Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 518-519.

The alleged reference in a gloss to **rGyal-rabs dPag-bsam ljon-shing** as Yar-lung Jo-bo's source for the genealogical data which include the above line issued from Khri-lde-'bar and his sons could perhaps also serve as a yardstick for the relative chronology. Since Byang-ji ston-pa apparently at this point discontinues, as can be deduced from **YLJBCHBY** 74.2 (gloss), his exposition on the royal successors, it may suggest that his data reflect the status of this branch of the post-dynastic royals until the later part of the XIIIth, inasmuch as his work was written in 1286 A.D. Only, this is probably not the case, while this gloss is far from unproblematic. It purports that until this point (incl. Khri-lde-'bar's sons above), the royal exposition mainly (*phal cher*) follows Byang-ji ston-pa's **rGyal-rabs**. Now, the same expression is found in **DTHMP** 21a5-6, there it also includes the descendants of the Six Brothers (Tsha-spun) of Khri-lde-'bar (cf. the notes 1171-1785 *infra*) and Yar-lung Jo-bo in his work usually follows **DTHMP** and **GLR** shadowlike. This gloss therefore appears to be a slightly misplaced quotation taken from **DTHMP**, cf. also note 1731.

1767 I.e. sNa mo ba. **DTHMP** 21a1; **YLBCHBY** 73.13-14; **GBYTSH** 162a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b7.

Cf. previous note. The district of sNa-mo is most probably to be situated in Rong-chen of the gTsang province. It is recorded to have been an estate (together with 'Bras-mo = 'Bras-yul? and Gri-gu and Tshes-spong (where in the dynastic period the powerful Tshe(s)-spong clan had their appanage (*dbang ris*), = Brag-rum, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 19a3)), later being the bone of contention in a protracted dispute for territories in the mid-XIVth century. For some notes on its fortunes during the Sa-skya and later Phag-mo-gru supremacy, cf. Petech, 1990, pp. 91-96. Less likely is to identify (this?) sNa-mo with sNa-mo of Dar-yul in 'Phan-yul, cf. Uebach, 1987, p. 15, n. 15. Nel-pa Pandita descends from this latter place.

1768 I.e. 'Phying nga ba. **GBCHBY** 386.2-5; **DCHBY** 151.4-5; **DTHMP** 21a1; **YLJBCHBY** 73.14; **GBYTSH** 162a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b7: mChing nga.

'Phying-nga or rather 'Phying-ba is located in the Yar-lung Valley, cf. Ferrari, Map. Cf. note 1766 *supra*. As detailed there, the son and grandsons of g.Yu-thog and the sons of dByangs-can-'bar settled in 'Phying-ba/nga Zhang-mda'. 'Phying-ba was the territorial appanage of the influential 'Gos clan during the dynastic period, cf. e.g. the notes 1221, 1331-1332.

1769 I.e. Don mkhar ba. **GBCHBY** 389.5-6; **DCHBY** 151.5-6; **DTHMP** 21a1; **YLJBCHBY** 73.14; **GBYTSH** 162a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b7.

Cf. note 1766 *supra*. The son of rTse-lde settled in this place. Don-mkhar Valley (*mda'*) is located in Yar-klung and it is the area where most of the tombs of the ancient king are located, cf. Ferrari, p. 53, n. 297 and e.g. the notes 399, 427, 430, as well as the valuable description in Panglung, 1988, p. 356ff.

[Khri-'bar's] Six Brothers were lHa-spyad [= spyan][1771]*[1772] and g.Yu-spyan,[1773]*[1774] the two; Da-ra[1775]*[1776] and lHun-po,[1777]*[1778] the two; 'Od-lde [= 'Od-btsan][1779] and Gung-

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1770 I.e. Thang 'khor ba. **DTHMP** 21a1: Thang khor ba; **YLJBCHBY** 73.14; **GBYTSH** 162a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b7.

Thang-[']khor (= Thang-skor?) may designate the area or district in Yar-lung Valley where the brothers of Gru-mar Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas erected (in 1017 A.D.) the [Sol-nag] Thang-po-che/Thang-chen temple, cf. **NGTMTPH** 21b1; **CHBY** 148b3 (Szerb, p. 63, n. 7); **YLJBCHBY** 184.15; cf. Ferrari, pp. 52, 104, n. 99, p. 129, n. 287; Uebach, p. 143, n. 911-12.

1771 **GBCHBY** 385.20; **DCHBY** 150.21; **DTHMP** 21a3: lHa-btsan; **YLJBCHBY** 73.11, 74.3: lHas-can, lHa-spyan; **DTHMPSM** 36a6: lHa-bcad; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b6.

1772 **gloss*: [*He left behind*] *no lineage* (*brgyud med*).

For ref. cf. previous note.

1773 **GBCHBY** 385.20; **DCHBY** 150.20-21; **DTHMP** 21a3: vacat; **YLJBCHBY** 73.11: g.Yu-can; **DTHMPSM** 36a6: g.Yu-can; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b6.

Cf. note 1786. His *floruit* can be situated in the XIth century. Due to homophony, his name may be written g.Yu-spyan and g.Yu-can.

1774 **gloss*: *From him descended the Lords of Yar-lung.*

Cf. the notes 1786ff. *infra*.

1775 **GBCHBY** 385.21 and **DCHBY** 150.21: Da-ra dbang-phyug; **DTHMP** 21a3-4; **YLJBCHBY** 73.11, 74.3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b7.

1776 **gloss*: [*He left behind*] *no lineage* (*brgyud med*).

In contradiction to this gloss, **GBCHBY** 388.4-10, **DCHBY** 152.3-5 and **DTHMP** 21a3-4, pursuing a common source, adduce that Da-ra dbang-phyug had three sons:

Thang-la-dga' settled down in Khra-'brug (cf. note 1783). He had three sons. The eldest was rNal-'byor. His sons in turn were Yod-re-dar and lHa-btsun. Yod-re's son was Don-grub and his son in turn was Jo-bsod (i.e. Jo-bo bSod-nams).

The second son to Da-ra was lHa-dga', who settled down in 'Or-mo. His son was Khri-dbang-btsan. His sons in turn were bTsun-pa-dga' and bTsun-chung-dga'.

The last son to Da-ra was gSer-thog, whose line died out.

1777 **GBCHBY** 385.19-20: lHun-po-'bar; **DCHBY** vacat; **DTHMP** 21a3; **YLJBCHBY** 73.11, 74.3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b7.

1778 **gloss*: [*He left behind*] *no lineage* (*brgyud med*).

This is contradicted by **GBCHBY** 386.16-387.4; **DCHBY** 151.15-16; **DTHMP** 21a3. At least the last source should have been known to Bla-ma dam-pa.

lHun-po-'bar had three (**DCHBY**: two sons) sons: The two eldest were Jo-mgon (**DCHBY** vacat) and Jo-khri. The youngest was 'Brug-chung-lde. They settled in Byar (cf. note 1785).

Four sons were born to 'Brug-chung-lde: 'Od-lde, dPal-lde, Khri-po and Grub-pa.

'Od-lde had three sons: Jo-bo 'Jig-rten (no lineage left behind). Se-ru was ill-caught and died. His consort was subsequently given to the youngest son Nor-dga', who had two sons born to him called Jo-'bag and Jo-khrom.

Jo-khrom's son was Shag-khri. His son was Jo-bo dGos-pa and his son in turn was Jo-bo Khri-mgon.

The son of dPal-lde was Jo-bo dGa'-dga'. His son was Khri-'od. His son Khri-'bum. His son lDe-btsun.

lHa-btsun Khri-po's lineage was discontinued. Grub-pa was issueless.

1779 **GBCHBY** 385.19, 386.11 and **DCHBY** 150.20, 151.10: 'Od-btsan-'bar (but also 'Od-skyid); **DTHMP** 21a3: 'Od-btsan; **YLJBCHBY** 73.11-12, 74.4: 'Od-btsan; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b7.

'Od-lde of **GLR** must be altered to 'Od-btsan, cf. 1781 *infra*.

btsan,[1780] the two, six [in all].

The lineage of 'Od-btsan and Gung-btsan[1781] are found [today] in Gog-po [of] Chu-mig[1782] [as] [ruling] descendants [of] Khra-'brug,[1783] of Bying[1784] and of Byar.[1785]

g.Yu-can[1786] was invited by Gar-mi Yon-tan g.Yu[ng]-[d]rung,[1787] whereafter he

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1780 **GBCHBY** 385.19 and **DCHBY** 150.20: Gung-btsan-'bar; **DTHMP** 21a3: dGung-btsan; **YLJBCHBY** 73.12, 74.4: Gung-btsan; **HBCHBY** (JA) 142b7.

1781 **GBCHBY** 386.10-15, **DCHBY** 151.10-15 and briefly **YLJBCHBY** 74.2 and **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a1 provide details on the descendants of these two local kings:

The eldest son of 'Od-skyid, alias 'Od-btsan[-'bar], was gTsang-pa/ma Tsha 'Od-btsan-'bar (texts possibly corrupt here). He had two sons: Brang-ba/nga lHa-lde and Brang-chung. Brang-ba/nga was issueless. The son of Brang-chung, called dBon settled in Mon[g]-mkhar (in sNye-mo, for this place, cf. Ferrari, p. 161. A place called Mong-kar is repeatedly recorded in the *Annals*, for ref. cf. e.g. Uebach, 1987, p. 143, n. 903; Petech, *Selected Papers*, p. 266 and Petech, 1990, p. 13: Mon-mkhar mGon-po-gdong). It must most probably be distinguished from the district of Mang-mkhar situated due south of lHa-rtse *rdzong* in the western part of the gTsang province, cf. Ferrari, Map.

Gung-btsan[-'bar] had two sons: lHa-ston ring-mo (= lHa-ston dkar-mo whose line constitute the rulers of Byi-chung?) and lHa-'the'u/'theng-ngu. The latter's line died out.

1782 **DTHMP** 21a4; **YLJBCHBY** 74.5; **GBYTSH** 162b2.

Chu-mig Gog-po is unidentified. Chu-mig, on the contrary, is well-known. Chu-mig is located due south, south-west of sNar-thang. It was listed as a *khri-skor* or myriarchy in the XIIIth century. Later it became the private estate of the bZhi-thog branch of Sa-skya. Even after Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan had gained full control over Central Tibet, Chu-mig remained in the hands of *gdan sa chen po* mKhas-btsun (1305-1343 A.D.) and his son. Cf. Petech, 1990, pp. 53, 118-119 for ref. In the district a bKa'-gdams temple named Chu-mig ring-mo was situated close to sNar-thang, cf. Ferrari, p. 62, n. 466 and Map; cf. also Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, I, pp. 59-60. Prior to the Sa-skya-Yuan period, it was a local principality or chiefship. Kaḥ-thog, **GTHDTH** 95.2-5, e.g. reports that one *sde dpon* of Chu-mig married a daughter of the Gung-thang ruler.

1783 I.e. 'Khra 'brug pa. **DTHMP** 21a3-4; **YLJBCHBY** 74.3-5; **GBYTSH** 162b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a1.

The two lDe'u versions and dGe-ba'i blo-gros, followed by dPal-'byor bzang-po, maintain that it was the descendants of Da-ra that settled in Khra-'brug. Cf. note 1776.

Khra-'brug is situated in the Yar-lung Valley, cf. Ferrari, Map and note 836 *supra*.

Yar-lung Jo-bo maintains, somewhat in contradiction with his sources **DTHMP** and **GLR**, that the descendants of Da-ra, lHun-po, 'Od-btsan and Gung-btsan became (the ruling) inhabitants of Khra-'brug, Bying and Chu-mig Gog-po. Cf. also van der Kuijp, 1992, p. 481, n. 48, who has confounded the statements of **YLJBCHBY** and **GLR**.

1784 I.e. Bying pa. **DTHMP** 21a3; **YLJBCHBY** 74.5; **GBYTSH** 162b1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 14a1-2.

Bying is located in the lower part of dBu-ru, cf. Ferrari, p. 54, n. 312 and Map.

1785 I.e. Byar pa. **DTHMP** 21a3; **YLJBCHBY** vacat; **GBYTSH** 162b2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a1-2.

Byar is located in lHo-kha area, south-west of the Yar-klungs Valley, cf. Ferrari, p. 51, n. 261 and Map. It is divided into Byar-stod and Byar-smad along Byar-chu. See also note 1778. The descendants of lHun-po-'bar (cf. the notes 1777-78) settled down in Byar.

1786 Or g.Yu-spyan as written above, note 1773.

1787 **DTHMP** vacat; **YLJBCHBY** 74.6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a2.

Gar-mi Yon-tan g.yung-drung is also known as the *dge bshes* or *kalyāṇamitra* from 'Ol-ga [= 'Ol-kha, 'Ol-dga'], who is recorded to have been a benefactor and pupil of Atiśa. Cf. e.g. the Atiśa-biography **rNam-thar rgyas-pa** (Eimer, 1979, sect. 320, 375, pp. 259, 276). Cf. also **DTHNGP** (I, 419.10, Roerich, p. 345) and Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 74a4, 82a2-4;

arrived at Byas-sa [= Bya-sa][1788] [where he] took up residence.
His son was Jo-dga'.[1789]
He [again] had three sons, the eldest of which was lHa-chen[1790]*[1791] [of] Bya-sa.
Khri Dar-ma[1792] [as] younger brother renounced [the world, i.e. became ordained as

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Tucci, *Lhasa*, p. 178. He was considered one of the eleven great masters of dBus and is credited the erection of the temple of rDzing-phyi in 'Ol-kha. This conduces to situate the *floruit* of g.Yu-can/spyan to the middle and perhaps later half of the XIth century.

1788 **YLJBCHBY** 74.5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a2.
Bya-sa is located on the southern bank of gTsang-po, west of rTse-thang. For Bya-sa *lha khang* cf. Ferrari, p. 54, n. 310. Yar-lung Jo-bo in a gloss records that g.Yu-can by some (texts) is credited for having constructed the temple's cupola (*dbu rtse*), whereas Jo-dga' is ascribed the construction of the large courtyard including the erection of a golden statue along with painted murals.

1789 **GBCHBY** 387.5; **DCHBY** 151.16; **YLJBCHBY** 74.5-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a2.

1790 **GBCHBY** 387.6 and **DCHBY** 151.17: lHa-chen dPal-'bar (also called Mi-'thung-dga'); **YLJBCHBY** 74.6-10; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a2-3.
Jo-bo (the Lord) lHa-chen-po of Bya-sa in recorded twice, at least, in **DTHNGP** (II, 1084.5-6, 1090.3-4, Roerich, pp. 930, 936) which allow us to place his rough *floruit* in the mid-XIIth century (or perhaps, as suggested by van der Kuijp also, 1992, *op. cit.* p. 484, in the second half of that century, cf. also next note), because gZhon-nu-dpal informs us that rGyal-ba rTen-nas-pa/Ten-ne (1127-1217 A.D.), from his fifteenth until his eighteenth year, i.e. 1141/2-1144/5 A.D., served as minister under this local lord. Kun-dga rgyal-mtshan, **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 141b2 mentions lHa-chen dPal-'bar of Zhang-mtshal, which suggests that he was an adherent of Zhang Rin-po-che of [m]Tshal, also known as Bla-ma Zhang alias brTson-'grus grags (1123-1193 A.D.), who founded the monastery of Tshal in 1175 and Gung-thang in 1187 A.D. (which became an important school and later a myriarchy and its *khri-dpon* had lHa-sa and Jo-khang under its jurisdiction and custody). Bla-ma Zhang attempted to induce dPal Phag-mo-gru-pa (1110-1170 A.D.) to become the private chaplain of the king (*btsad po*) of Bya-sa, i.e. lHa-chen-po, cf e.g. **DTHNGP** (II, 657.17-658.2, 832.14-836.18, Roerich, pp. 557-558, 711-715) where the Jo-bo lHa-btsun mentioned by gZhon-nu-dpal in the biographical account of Zhang may allude to lHa-chen or his younger brother, cf. below. All in all, lHa-chen may tentatively be situated 1120-1190 A.D.

The third son, aside from lHa chen-po and Khri Dar-ma, was recorded to have been a younger brother called lHa Zhi-ba, who renounced (the world) i.e. became ordained as monk and settled down in Lo-mo sgom-khang according to **YLJBCHBY** 74.9-10. The latter *may* be identified with lHa Zhi-ba 'od, the *lha btsun* or Monk-prince of bSam-yas, who e.g. invited the Kha-che Pan-chen to bSam-yas around 1210 A.D. cf. **DTHNGP** (II, 1245.10-11, Roerich, p. 1070).

The picture drawn from the two lDe'u versions, **GBCHBY** 387.5-9, **DCHBY** 151.17-19, is slightly different: The son of Jo-dga' was Lo-lha sTa-ba-can (absent from **DCHBY**). He had three sons: The eldest was Mi-'thung-dga', alias lHa-chen dPal-'bar. The next was Khri Dar-ma and the youngest was lHa [= lHa-btsun] (i.e. Monk-prince and often implying the execution of secular power) Zhi-ba who renounced [the world], i.e. became a renunciate monk. The eldest and the youngest both became monk and (jointly?) acted as chief (*dpon*) (i.e. they were both lHa-btsun).

1791 **gloss*: *He erected the temple of Bya-sa.*
YLJBCHBY 74.6-10: He erected the temple of Bya-sa [called] So-ma. The great Sang-rgyas dBon-ston (of rGya-ma, also known as dBon-ston Rin-po-che, Rin-chen sgang-pa) (1138-1210 A.D.) performed the consecration (of this new temple) and he rendered great service to many learned *mkhas grub*-s such as dPal Phag-mo-gru-pa [rDo-rje rgyal-po] (1110-1170 A.D.). Cf. also **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 141b1-3. Cf. also van der Kuijp, 1992, p. 484, n. 19.

1792 **GBCHBY** 387.7; **DCHBY** 151.17; **YLJBCHBY** 74.10; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a3.
Cf. previous note.

monk].

Khri Dar-ma had four sons:
gTsug-lde,[1793]*[1794]
Khri-gtsug,[1795]
Jo-bo rNal-'byor,[1796]*[1797]
Jo-bo sMon-lam.[1798]*[1799]
Khri-gtsug seized [the places of] Byas[= Bya-sa] and Dos-sngon.[1800]
His son was Khri-btsan.[1801]

1793 **YLJBCHBY** 74.11; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a3.
The two lDe'u versions are silent on this son of Khri Dar-ma and register only the following three sons.

1794 **gloss*: [*He was*] *without offspring*.

1795 **GBCHBY** 387.10; DCHBY 151.20: Khri-btsun/tsug; **YLJBCHBY** 74.11; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a3: Khri-gtsug-lde.

1796 **GBCHBY** 387.10; **DCHBY** 151.20; **YLJBCHBY** 74.11; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a3.
The *floruit* of Jo-bo rNal-'byor of Bya-sa may grossly be situated in the period between 1135/40-1210 A.D. He fathered lHa-chen in 1158 A.D. cf. note 1806. From **DTHNGP** (II, 1099.6-8, Roerich, II, p. 945) we are informed that Shes-rab 'od, alias lCags-so-can, (1166-1244 A.D.), at the age of thirty, i.e. in 1195-96 A.D., visited Bya-sa and where this Jo-bo was in power in order to attend to teachings tendered by the 'Bri-gung Chos-rje (1143-1217 A.D.) and rGya-ma Rin-chen sgang-pa, alias rGya-ma dBon-ston Rin-po-che (1138-1210 A.D.). Cf. also the introduction to this book note 39.

1797 **gloss*: *He stayed in 'Ban-tshigs*.
'Ban-tshigs must be rectified to 'Bangs-[b]rtsigs as adduced in **GBCHBY** 387.19, **YLJBCHBY** 73.8 (gloss) 75.3-12, **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a4-5: The lineage of Khri-chung, the *yang mes* of the Yar-lung Jo-bo-s (cf. the notes 1753, 1762), settled down in the Yar-lungs Valley, where he sought out his residence to be 'Bangs-brtsigs ('Raised by the People'). Jo-bo rNal-'byor, from here, safeguarded his realm. He and his brothers rendered great service to Buddhism, in particular to sPyan-snga-ba (1174/75-1255 A.D.) and to rGyal-ba Rin-po-che, also called Thog-[b]rdungs-pa (1203-1267 A.D.) of 'Bri-gung by by functioning as *dānapati*.

1798 **GBCHBY** 387.10; **DCHBY** 151.20; **YLJBCHBY** 74.11; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a3.

1799 **gloss*: *After he had renounced* [*the world*] [*i.e. became a renunciate* [*monk*]], *he built the white* [*meditation*] *cella* (*gzims khang*) *of sPu-gu* [*where he*] *settled down*.
Cf. also **YLJBCHBY** 74.16-75.3; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a4.
The place sPu-gu should be rectified to [s]Pu-gu-rdo, cf. also **YLJBCHBY** 107.5, 108.12, **DTHNGP** (Roerich, pp. 278-79, 581: sPu-gu-do/no). Yar-[k]lung Pu-gu-do was e.g. visited by Kha-che Pan-chen Śākyaśrī in 1211 A.D., in other words around the same time as Jo-bo sMon-lam sojourned there, cf. Jackson, 1990, p. 44 and **DTHNGP** (II, 1245.16-17, Roerich, p. 1070).

1800 **YLJBCHBY** 74.12-13: Do-sngon; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a3.
The area of Bya-sa is so called while this lower part of the Yar-klung Valley pertained to the clan of Bya, cf. **DTHNGP** (II, 1265.11ff., Roerich, p. 1087ff.). The relationship between the Bya-clan and the rulers of Yar-klung, who settled in the area remains to be clarified. Cf. also the notes 1814, 1836.

1801 **GBCHBY** 387.12; **DCHBY** 151.21: Khri-btsan-lde; **YLJBCHBY** 74.13.
As delineated in **GBCHBY** 387.11-18, **DCHBY** 151.20-152.2: Khri-gtsug (or Khri-btsun) had five sons: One son died in struggle at Zo-thang (at rTse[s]-thang, for this place cf. note 349 *supra*) and aside from the present Khri-btsan-lde, he had the sons brTse-kha-bo (*sic*, text corrupt, the father killed by the son of Bu-chung?), Jo-bo sGom-pa and Jo-dbang (= Jo-bo dBang-po/dBang-phyug?).
Jo-dbang's son was Jo-bo bTsan-khri-dpal.

His son was Sha-kha-khri.[1802]
His son[s] were the [ruling] inhabitants of Yar-mda'[1803] etc. [such as] lHa-khri.[1804]
Jo-bo rNal-'byor had three sons, the eldest of which was Jo-'bag.[1805]
The middle son was lHa-chen.[1806*1807]
The youngest son was lHa Ngam-shod-pa.[1808*1809]

The sons of Khri-btsan-lde: The eldest Bu-chung was killed by a sister. Another was called Srong-btsan. His line was discontinued. Shag-khri (cf. next note). He sojourned in mKhar-thog. Finally also the son named Jo'i khams.

1802 Better Sha-khri or Shag-khri. **GBCHBY** 387.16-18; **DCHBY** 151.21-152.2; **YLJBCHBY** 74.14: Sha-khri.

According to the two lDe'u versions he settled in mKhar-thog and had two sons:
lHa-khri chung-pa and Jo-khams (or Kham-pa).
Jo-khams had two sons: rDor-rin (i.e. rDo-rje rin-chen) and Rig-'od.

1803 I.e. Yar mda' ba. **YLJBCHBY** 74.14-15.

1804 **GBCHBY** 387.17-18; **DCHBY** 152.1; **YLJBCHBY** 74.14.
Cf. note 1802.

1805 **GBCHBY** 387.19-21; **YLJBCHBY** 75.16-17; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a6.

According to mKhas-pa lDe'u, rNal-'byor had four sons: The eldest was sPyil-bu-ba. Thereafter in succession: 'Bag-so, 'Bag-chung (who went to 'Bri-gung for *moksa* or salvation) and the youngest bKra-shis-mgon who died.

This earliest witness is thus slightly in conflict with the remaining sources which list three sons only. We may here equate sPyil-bu-pa with lHa-chen (cf. next note) and 'Bag-so, from the list of his sons given, is to be identified with Jo-'bag. Finally 'Bag-chung is to be identified with lHa Ngam-shod-pa (cf. note 1808) as can be adduced from the fact that he went to 'Bri-gung (cf. note 1809).

Since Jo-'bag fathered the great lHa 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po in 1186 A.D. (cf. note 1811), it would arguably place his own birth around or slightly prior, say 1150-55 A.D., to the time when his alleged younger brother lHa-chen was born i.e. 1158 A.D.

1806 **GBCHBY** 387.19: sPyil bu ba; **YLJBCHBY** 75.12-14, 106.9-108.6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a5; **DTHNGP** (I, 338.3-339.5, 372.12-13, Roerich, I, pp. 276-277, 307); **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 246b5-247b1.

lHa-chen, alias lHa Lung gyi dbang-phyug, religious name Byams-pa rin-chen (1158-1232 A.D.). He was son of Jo-bo rNal-'byor (cf. note 1796) and his noble consort (bza') dPal-'dren of the sNa-nam clan and he was born in Pho-brang khang-dmar (of Bya-sa). Cf. previous note.

1807 **gloss*: *He held the abbatial seat (gdan sa) of sPyil-phu.*

lHa-chen-po occupied the see of sPyil-bu for forty-three years (1190-1232 A.D.). The see and monastery of sPyil-bu was established by Se sPyil-bu-pa, alias Chos kyi rgyal-mtshan (1121-1189 A.D.), his master being again Bya 'Chad-kha-pa (1101-1175), cf. e.g. **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 241b3-246b2.

1808 **GBCHBY** 387.20-21: 'Bag-chung; **YLJBCHBY** 75.15-16.

Cf. note 1805. For a brief mention of the kings (*brtsad po*) of Ngam-shod, cf. *Blue Annals*, pp. 570, 573-74, 936. Ngam-shod was the centre of Northern (Byang) La-stod, a hereditary fief of the Byang family. It is located in the westernmost part of gTsang. The centre of the Southern (lHo) La-stod was Shel-dkar *rdzong*.

1809 **gloss*: *Having renounced [the world] [i.e. become ordained], he was issueless.*

YLJBCHBY 75.15-16: He went to 'Bri-khung, where he functioned as *lha btsun*, i.e. monk (*btsun pa, bhadanta*) of royal origin, in the presence of gCung Rin-po-che rDo-rje Grags-pa (1211-1279 A.D.). Cf. also note 1805.

Assessing the above information, we are perhaps faced with a chronological problem: The elder

Jo-'bag had five sons born to him:
Jo-bo Shākya mgon-po,[1810]
lHa 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po,[1811*1812]
lDe-po,[1813*1814]
lDe-chung,[1815*1816] and [finally]
Jo-rgyal.[1817*1818]

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brother of lHa Ngam-shod-pa/'Bag-chung was lHa-chen, who was born in 1158 A.D. and the father to both is Jo-bo rNal-'byor, whose *floruit* we shall tentatively place between 1135-1210 A.D. (cf. note 1796) and while we would generally not assume any great span of time to last between the birth of the two brothers, the relative chronology only makes sense or remains unproblematic if we assume that lHa Ngam-shod-pa was born in the very late part of the XIIth century and that he attended on gCung Rin-po-che when this religious master was relatively young.

1810 **GBCHBY** 388.1-2: **YLJBCHBY** 75.17, 76.13-19; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a5.

mKhas-pa lDe'u claims that 'Bag-so (= Jo-'bag) had four sons only, but lists only three names and ignores most surprisingly lHa 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po. Cf. also note 1829.

1811 **YLJBCHBY** 75.17-76.2, 108.7-111.17; **DTHNGP** (I, 339.6-341.14, Roerich, I, pp. 278-280); **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 247b1-248b2.

lHa 'Gro-ba'i mgon (*Jagannātha), religious name Byang-chub 'od (1186-1259 A.D.). However, cf. van der Kuijp, 1992, *op. cit.* p. 486, n. 23, for some cogent, albeit still tentative speculations that would place his death in another sheep year, i.e. in 1271 A.D based upon information delivered by Yar-lung Jo-bo.

His father was Jo-'bag and his mother was the royal lady (*lcam mo lha cig*) 'Dzam-gling of the royal house lHa 'Bri-sgang-pa (cf. note 1597). He was a noted religious figure who was also nicknamed lHa (i.e. king, royalty) sTag-sham-can. Ignored by mKhas-pa lDe'u, cf. previous note.

1812 **gloss*: *He occupied the abbatial seat of sPyil-phu, wherefore* [*he gathered a*] *great* [*number*] *of trainees* [*to be converted*] (*gdul bya che*).

He occupied the see for twenty-seven years (1233-1259 A.D.).

1813 **YLJBCHBY** 75.18, 76.3-4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a6.

1814 **gloss*: *He took in possession* [*the place of*] *'Ban-tshigs*.

YLJBCHBY 76.3-5 adds that his son Jo-bo Shākya rGyal too resided at 'Bangs-[b]rtsigs (not 'Ban-tshigs), the residence of the Yar-[k]lungs Lords in the Yar-[k]lung Valley (cf. also the notes 1762, 1797 above). From here he wielded his power over g.Ye, large and small (*che chung*). g.Ye is another form of the district E (for E, cf. Ferrari, p. 84, n. 257). The execution of this power must have been exerted by him just prior to the period when the area of g.Ye, along with other dependencies such as Dvags, dMyal (= gNyal), Byar (cf. note 1785) and Lo-ro (all located in lHo-kha), fell under the dominion of the Bya-clan headed by Bya Rin-chen (a brother to Bya Chos-rgyal dPal-bzang) in the XIIIth century, cf. e.g. **DTHNGP** (II, 1265.10-1267.9, Roerich, pp. 1087-88). Cf. also note 1819. For the fortunes of the district of g.Ye/E in the XIII-XIVth century, cf. e.g. Petech, 1990, pp. 31, 56, 103, 106. Aris, 1979, pp. 138-39, incidentally, wrongly associates this lDe-po with a South Tibetan (Bhutanese) lineage.

1815 **GBCHBY** 388.2; **YLJBCHBY** 75.18, 76.10; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a7.

1816 **gloss*: *He passed away* [*early*] *and* [*thus*] *was without offspring*.

GBCHBY 388.2; **YLJBCHBY** 76.10; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a7.

1817 **GBCHBY** 388.2-3; **YLJBCHBY** 75.18, 76.10; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a7.

He settled down in Bu-lu.

1818 **gloss*: *He seized the* [*secular*] *power* (*srid*) [*of the lineage*].

The son of lDe-po was Jo-bo Shākya rGyal.[1819]
His son [in turn] was Jo-bo Shākya dPal.[1820*1821]
Jo-rgyal's son was Jo-'bar.[1822]
The eldest of the two sons [born to] him was lHa Zur-khang-pa.[1823*1824]
The youngest was known as lHa of Khrom-po,[1825] having been invited as chief (*dpon*) by the people of Khrom-po.[1826]
Jo-bo Shākya mgon-po had [his] brothers settle down (*phog*) individually (*tha thang du = tha dad du*),[1827] whereafter he [himself] established his palace [called] gNas-chung.[1828]

1819 **YLJBCHBY** 76.3-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a6.
From these sources we are informed that Jo-bo Shākya rGyal too resided at 'Bangs-[b]rtsigs (not 'Ban-tshigs), the residence of the Yar-[k]lungs Lords in the Yar-[k]lung Valley (cf. also the notes 1762, 1797). From here he wielded his power over g.Ye, large and small (*che chung*).

1820 **YLJBCHBY** 76.5-9; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a6-7.
Also known as Blo-gros dPal bzang-po. Cf. next note.

1821 **gloss*: *He was ordained in the presence of 'Gro-mgon 'Phags-pa, [and] so [being a celibate monk, he] was without issue.*
Cf. also **YLJBCHBY** 76.5-8; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a7: He was ordained in the presence of 'Gro-mgon 'Phags-pa [Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280 A.D.)]. The Bla-ma chen-po himself functioned as *upādhyāya* and as *ācārya* functioned the father of (Drung-)bDag-chen-po [i.e. Mahātman bZang-po-dpal 1262-1322 A.D.], named Ye[-shes] 'byung[-gnas] (1238-1274 A.D.), and his name being Blo-gros dPal-bzang-po, was taken from his *upādhyāya* [i.e. Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan], whom he served as an attendant (*nye gnas*).

1822 **GBCHBY** 388.2: Jo-'Ber; **YLJBCHBY** 76.10-11: *btsad po* or king Jo-'Phel; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a7.

1823 **YLJBCHBY** 76.11-12, 112.5-16; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a7; **DTHNGP** (I, 342.1-9, Roerich, pp. 280-281); **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 248b4-249a1.
gZhon-nu-dpal corroborates that lHa Zur-khang-pa (1277-1337 A.D.) was son of Jo-'bar (reading Jo-bar/bor) whereas **YLJBCHBY** adduces that the father was Jo-'phel/'bel. After Zur-khang-pa was ordained, he carried the religious name dBang-phyug ye-shes. His teachers counted lHag-ru-pa chen-po and sBas-pa sTon-gzhon (1224-*ca.*1310?). He settled down in Zur-khang.

1824 **gloss*: *He too occupied the abbatial seat of sPyil-phu.*
Cf. also **YLJBCHBY** 76.11-12; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a7; **DTHNGP** (I, 342.6-7). Uncertainty as to when and for how long he held the see. The *Blue Annals* maintains he took over the abbatial chair age ten/eleven in 1287 A.D., and that he held it until age forty, i.e. in 1316 A.D. But this is contradicted by **DTHNGP** itself (I, 342.10-343.2-5, Roerich, pp. 281-82), where it is maintained that lHa Zur-khang-pa handed over the abbatial see to his successor and disciple lHa Blo-gros 'od (1285-1350 A.D.) in 1311 A.D. Cf. note 1833. In fact **YLJBCHBY** maintains that Zur-khang-pa died age sixty-four (and not sixty-one as by gZhon-nu-dpal), which would place his birth back to 1274 A.D.

1825 I.e. Khrom po pa. **YLJBCHBY** 76.13; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a7-b1.

1826 **YLJBCHBY** 76.13; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143a7-b1: It is merely stated that the lineage of the younger brother (no name) constituted the people of Khrom-po; **DTHMPSM** 37b2-3: Adding that he was invited to become leader of the people of Rong Khrom-po and that his descendants are still (in the XVIth cent.) to be found in the south in the area of Byar (cf. note 1785) and Sa-smad sPyang-rtsigs.

1827 **GLR** reads: *gcung po rnams tha thang du phog*. **YLJBCHBY** is equally unclear, *op. cit.* 76.13-14: *gcung po rnams pa sar* [*sic*] *phog nas.. .* The correct reading should be: *tha dad du phog*, i.e. the younger brothers settled in different places. This is also understood by dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 143b1: *gcung rnams so sor phog* and, incidentally, also by Chab-spel, 1989(b), p. 522.

[His] power and magnificence (*dpal 'byor*) were equal to space.

His son Jo-bo Shākya bKra-shis[1829] established the residential palace [called] [Pho-brang] rNying-ma.

The two sons born to him: The eldest was lHa Brag-kha-pa.[1830]

The younger one was the Ruler (mNga' bdag) Grags-pa Rin-chen,[1831] who went to China as attendant (*phyag phyi*) of 'Gro-mgon 'Phags-pa [Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan]. Obtaining [there] the mandate (*lung blangs*) of the Emperor (*rgyal po*) Se-chen (Qubilai Qan) [bestowed upon him], he established many residential palaces (*pho brang*) such as the palace of Brag-kha etc. and exerted [full] control [over them]. [His] power and magnificence (*dpal 'byor*) [too] were equal to space.

1828 **YLJBCHBY** 76.14-15; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143b1.

1829 **GBCHBY** 388.1-2; **YLJBCHBY** 77.1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143b1; **DTHNGP** (I, 341.14-19, Roerich, p. 280).

This Jo-bo Shākya bKra-shis, with his wife sKyor-mo Dar-rgyan, fathered lHa Brag-kha-pa Blo-gros Ye-shes (1250-1286 A.D.), born at Bye-chung. Cf. next note. His second son was mNga'-bdag Grags-pa Rin-chen (1254/55-1328). Cf. note 1831.

mKhas-pa lDe'u tersely informs us that (Jo-bo) Shākya bKra-shis sojourned in lHag-ru. Yar-lung Jo-bo records that he exerted his power as ruler and died age seventy-four (= seventy-three). This would offer us his gross *floruit* to ca. 1230-1300.

As this figure is one of the last entries found in **GBCHBY** which can be roughly dated, and as the above sons are not registered by mKhas-pa lDe'u, it serves, as already noted by van der Kuijp, 1992, pp. 488-489 as a *terminus ad quem* for the compilation of this important chronicle which must be dated to ca. 1260 A.D. and while lDe'u Jo-sras' ditto exposition is silent on this royal figure and in fact also abstains from listing the three sons of Jo-bo rNal-'byor such as lHa-chen (cf. note 1806), born in 1158 A.D. and moreover terminates his survey by listing three generations (allowing twenty to twenty-five years for each) issued from the Khri-gtsug, the brother of Jo-bo rNal-'byor, whose *floruit* we shall roughly situate between ca. 1135/40-1210 A.D., it would be tempting to date **DCHBY** slightly before the compilation of **GBCHBY**, say between 1230-1240 A.D. This concurs also with the conclusion reached by van der Kuijp, *op. cit.*, pp. 484-85. But since lDe'u Jo-sras' rendition is an abbreviated one, his biographical omissions may not be conclusive for the dating of his work.

1830 **YLJBCHBY** 77.3-4, 111.18-112.4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143b1; **DTHNGP** (I, 341.14-19, Roerich, I p. 280); **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 248b2-4.

Brag-kha-pa Blo-gros ye-shes/Ye-shes blo-gros (1250-1286 A.D.): His father was Jo-bo Shākya bkra-shis and mother Dar-rgyan of sKyo[r]-mo. He was born in Byi/Bye-chung. He incidentally became disciple of his uncle lHa 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po and held the see of sPyil-bu between 1259-1286 A.D. Cf. previous note.

1831 **YLJBCHBY** 77.4-17; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143b2-3.

His chronological data are 1254/1255-1328 A.D. As young he was ordained and occupied briefly the see of sPyil-bu/phu. He was first assistant or attendant for five years under Bla-ma rGyal-ba Rin-po-che (1203-1267 A.D.), and we must presume, upon the death of the latter, he became *nye gnas* in the presence of Chos kyi rgyal-po (1235-1280 A.D.) attending him once on a trip to China. This must have taken place in 1267-68 A.D., while he there received, meeting Qubilai at the court, the prerogative of rulership over his own territory as chronicled by Yar-lung Jo-bo. From that year he exerted his secular rule (*chab srid, rgyal srid*) for forty years (i.e. 1268-1307 A.D.) and age fifty-three (= age fifty-two), in a sheep-year (i.e. fire-sheep, 1307 A.D.) he handed over his rule to his second son mNga'-bdag Shākya mgon-po. Having dwelled in deep meditation on the profound ultimate meaning (*nges don, nītārtha*) as Jo-bo Yar-lung formally says, he passed away, aged seventy-four (= seventy-three), in an earth-male-dragon year, i.e. 1328 A.D. Cf. similarly van der Kuijp, 1992, p. 488.

To him three sons[1832] were born, the eldest being Blo-gros 'od.[1833]

The second was mNga-'bdag Shākya mgon-po.[1834*1835]

The youngest son was lHa-btsun (Monk of royal blood) Tshul-khrims bzang-po.[1836*1837]

Beginning with these [personages delineated here] up to the present[-day] Lords (Jo-bo) of Yar-[k]lung[s], these [royal figures] arriving in [direct] succession represent the unbroken royal lineage of the Tibetan kings (*bod rgyal po'i gdung brgyud zam ma chad pa*). Therefore [they are all] in extraction, stature and accomplishment (*rigs gzugs yon tan*) particularly distinguished.

These [details offered here on these lineages] are only an abridged outline, should you want [to know] in great[er details] the feats and deeds of the successive Yar-[k]lung[s] Lords, pray consult the **Genealogy**[1838] **(rGyal-rabs)** compiled by lHa-btsun Tshul-khrims bzang-po!

1832 **YLJBCHBY** 77.18-78.2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143b4: Four sons. The one unmentioned in **GLR** was named 'Bal who passed away at a tender age.

1833 **YLJBCHBY** 77.17, 112.17-114.14; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143b3; **DTHNGP** (I, 342.10-343.8, Roerich, p. 281); **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 249a1-b1.

lHa Blo-gros 'od (1285-1350 A.D.). Father Grags-pa Rin-chen and mother Princess (lHa-gcig) rDo-rje. Born in Pho-brang rnying-ma. In 1311 A.D. he took over the see of sPyil-phu/bu which he occupied for forty years until 1350.

1834 **YLJBCHBY** 77.15, 78.2-7; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143b4-5.

He is recorded to have rendered great service to Buddhism, such as to the great Yar-klungs lo-tsā-ba Grags-pa rgyal-mtsan. He took up residence in Yum-bu bla-sgang. The data uncertain, but he assumed the age of fifty-three (= fifty-two). This would give the following tentative dates: ca. 1290-1342 A.D.

1835 **gloss*: *He occupied the abbatial seat of sPyil-phu. As he is* [*regarded as*] *the late* (*rting ma*) *Shākya mgon-po, his grandeur* (*dpal 'byor*) *was mighty* [*indeed*].

1836 **YLJBCHBY** 77.19-78.1; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143b3-4.

The chronology not certain. But he must be situated in the first part of the XIVth century. He was author of a genealogical treatise delineating his own royal line, allegedly titled **rGyal-rabs deb-ther chen-mo**, cf. **DTHMPSM** 37b1-2 (Tucci, 1971, pp. 167-168). Cf. note 1838.

DTHNGP (II, 1267.13-1268.15, Roerich, pp. 1088-1089) lists a contemporary (most plausibly not identical) figure, the *mahopādhyāya* Tshul-khrims bzang-po, but with a different paternity. The latter-mentioned was a scion of the clan of Bya, a son of mNga'-bdag Chos-seng (i.e. Chos kyi seng-ge) who acted as *dpon* or local chief of the districts of Dvags and Byar (cf. note 1785) and whose father in turn was Bya Chos-rgyal dPal-bzang (not identical with, but a contemporary of Chos-rje dPal-bzang-po (1257-1310 A.D.)). This Tshul-khrims bzang-po became abbot of Zangs-po-che and he mounted the chair (see) of the *vihāra* of Yang[s]-rtse.

1837 **gloss*: [*He*] *was ordained at gDan-sa-mthil.*

Cf. also **YLJBCHBY** 78.1; **DTHMPSM** 37b1-2; **HBCHBY** (JA) 143b3-4. gDan-sa-mthil, the see and monastery of the Phag-mo-gru-pas.

1838 **DTHMPSM** 37b1-2: **rGyal-rabs deb-ther chen-mo**. Non-extant. Extensively used by the authors of **GLR**, **YLJBCHBY** and **DTHMPSM** (but first by Bla-ma dam-pa). Cf. note 1836.

[XXIX] [Concluding Remarks and Author's Colophon]

[This exposition, i.e. **GLR**] is [nothing] but an abridged outline, comprising the story (*lo rgyus*) of the spread and diffusion of Buddha's Teaching here in the Snow-clad Country of Tibet, [an exposition] of the royal heads of India and China, [as well as] a genealogy of Mongolia and Tangut, but [the present work] is foremost a biographical narrative (*rnam thar*) of the successive Tibetan royal genealogies.

The following [sources have been employed]: Renouncing [altogether] [all] kinds of mental reflections (*yid dpyod*) induced by other's hearsay (*kha rgyug*) or by one's own [subjective] supposition (*blo tshod*) or conceptualization (*rnam rtog*), [I] have collected the **sūtra**-s and **tantra**-s of Buddha's [scriptural] word (*vacana*), the **bKa'-'bum** of the King [Srong-btsan sgam-po], the **lHa-sa** and **bSam-yas Ka-tshigs chen-mo**, the greater and smaller (*che chung*) treasury-writings (*gter yig*) of Jo-bo-rje [i.e. Atiśa], [various] smaller and larger historical writings (*chos 'byung*), the **rGyal-po bKa'i thang-yig**, records (*yig tshang*) of Hor [i.e. Mongolia], and furthermore, numerous genealogical-historiographical writings (*rgyal rabs kyi yi ge*) compiled by individuals (*gang zag*) well-versed in scientific-scholarly writings (*bstan bcos*, *śāstra*) - [such as] the sDe-dpon of Tshal-pa [i.e. dGe-ba'i blo-gros, author of **Deb-ther dmar-po**]. [All these sources] were [then] individually examined most carefully [and from the process of collation] any doubts as to validity versus fallacy [of the data presented] (*yin min gyi the tshom*) have been eliminated. Archaism (*snang skad = gna' skad*), synonymic language (*gda' skad = brda skad*?) [all such expressions] which are not easily comprehensible (*go dka' ba rnams*) have been rectified and adjusted. This [work] has been successfully composed [by me] in order to arouse encouragement (*spro ba*) and devotion (*mos gus*) [among] those pious individuals (*dad ldan*) seeking knowledge of the Teaching [of Buddha]. [I have attempted to] make [the work] easily comprehensible for everyone [such as] oneself and others, while [I have] abstained from compiling [it] by [employing any excessive usage of] figures of speech (*rgyan*) [such as] poetry (*snyan ngag*) and metre (*sdeb sbyor*). May it be known [to convey] the truth (*bden par shes par mdzod cig*)!

Furthermore, should there [among] [those] individuals of the posterity who zealously strive [to know] these [many historical details contained in this work] [arouse] any doubts for instance in terms of veracity versus fallacy [as to the data presented therein], it is [only] suitable to let [them] examine carefully the old [i.e. original] writings (*yi ge rnying pa*) [indicated] earlier [i.e. above]! May [all] those ignorant [beings] (*mi shes pa rnams*) [eventually] be rectified (*'chos*)!

> May the widely diffused Teaching [of Buddha] durate for a [long] time
> [Secured] qua [the merit of] this [enormous feat, i.e.] the spread of the Teaching of the Teacher [Śākyamuni] in [all] ten directions,
> [Conducted] by the [Tibetan] ancestral Dharmarāja-s, who have accomplished the expansion of [this] Teaching,
> This [exploit of theirs] of the mode of diffusion of the Teaching [here in] the Snow-capped [Country of Tibet]!
>
> May the Patrons (*dānapati*) of the Teaching, the sovereign rulers [of Tibet]

Come to experience the glory of benefit and happiness [of worldly] power (*chab srid*),
[Being] mindful of safeguarding the two [kinds of] Laws in accordance with Dharma,
And may [their] two equipments (*saṃbhāra*) [of Merit and Gnosis conducive to Enlightenment] be lofty (*mngon mtho*) equalling in expanse [Mt.] Meru (*lhun po*)!

This abbreviated biographical narrative (*rnam thar*) of the [Tibetan] Dharmarāja-s
Has been properly compiled (*legs par* [*b*]*sgrigs pa*), avoiding [altogether any] mistakes,
By [me] Vajradhara bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan
In compliance with (*ngor*) the [urgent] admonition of lHa-btsun Rin-chen dpal.

May, perforce of the merit [acquired by writing this biography] a feast [of honey] for the bees, the pious individuals, be celebrated extensively,
After the lotus-garden (*pad tshal*) of the benefit and happiness [of] [Buddha's] sacred Words (*gsung rab*, *pravacana*) has been disclosed
By the thousand-rayed (*'od stong*, *sahasraraśmi*) [Lord of the] Seven Horses (*rta bdun* [*bdag po*], *saptāsva*[*-iśvara*], i.e. the sun (*nyi ma*, *sūrya*)), expanding the Teaching of Muni,
In the cloudless [i.e. pure] space [above]!

Although the most accomplished Buddha, the Teacher [Śākyamuni] never set foot here in this Snow-capped Country, the barbarous borderland of Tibet, [it] has [nevertheless] been penetrated by the rays of [his] [sacred] Words (*vacana*) [i.e. the Buddhist scripture], whereafter Ārya Avalokiteśvara [has taken upon him the task of] actively setting all the sentient beings [of Tibet] onto the path of Liberation [and] Enlightenment by converting each individual according to personal [disposition] (*gang la gang 'dul gyis*).

This [chronicle] called the '**Mirror Illuminating the Origin of Religion**' (**Chos-'byung gsal-ba'i me-long**) - a biographical narrative [which has propounded how] [this] expansion and diffusion of [Buddha's] Teaching [took place,] accomplished by the successive Tibetan Dharmarāja-s, but in particular [accomplished] by the spiritual incarnation of this Noble One (Ārya [Avalokiteśvara]), the Dharmapāla Srong-btsan sgam-po etc. together with the assemblage of ministers by [using] various means - [this chronicle], with the aim to arouse encouragement [among] pious individuals and for [the sake of those] seeking knowledge of the mode of diffusion of the [Buddhist] Teaching, has in the earth-male-dragon year (*sa pho 'brug gi lo*) properly been compiled (*legs par* [*b*]*sgrigs*) by Sa-skya-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan at the Great Glorious bSam-yas Temple. May this [chronicle] [bring] happiness to all [people living in all] directions, [during all] times and [under all] conditions!

[The Printer's Colophon of the lHa-sa 'Phrul-snang Edition]

Hail! May blessing prevail!

To the highest Guru (*bla ma mchog*), the godly assemblage of tutelary deities (*yi dam lha tshogs*),
[To] the Triple Gem (*triratna*), the Dharmapāla-s and Guardians (*srung ma*).
Having inclined [ourselves] most respectfully with body, speech and mind,
[We] go for refuge [imbued] with a pious [mind] until [we] have [acquired] Enlightenment!

[Endowed with] the might of great merits (*bsod nams*), accumulated [through] previous [lives],
Born in the family (*rigs*) [adhering to] the incarnation (*sprul pa*) of Mañjughoṣa ('Jam-dbyangs),
The Dharmasvāmin (*chos kyi rje*), holding the victorious banner (*rgyal mtshan*) of the Teaching [of Buddha] [high],
To the feet of [him,] Bla-ma dam-pa [we] bow [our] head[s]!

[Tibet, the] Central Country (*yul dbus*, **madhyadeśa*) of the world (*srid pa*), [located] atop the 'shoulder'[-shaped] (*sogs kha = sog kha*) Jambudvīpa,
[There] in [the very heart of this] Snow-capped Country [of Tibet] [where] Saddharma has been diffused (*dam chos dar ba*),
[In] the Glorious Valley (i.e. dPal gyi lung) [of] sKyid-shod, [in] the heart of the Four Horns [i.e. Central Tibet],
[The temple of] lHa-sa 'Phrul-snang, the Second Vajrāsana,
[And] the Great Palace of sNi'u Brag-thog etc. [are situated],
[Sites] gloriously preserved and protected [by those holding] the temporal power, [themselves] being emanational beings,
[I.e. the [local ruler,] the Dharmarāja dPal-'byor rgyal-po, father, mother and heirs (*yab yum sras bcas*),
[May] the[ir] lives durate [prosperously] and the[ir] secular power expand!

[In] a prosperous year (*annus mirabilis*) [where] bliss and happiness [for all] subjects [under this local ruler's] sway (*mnga' 'bangs*) coincided,
In the earth-male-dog year [i.e. 1478 A.D.] in the lHa-sa 'Phrul-snang [temple],
The [present chronicle] **rGyal-rabs chos-'byung gsal-ba'i me-long**,
[As well as] iron-nets [beautifully finished so as] to mesmerize [people] (*spyan gzigs lcags gra* [= *dra*]), [and] the continuation of sacred light [i.e. oil for the butter-lamps] [being supplied by] herdsmen (*dkar me ru ba'i rgyun*) [secured],

[Sponsoring also] renovations being perfectly accomplished (*sar* [= *gsar*] *bcos phul phyin*), [such as the construction] of a great bright court-yard ([']*khyams khra chen mo*) [inside Jo-khang],
[And] [the establishment] of fenced-in flower[-gardens] (*me tog ra ba*) [to secure flowers used] for the [continuous] flow of worship (*mchod pa'i rgyun*) [to the sacred idols inside the temples] etc.,
In addition to the donation of medicine (*sman sbyin*), [the establishment of] monastic communities (*dgon sde*) and the [general] safeguarding [of all living beings] from trepidation (*'jigs skyabs*) and [finally]
[The supplement of] boats and bridges [to secure travelling to and fro Jo-khang] etc. [all these various items] were successfully [constructed and] accomplished (*legs par bsgrubs*) [through the grace of this local ruler],

In particular [what concerns the] manufacturing [of] a print (*spar du gzhengs pa*) [of **GLR**] etc.
Having been given favourable [financial] conditions (*mthun rkyen gnang*) and while [steadily] consulting the basic [text] (*gzhi ma nang nas zhus*) [i.e. the extant manuscript of **GLR**] [when copying]
And moreover [being supported] by distinctive (*phyogs kyi*) wealthy Patrons (*dānapati*) [and local rulers],
Who supplied the [necessary] material (*rgyu*) [for executing the woodblocks], [tendered] [by them] out of faith,
The Custodian of the Jo-bo [Shākya-muni idol in Jo-khang] (*Jo-bo dKon-gnyer*) Legs-pa'i shes-rab,
[Endowed] with a pure altruistic attitude (*lha* [= *lhag*] *bsam dag pa*) bereft of any [personal] material self-interests (*dngos 'dod med pa*), accomplished [this printing task most successfully].

Perforce of the merit [acquired by accomplishing this printing] also
[May] the Teaching [of Buddha], the origin of benefit and happiness, diffuse!
Intending to enhance [the number of convertible] trainees (*gdul bya*, *v[a]ineya*) [devoted to] the two Jo-bo [idols in lHa-sa],
[May] the intention of the highest Guru-s be accomplished!
[And may] the life of [any] individual upholding [this] Teaching [of Buddha] remain steadfast [for long],
In order to bring about bliss [and] happiness for all bodied [i.e. living beings]!
Qua the merit of [this] accomplishment (*sgrubs pa'i dge bas*) may all directions
Be permeated by numerous [kinds of] blessings and happiness!

The scribe (*yi ge pa*) [i.e. carving copyist] [of the present edition of **GLR**] was Yon-tan rgya-mtsho. The [person] carving out the [drawings] of the deities on the front[-page] (*dbu lha 'bur rkos*) was Nam-mkha' chos-dbyings, [whereas] dNgos-grub etc. successfully executed the printing [itself], [which took place] on the fourth day of the sixth *hor*-month, an accomplished day for revolving the Wheel of the Dharma (*chos 'khor bskor ba*). Perforce

of this [successful enterprise] may the sentient beings, I [as well as] others [individuals] [all] without rest (*bdag gzhan ma lus*), speedily attain the level of the Omniscient Jina [i.e. Buddha] (*thams cad rnam mkhyen rgyal ba'i go 'phang*)!

Glory and Blessing!

[The Printer's Colophon of the sDe-dge Edition]

Relying on the admonition articulated by the Khams-gsum Chos kyi rgyal-po [Dharmarāja] [also called] E-Wam-ba'i mkhan-chen dPal-ldan Chos-skyong, the Bla-ma chen-po Kun-dga' phrin-las rgya-mtsho, the Cakravartin ruler (*sa spyod*), powerful in the entire wide expanse (*yangs pa'i tha gru*) of Jambudvīpa, had [this book] [successfully] executed into print (*par du bsgrubs pa*) in order to distribute anew (*gser* [= *gsar*] *du spel*) [i.e. re-issue] [this] generous flow of infinite (*zad mi shes pa'i rgyun bzang*) religious donations (*chos sbyin*) [i.e. this book]!

Appendix

Appendix Chapter I

56 Two **āgama**-based traditions are available on the number of *rgyal rabs* passing between the two above figures: the list handed down in the **Abhidharma**, cf. the condensed list (*rgyal po'i rim pa*) in **LP** 77a3-79a3, where, however, no calculation is added. See also the list incorborated in **Vinaya(vastu)**, cf. **VV** 393a5-407b6 and **LP**, which includes both lists, *op.cit.* 79a3-82a6. The difference between these lists rests not only with the succession (*rim pa*) of the names and places of these royal figures, but especially in the numering of the (purely fanciful and astronomical figures) of *rgyal rabs* calculated to have passed between Mahāsaṃmata and Rāhula. The calculations (*grangs mdzad pa*, *rtsis pa*) and the figures by the Tibetan authors differ markedly, but with the **Vinaya** figures, being the most popular and most often quoted, a certain consensus prevails: 1.121.514 royal generations, (cf. **DTHNGP** 7a, **DTHMPSM** 4a2-3, **LDGR**, p. 75, **PSJZ** 18.22-24).

But we also find other calculations:

1.250.294 or 1.250.494/5 royal generations (cf. **KCHKKHM-1** 661.5-6, **KCHKKHM-2** 83.16-19, **KCHKKHM-3** 395.1-5, **CHBYMTNYP** 149a3-4, **MBNTH** 25b4-5 (the latter text counting 1.204.204).

1.110.601 (cf. **GBCHBY** 208.5-7 & **DCHBY** 97.8-9); 921.713 royal generations (cf. **DTHMP** 3b8: 921.713; **GBYTSH** 16b6-17a1).

In terms of the so-called **Abhidharma**-list we have the figures 834.534, (cf. e.g. **DTHNGP**); whereas 155.148 or 55.148 generations are counted by **GBCHBY** 208.7-8 & **DCHBY** 97.9-10, **LDGR** p. 73; but **PSJZ** 18.24 counts 937.531. Finally, **GBCHBY** 208.4-5, **DCHBY** 97.7-8 and **CHBYMTNYP** 149a1-2 even mention the figures of the tradition of **Abhiniṣkramaṇa**: 1.074.507 generations.

61 The twelve acts of Buddha, merely a display by Buddha for propaedeutic and didactic purposes, are an issue of dispute in indigenous scholasticism, not in question of number, but as to which act should be included, cf. e.g. **CHBY** 53a5-55b5. Bu-ston finally settles for the order and succession of Buddha's acts as delineated in some *gāthā*-s of **Uttaratantra** (**rGyud bla-ma**), cf. Johnson's ed. *Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*, *JBRS*, Patna 1950.
II, 53-56:

mahākāruṇayā kṛtsnaṃ lokam ālokya lokavit ।
dharmakāyād aviralaṃ nirmāṇaiś citrarūpibhiḥ ॥

jātakāny upapattiṃ ca tuṣitesucyutiṃ tataḥ ।
garbhā[va]kramaṇam janma śilpasthānāni kauśalam ॥

antaḥpuraratikrīḍāṃ naiṣkramyaṃ duḥkhacārikām ॥
bodhimaṇḍopasaṃkrāntiṃ marasainyapramardanam ॥

saṃbodhiṃ dharmacakraṃ ca nirvāṇādhigamakriyāṃ |
kṣetreṣv apariśuddheṣu darśayatyā bhavasthiteḥ ||

Cf. also **CHBY** 54b2-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 18a3-6. While the *dvādaśa kārya* correspond to this enumeration, Bu-ston - and thereby also dGe-ba'i blo-gros in **DTHMP** and Bla-ma dam-pa in **GLR** - employ **Lalitavistara** for the description of Act 1-11 and **Vinayakṣudraka** for Act 12, cf. **CHBY** 79a2-3. Occasionally, Bla-ma dam-pa cites **DTHMP** almost verbatim (Act 8-12). Further sources: pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 40.15-76.13; **KTHDNG** KHA, chap. V, 105.6ff. post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 17a1fff.

79 The system is cited by Bu-ston, **CHBY** 92b5-6, the prime source of **GLR**, who employed it in his calculation of the span of time elapsed from the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha until his current year, i.e. 1322 A.D.; cf. 92b6. This enables us to establish the Atiśa-system:

Buddha entered the womb in the wood-male-mouse year: 2217 B.C.
Buddha was born in the wood-female-ox year: 2216 B.C.
Buddha attained *bodhi* in the earth-female-pig year: 2182 B.C.
Buddha entered *nirvāṇa* in the wood-male-monkey year: 2137 B.C.
The year 2136 B.C. thus constitutes the first year after *nirvāṇa*.

80 The system actually originates from another Sa-skya master, bSod-nams rtse-mo (1142-1182 A.D.), who incorporated his calculation (*rtsis-pa*) in his doctrinal treatise **Chos la 'jug-pa'i sgo**, SSKB, vol. IV NGA, 263a1-317a6, cf. *loc. cit.* 314b6-316b6; It was composed in 1167 A.D. (*me mo stag*) computing that 3300 years had elapsed since Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*: The Sa-skya-pa system:

Buddha entered the womb in the fire-female-hare year: 2214 B.C.
Buddha was born in the earth-male-dragon year: 2213 B.C.
Buddha attained *bodhi* in the water-male-tiger year: 2179 B.C.
Buddha entered *nirvāṇa* in the fire-female-pig year: 2134 B.C.

82 The above incidence with the arrival of Bla-ma Ti-shri is here linked up with the theory delineating the relative duration (*gnas pa*, *avasthāna*) and eventual disappearance (*rnam 'jig*, *vipralopa*) of the Buddhist Law (Saddharma), a favourite theme in Buddhist scholastic scripture. The True Law is considered to have a cyclic nature, undergoing a series of rises and declines. In his description of the various eschatological theories of the duration (**CHBY** 91a1-93b5) and the cessation (**CHBY** 118a4-122b5) of Saddharma, Bu-ston finally settles for the theory predicting the Law to last for 5000 years, inasmuch as he considered this theory to be the only conveying an ultimate import (*nges pa'i don*, *nītārtha*; *loc.*

cit. 92b1) in contrast to various other theories, which hermeneutically carry a preliminary sense (*drang don*, *neyārtha*, **CHBY** 92a4-5) only. This 5000 years theory originates from Buddhaghosa and his school (Ceylon). It is a theory formulated in the Vth cent. of our era and was adopted by Pāli-chronicles such as **Mahāvaṃsa** (III, 38). The source for the Tibetan historians, however, adopting this theory is the commentary on the Three Prajñāpāramitā written by Daṃṣṭrāsena in the VIIth cent.

According to this 5000 years-duration theory Saddharma is considered to undergo a retrogressive course marked by ten grades (*le'u*, *parivarta*) each covering 500 years. This decuple division of the duration of Saddharma is further divided into three main eras (of 1500 years) each consisting of three turns (of 500 years each).

Appendix Chapter II

84 The first section embodies a legend, which we for contextual reasons shall call the Trikāya-legend, while it relates about the erection of three receptacle-images or substitute-statues (*sku tshab*) of Buddha, is found variously transmitted, albeit predominantly identically preserved in various *gter ma* Vita-cycles of Srong-btsan sgam-po, to wit:

Sources:

MṆKB E **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** scattered over three chapters: Chap. XIV (*mDzad-pa bcu-gnyis-pa phyi-rabs brod-pa bskyed-pa'i phyir | ring-bsrel sran-ma tsam khal gcig byon-pa la | lha-ma srin-sde brgyad ma 'cham nas | der bcom-ldan-'das nyid kyis byon nas bgos-pa*) 45a4-48b6; Chap. XV (*Yang-dag-par rdzogs-pa'i sangs-rgyas yongs-su mya-ngan las 'das-pa dang sku-tshab lung-bstan-pa*) 48b6-52b2; Chap. XVI (*De rnams ni bcom-ldan-'das kyi sku-tshab shākya mu-nes 'gro-don ji-ltar mdzad-pa*) 52b2-56a2;
KCHKKHM-1 Chap. II (*sPrul-pa'i bkod-pa bstan-pa*) 624.6-641.3;
KCHKKHM-2 Chap. III (*sPrul-sku 'dul-ba'i le'u*) 21.1-32.8;
KCHKKHM-3 Chap. I (*sPrul-pa'i sku 'dul-ba'i le'u*) 370.6-380.1;
CHBYMTNYP by Nyang-ral, 35b5-43a1 and his
MBNTH 7a4-11a6.

Cf. also post-**GLR**: **GBYTSH** 35b3-36b6; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 60.21-63.24; **TSLKHKCH** 8a6-9b6, 17b3-6; **NGTSH** 47.1-49.4 (= 6a1-7a4); Tsong-kha-pa's **Vita**, IV 11a5-12a3 (cf. R. Kaschewsky, *Das Leben des lamaistischen Heiligen Tsongkhapa*); **PSJZ** 138.4-24, 168.1-16.

This legend presents a mythological or pre-historical topic associated with the vita of Chos-rgyal Srong-btsan sgam-po and it is, like other parts of the Vita glorifying this king, also recorded to have been drawn or illustrated on wall-frescos in monasteries associated with this king, in the present case in one of the twelve famed geomantic nail-temples pinning down the prostrate *srin-mo* (cf. Appendix, notes 726, 770), temples associated with king Srong-btsan sgam-po, here the Bum-thang sKyer-chu'i lha-khang (cf. e.g. **KCHKKHM-2** 26.19-27.1; **KCHKKHM-3** 377.7-378.1). Whatever the possible Indian origin of this legend in some basic form, the legend has obviously been subjected to some excrescences by Tibetan scholars or mythographers in order, as we shall see later in **GLR**, to provide the textual basis for the mythological origin of two of the most famed images and national palladia of Tibet: The statue of Buddha Śākya-muni, a statue representing him, or rather Siddhārtha, at the age of eight years (*dgung lo brgyad pa*), also denoted (or, as said, (later?) identified by the Tibetans as) Jo-bo Mi-skyod rdo-rje (i.e. Akṣobhyavajra) also called Jo-bo chung-pa, the 'Little Jo-bo' or the Ra-mo-che'i Jo-bo being the prospective dowry of the Nepalese princess Khri-btsun when marrying this king, cf. **GLR** chap. XII. Further, it relates about the statue of Buddha Śākya-muni at the age of twelve years (*dgung lo bcu gnyis pa*), a statue

denoted Jo-bo che-ba or 'Great Jo-bo', alias Jo-bo Shākya or the lHa-sa'i Jo-bo (cf. also **GLR** chap. II (sect. III), **GLR** chap. III, XIII) which was brought to China and subsequently brought to Tibet as the prospective dowry by the Chinese princess Kong-jo. This statue became the principal divinity in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, and its installation eventually led to the re-naming of 'Phrul-snang to Jo-bo'i khang or Jo-khang. For the possible confusion between this latter legendary idol and a 'historical' identical-sized and identical-named statue, cf. note 134 of chap. III, *supra*.

Collating the various versions of the legend embodied in the above works, it transpires that they all display, despite a marked concordance in terms of the *Handlungsablauf*, the set-up and the various narrative elements, distinct traits, which may signal that all reflect various versions of a yet untraced or currently non-extant original, or this state of affairs may reflect tacit emendations or excrescences on the side of the respective vita-compilers. Clearly, **MṆKB** and **KCHKKHM-2** exhibit the most detailed exposition, followed closely by both versions of Nyang-ral and we may perhaps even assume that two distinct versions basically underlie the tradition and that the versions later may have intermingled:

Interlocutor (*zhu ba po*) of Bhagavat: Ārya Mañjuśrī - all versions.
Bhagavat emits:
3 rays of light: **MṆKB**, **KCHKKHM-1**, **KCHKKHM-2**, **KCHKKHM-3**, **GBYTSH**, **HBCHBY**, **NGTSH**; **PSJZ**;
4 rays of light: **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH**, **GLR**, **Vita**.

1. The Dharmakāya-receptacle. A *caitya*
Patron (*sbyin bdag*, *yon bdag*, *dānapati*)
Sahapati or Mahādeva Brahma: **MṆKB**, **KCHKKHM-1**, **KCHKKHM-3**, **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH**, **GLR**, **GBYTSH**, **HBCHBY**, **NGTSH**, **Vita**, **PSJZ**
Rāhula: **KCHKKHM-2**

2. The Sambhogakāya-receptacle. A statue
Patron:
Rāhula: **MṆKB**, **KCHKKHM-1**, **KCHKKHM-3**, **CHBYMTNYP**; **MBNTH**, **HBCHBY**, **NGTSH**;
Viṣṇu: **MṆKB**, **GLR**, **GBYTSH**, **Vita**, **PSJZ**

3. The Nirmāṇakāya-receptacle(s). A statue
Patron:
Śakra: **MṆKB**, **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH**, **GLR**, **GBYTSH**, **HBCHBY**, **NGTSH**, **Vita**, **PSJZ**;
Maitreya: **KCHKKHM-1+2+3**
Two Nirmāṇakāya-statues: eight-years and twelve-years: **KCHKKHM-1+2+3** (the latter only the eight-years statue), **GBYTSH**, **Vita**;
Three statues: eight-, twelve- and twenty-five-years: **MṆKB**, **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH**, **GLR**, **HBCHBY**, **NGTSH**, **PSJZ**.
Godframer (*bzo byed pa*): Viśvakarman: all versions.
Overseer (*dkon gnyer*):
Maitreya: **MṆKB**, **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH**, **GBYTSH**; **HBCHBY**, **NGTSH**;
Śakra: **KCHKKHM-2**.

92 In the visionary cosmological tradition connected with the figure of Gangs-chen mtsho-rgyal, the world or the universe represents 'an ocean of worlds' in which is described how the world-systems are purified by the vow or deeds of Buddha Vairocana, the 'World Illuminator' and the cosmic aspect of the historical Buddha. Notions are here nourished that even atoms of this cosmic being contain other countless universes and world-systems, based upon the tradition of the **Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra**.[1] Vairocana is commonly considered a *saṃbhogakāya* or the rapturous aspect of Buddha or a *ye shes kyi sku*, or 'body of gnosis' (cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 11a1, where Gangs-chen mtsho is erringly identified by Meisezahl to be the name of an arhant!), hence also Ye-shes Gangs-chen mtsho, i.e. Vairocana, the Great Glacial Lake [or Ocean] of Gnosis (could we assume here that the noted VIIIth cent. queen/saint Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal associated with Padmasambhava has derived her name from this divinity?). The figure is usually associated with Buddha's *buddhakṣetra* and, as we shall see *infra*, often conceived to be of an immense cosmic or celestrial size. Now, what is of great importance here, is that this figure associated with the cosmo- or theogonical **Avataṃsaka**-tradition apparently became implanted into when not taken over by a theogonical tradition associated with Avalokiteśvara and known to the Tibetans already from the IXth century (and possibly earlier) when the **Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra** became translated into Tibetan, a *sūtra* of immense importance for the introduction of the Avalokiteśvara-cult to Tibet. Herein we are introduced to a vision as to how Avalokiteśvara's body-pore contained entire world systems and universes.[2]

In the **Lo-rgyus chen-mo**, an important cult-text embedded in **MNKB**, and in the slightly older **KCHKKHM**, the cosmological vision of Avalokiteśvara is further developed into quite hyperbolic proportions, where even the usually

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1 Cf. TTPE No. 761: **Sangs-rgyas Phal-po-che shin-tu rgyas-pa chen-po'i mdo**, *le'u* 4: 95b4-109b1; *le'u* 5: 110b1-111a3; *le'u* 10: 156a3-167b4; *le'u* 40: 41b4-56a8; Cleary, 1984, I, pp. 202-269.

2 Cf. also Kapstein, 1992, pp. 88-89. As remarked there this theogonic vision was taken over by Atiśa in connection with the precept of bKa'-gdams lha-bzhi. Atiśa as the putative and, in all likelihood, real discoverer of **KCHKKHM**, this Bengali master was an active, perhaps even decisive figure in the final *implementation* of the Avalokiteśvara-cult in Tibet.

That these theogonic and cosmological theories, which later led to the merging of Vairocana and Avalokiteśvara in these Vita-biographies, were known to the Tibetans in the dynastic period is at least corroborated by the later historians themselves: During the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po, the Nepalese *ācārya* Śīla Mañdzu is said to have translated **Buddhāvataṃsaka** and the **sūtra**-s and **tantra**-s (incl. **Kāraṇḍavyūha**) pertaining to the Avalokita-cult into Tibetan; cf. e.g. **MNKB** E (Cd) 207a2-3; **KCHKKHM-2** 107.10-15; **CHBY** 138a5, 139a1.

Usually the first translation of **Kāraṇḍavyūha** is ascribed to Thon-mi, cf. *ad* note 490 *infra*. This cannot be conclusively verified due to the dearth of convincing proofs of Thon-mi's historicity and of his general activities. It was however translated into Tibetan in the dynastic period, cf. e.g. Imaeda, 1979, pp. 71-72, who maintains that a Skt.-version of the **Kāraṇḍavyūha** was at least in circulation in the VI-VIIth century (a Gilgit-Ms of this ancient text dating from this period has, as is known, surfaced), and a Tibetan translation is mentioned in the lDan-[d]kar-ma Catalogue of 812 A.D. Whether or not an earlier version was translated by a Nepalese Buddhist as part of the Newari-Nepalese religious and artistic activities at the Srong-btsan sgam-po court (cf. **GLR** Chap. XIV, XV *infra*) remains to be proved, but the Nepalese may well be main responsible altogether for the initial *introduction* of the Avalokiteśvara-cult to Tibet.

paramount and ubiquitous gestalt of Vairocana is reduced to a subordinate role.[3] Here, to give a glimpse of the cult surrounding this figure, Avalokiteśvara *inter alia* created, according to an almost similar-worded mainly mythographical narrative,[4] many *longs sku'i zhing khams*-s, such as one denoted the 'Flower-Ornamented One' (*me tog gis brgyan*),[5] here inspired by or taking over elements from the **Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra**, the size of which equalled one million *sahālokadhātu*-s, presided over by Vairocana with a bodily size of a 'Huge Glacier-Watered Ocean' (*gangs chen mtsho*). This huge-sized cosmic corpus or personified/hypostatized universe of Avalokiteśvara had pores (*ba spu'i khung bu, romavicara*) which, e.g., contain, as already said, other universes, various realms of Bodhisattva-s, Pratyekabuddha-s and Tathāgata-s etc. This form, or a similar, of Vairocana, denoted the light-adorned Gangs-chen-mtsho, was similarly an emanational creation of Avalokiteśvara, who took up residence above *sahālokadhātu*, in the mansion of Akaniṣṭha.[6]

Whatever its later Tibetan merging into the Avalokiteśvara-cult, the concept and import of Buddha Vairocana throughout Central-Asia (and as seen here also in Tibet) as an ubiquitous Ur-Buddha permeating the entire world down to it most minute atom cannot be overrated.[7]

We know that the Vairocana cult was particularly cherished in China and Central-Asia, wherefrom we have grounds to assume that it was also massively introduced to Tibet.

Apparently, a cast-form (*blugs ma*) idol of Vairocana Gans-chen-mtsho (obviously in the Thub-pa Gangs-can/chen-mtsho form, being the *sprul sku* form of Vairocana Gangs-chen-mtsho, the latter celestrial *longs spyod sku* form is normally not easily depictable) existed in the ancient Grva-thang lha-khang.[8] Also

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3 **MṆKB** E (A) Chap. III 15a2-16a1; IV 16a1-18a2. Kapstein, 1992, pp. 88-89. Cf. next note.

4 Cf. **MṆKB** E (A) Chap. V 18a2-18b5, (Ca) 102b2-6, (Cd) 187b1-188a6, WAM (G) 4a1-5a1; **KCHKKHM-1** 623.3-7, 677.5-680.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 9.8-10.15, 102.8-104.10; **KCHKKHM-3** 368.2-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 11a1-6, 12a5-6, 178b6-179b4; **MBNTH** 3b5-4b6, 29a5-30a4; see further later historians: **GBYTSH** 44a5-6; **HBCHBY** (KA) 4.1-5.14, (NGA) 61.11-18.

5 A possible source to introduce or substantiate this merging or rapport between Vairocana and Avalokiteśvara is a Srong-btsan sgam-po'i *bka'* denoted **Me-tog rgyan-pa'i zhing-bkod**, a source apparently no more extant and a source mentioned in **MṆKB** E dKar-chag 6a1-2 as an (original?) part of the king's writings. Or are we to see in the narratives referred to in the previous note, a reference to this work?

Anyway, drawing upon canonical material as embodied in the **Kāraṇḍavyūha** and the **Avataṃsaka**, the mythographers attempted to tinge the myth and cult of Avalokiteśvara and Srong-btsan sgam-po with scriptural legitimation. This cosmological cult of Avalokiteśvara, foremost embedded in **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** and **KCHKKHM**, is in the same Vita-cycles directly associated with or rather merged into a Srong-btsan sgam-po-cult, by linking the above cosmological panorama with the king, cf. subnote 9 *infra*.

6 Cf. **KCHKKHM-1** 625.3-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 11.1-12.11. So also Dorji & Kapstein, 1991, pp. 123, 130, 409, 961, where the rNying-ma tradition speaks about twenty-five fields or world-systems located on the equipoised hands of Vairocana Gangs-chen-mtsho.

7 Cf. e.g. Klimkeit, 1991, pp. 156-58.

8 Cf. **Zhi-byed chos-'byung** by 'Jig-bral chos kyi seng-ge (late 19th cent.), fol. 42a3, transl. by K. Kollmar-Paulenz, 1991, II, p. 221 (= 1994, p. 162). On this temple, cf. Vitali, 1990, pp. 37-68.

Jo-khang in Lhasa holds an idol of Thub-pa Gangs-chen mtsho-rgyal erected by the famous XIth century Jo-khang-renovator Zangs-dkar Lo-tsā-ba ['Phags-pa shes-rab].[9]

As part of the Avalokiteśvara or the Srong-btsan sgam-po cult in Tibet, and incidentally supplying another good argument for the possible antiquity of this figure, old Vita-cycles and biographical sources[10] mention *inter alia* the existence of gold[en]-painted frescoes (*rgyud ris*, *ldebs bris*) inside possibly the oldest temple in Tibet, wall-paintings depicting the *abhiṣeka* or the conference of power over the Tibetan realm to king Srong-btsan sgam-po. This empowerment he assumed as a heir-prince at the age of thirteen when he reached the age of majority. An important element in this mythographical narrative is a description of a miraculous creation of countless *buddhakṣetra*-s from the young prince's body, among others, numerous Vairocana Gangs-chen-mtsho, etc. in accordance with the above Avalokiteśvara theogony and cosmology contained in the same Vita-s. The temple in question allegedly holding these ancient frescoes was the royal chapel of Khra-'brug, a sanctuary intimately associated with king Srong-btsan sgam-po.[11] This in part confirms the opinion presented by Richardson, 1990(b), *op. cit.* pp. 271-72 that the Vairocana cult enjoyed extensive veneration already during the time of the Tibetan dynastic *chos-rgyal* kings and in this case, the prominent position of this figure associated with king Srong-btsan sgam-po's Khra-'brug adds further evidence to its antiquity.[12] The question nevertheless remains as to the dating and construction of these now lost Khra-'brug murals. As evidenced by the ancient murals and wall-paintings decorating Jo-khang, of which a number definitely can

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This is confirmed by Kaḥ-thog's report from his 1918-1920 itinerary to Central Tibet, where he observed in the central chapel of Grva-thang a Chinese-styled idol of Vairocana Gangs-can-mtsho, cf. his **GJBTSNK** 170.6-171.1 (= 105b6-106a1).

9 Cf. dPa'-bo's **HBCHBY** (JA) 148a5-6, the idol erected as door-keeper to the Central Chapel. Cf. also the Vth Dalai Lama, **TSLKHKCH** 9b5, an idol which, Vitali, 1990, p. 80 confirms, is still to be seen in the *gtsang khang dbus ma*.

10 Cf. the notes 4 and 5 above. In particular **MNKB** E (Ca) 102b2-6; **KCHKKHM-1** 677.5-680.5; **KCHKKHM-2** 104.7-8; **KCHKKHM-3** 368.2-5, 398.6-399.6; **CHBYMTNYP** 179b4-5; **MBNTH** 29a5-30a4; **HBCHBY** (JA) 14a7-14b3 (see also *Nyi-gzhon*, 1982 (2), p. 75).

11 **KCHKKHM-2** 10.12-13 directly acknowledges that the scriptural background for these notions are **gSang-ba rDo-rje thod-pa'i rgyud** (a source carrying this name remains unidentified, most likely the ref. is general and we should read: **gSang[-sngags] rDo-rje theg-pa'i rgyud**, cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 455b6) and the **Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra**; so also **KCHKKHM-3** 368.5-6 where it is even adduced that the frescoes depicting these scenes were executed in Klong-thang sgron-ma'i lha-khang (usually considered one of the twelve demon-suppressing temples erected by the king) in lieu of Khra-'brug. Nyang-ral states that the frescoes are to be found in the 'little chapel of the prince' (*rgyal bu'i khang bu*) inside Khra-'brug.

12 As delineated in the colophon to the **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** of **MNKB** E (A) 96a4-6, the king allegedly handed over to Thon-mi this Testament, who then made two copies. One was written on blue paper in gold and silver and was subsequently hidden in the treasury-house (*dkor mdzod*) of Khra-'brug, the king's heart or *thugs dam* chapel as the king's *bla gter*. Another Testament was written on Chinese scroll-paper and hidden under the Hayagrīva statue in Ra-sa. Cf. **MNKB** E dKar-chag 11a4-6, (Cd) 207a6-b2; quoted by Vth Dalai Lama in his **gSan-yig**, III, p. 132.6 (= 67b6).

be dated back to the construction of Jo-khang itself[13] in the seventh century, it is very reasonable to assume that the erection of a temple and the installation of wall-paintings and murals in some form were completed in one and the same process. We have no reason to reject the theory that Khra-'brug, again in its earliest form, was approximately contemporary with or perhaps even predated the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang temple. Khra-'brug was considered the heart-temple *par excellence* of king Srong-btsan sgam-po (cf. note 836 *infra*) and a number of texts postulates that Khra-'brug was the first temple ever erected in Tibet. More than the commonly assumed Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang then, one would readily assume that murals glorifying the king and his feats would be included among the cherished motifs of these murals. Otherwise we are compelled to assume, on an equally sound basis altogether, that these art-works may have been patterned upon or took inspiration from the scripture-based narratives preserved in the above-mentioned Vita-cycle of king Srong-btsan sgam-po, the systematic compilation or reworking of which we shall tentatively date back, at the earliest, to the period between 1050-1200 A.D., when these Vita-compilations, as we already know, were *gter-ma*-wise detected-*cum*-compilation (*spyan drangs*). In Khra-'brug the wall-paintings clearly were to supplement already existing idols and artistic creations depicting Vairocana, the main idol of Khra-'brug, as is known, being a silver-made Vairocana.

For this form, cf. also **CHBY** 53a1-2; **La-dvags rgyal-rabs** (Franke ed.) 1.20 and, as said, also Klong-chen Rab-'byams-pa and his rNying-ma tradition, who similarly developed, or rather took over as we have seen above, a cosmogony associated with this figure; cf. also Ehrhard, 1990, pp. 196-7, 270; Shakabpa (Zh[v]a-sgab-pa), 1982, p. 49. As a huge-sized symbol, the figure turns up in numerous contexts, cf. **HBCHBY** (Chin. ed. 662.1-2).

104 Different versions exist of this popular legendary Mahābodhi account, the Indian version(s), origin still largely unknown, is mentioned by Watters, 1905, II, pp. 116-137, and Stein, 1988, p. 1411. Tibetan versions, more or less complete, more or less at variance, in contrast, seem to abound:

Sources:

MṆKB E (A) Chap. XV: (*Yang-dag-par rdzogs-pa'i sangs-rgyas yongs-su mya-ngan las 'das-pa dang sku-tshab lung-bstan*) 48b6-52b2;
KCHKKHM-2 Chap. III (*sprul-skus 'dul-ba*) 37.16-44.9 **CHBYMTNYP** 43a4-50a3;
MBNTH 11b3-14a2;
Chag Lo-tsā-ba chos-rje dpal gyi rNam-thar (**rNam-thar**), Chap. V, 15.11-16.30, by dGe-bsnyen Chos-dpal dar-dpyang, cf. G. Roerich, *The Biography of*

13 Cf. Vitali, 1990 and note 874 *infra*.
The Vth Dalai Lama in his *Guide* records that in the XIII-XIVth century murals depicting scenes and illustrations from the **Avataṃsaka-sūtra** were executed in Jo-khang by Chinese artists, cf. **TSLKHKCH** 12b3-4.

Dharmasvāmin, tib. text. and tr., pp. 67-70, Patna 1959);

Post-**GLR** sources: **GBYTSH** 40b6-42a2; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 64.23-67.15; **GGCHBY** by Tāranātha, 14.4-17.9, cf. A. Schiefner, I (Tib. text), II, tr. pp. 18-22, St. Petersburg, 1868-69; **NGTSH** 49.4-50.3 (= 7a4-7b3); **PSJZ** 49.19-21, 77.12-24, 137.13-14. For further parallel sources, cf. Schneider, 1991, pp. 5, 34-36.

Collating the prime sources, it becomes clear that, aside from Chag Lo-tsā-ba's version which altogether probably reflects a distinct oral or perhaps Indian tradition, the rest are closely cognate, large parts being verbatim identical, deviating only in minor but telling details. Clearly, **MṆKB**, **KCHKKHM**, **CHBYMTNYP** and **MBNTH** evince, predictably, a separate, possibly Tibetan-concocted, stem in the transmission of this legend, whereas the account embodied in Tāranātha's **GGCHBY** followed by **PSJZ** and parallel with Chag Lo-tsā-ba seem to stand much closer to a separate (or earlier) Indian original.

Location: Magadha: **GLR**
Rājagṛha: **CHBYMTNYP**

Brāhmāṇa: Mahāpāla: **MṆKB, CHBYMTNYP, GLR, GBYTSH**
Mahā chen-po [*sic*]: **KCHKKHM-2**
Brāhmāṇa-wife: Dzaḥ-sa (*Jaḥsā?): **GGCHBY**, **PSJZ** Jñānaḍākinī: **GLR**

3 sons: Names:
bu che ba: Mahāsaṃbhe (**GLR**, **HBCHBY**: Mahā-ma-se [*sic*]; **KCHKKHM-2**: Mahāsame; **MBNTH**: Ha-sa-me);
bu 'bring po: Bimasaṃbhe (**GLR**: Si-ba-ma-se [*sic*]; **KCHKKHM-2**: Bhi-sa-me; **CHBYMTNYP**: Bhi-ba-sa-ma; **MBNTH**: Si-mis-me);
bu chung ba: Tsakra (*Cakra) saṃ-bhe (*Cakrasambhara ?; **GLR**: Va-spra-ta-ma-se [*sic*]; **MBNTH**: Va-tsa-dra-sa-me; **KCHKKHM-2** and **CHBYMTNYP**: Tsa-kra-sa-me) **MṆKB, KCHKKHM-2, CHBYMTNYP, MBNTH, GLR, GBYTSH.**
(**HBCHBY**, **NGTSH**: bDe-byed bdag-po.[14]
Or:
bu che ba: rGyal-ba (*Jaya); *bu 'bring po*: Legs-rgyal (*Sujaya); *bu chung ba*: dGe-ba (*Kalyāṇa): **GGCHBY**, **PSJZ**

God and Goddess on Mt. Kailāsa (Gangs Ti-se; this element fails in **MBNTH**, **GGCHBY**):
Mahādeva + Umādevī: **MṆKB, KCHKKHM-2, CHBYMTNYP, GLR, GBYTSH**; **HBCHBY**: Mahādeva Iśvara
dBang-phyug chen-po (Maheśvara): **rNam-thar**

Idols or statues erected:
bu che ba: An image of Bhagavat and a temple at Vārāṇasī, i.e. at Mṛgadāva of Ṛsipatana, the place of the first *Dharmacakrapravartana*: all versions.
bu 'bring po: An idol and temple at Rājagṛha, i.e. at Veṇuvana (**GLR**: Jetavana),

14 I.e. *Śaṃkara[svāmin]pati, cf. Schneider, 1991, p. 5 and note 112.

the place of the second *Dharmacakrapravartana*: all versions (however, **rNam-thar**, has this order reverted; **HBCHBY** has also the location A-lanta-ka).
bu chung ba: The famous idol of Buddha (**MṆKB**, **GLR**: at the age of thirty; **CHBYMTNYP**: thirty-two; **MBNTH**, **HBCHBY**, **NGTSH**: thirty-five) denoted Mahābodhi, installed in a gandhola at Vajrāsana, the place of the *Bodhivṛkṣa*: all versions

Mahābodhi idol:
Duration of erection, confined in the temple:
Seven days: **GGCHBY**, **PSJZ**, **rNam-thar**
Three months and three days: **GLR**
Six months and six days: **MṆKB**, **KCHKKHM-2**, **MBNTH**, **HBCHBY**
Six months and seven days: **CHBYMTNYP**
Lacuna due to deficiency of one day: the little toe of the right foot (*zhabs g.yas pa'i mthe'u chung ma*): all versions (minus **MBNTH**)
Disparities from real Bhagavat:
3 points: (**rNam-thar**); 4 points: **GGCHBY**; 7 points: **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH**; 8 points: **MṆKB**, **KCHKKHM-2**, **HBCHBY**.

121 Thematically and textually thus, this mythological account is found embodied in the same mythographical prime sources as above, to wit.:

Sources:

MṆKB E (A) Chap. XVI (*De-rnams ni bcom-ldan-'das kyi sku-tshab shākya mu-nes 'gro-don ji-ltar mdzad-pa*) 52b2-56b2;
KCHKKHM-1 Chap. II (*sPrul-pa'i bkod-pa bstan-pa*) 624.6-645.2;
KCHKKHHM-2: Chap. III (*sPrul-skus 'dul-ba*) 17.1-44.9
CHBYMTNYP 68b5-75a2 and
MBNTH 14a2-16a6.

Post-**GLR** sources: **GBYTSH** 73a3-74a3; **HBCHBY** (NGA) 63.23-66.8.

Clearly, all versions exhibit a close verbatim correspondance, but the two sets of stanzas are only shared by **MṆKB**, **CHBYMTNYP** and **GLR**.

Appendix Chapter III

133 Srutinizing his exposition of these dynastic histories, it can be adduced that Kun-dga' rdo-rje made use of the following sources:

1. Tsan-dan gyi sku rgya-nag na bzhugs-pa'i byon-tshul: The Short Account of the Arrival of the Jo-bo Sandalwood Statue in China, TTPE, bsTan-'gyur, rGyud, vol. LXXXV (RU) 154a1-155a4, translated from Chinese to Uighur and subsequently into Tibetan by the translators Aṃ-chang and Danasi, cf. **DTHMP** 6a4-6b5 and Appendix note 140 *infra*.

2. rGya [nag-po'i] yig-tshang [or: **deb-ther] Thang-zhu thu-hven [tshvan]**: The Chinese Chronicle Tang-shu Tu-fan by Bla-ma Gushri [i.e. Guo-shi] Rin-chen-grags, translated into Tibetan 1325 A.D., cf. **DTHMP** 8b9-12a7: The history of China dealing with the China-Tibet relationship during the Tang-period. Cf. note 135.

3. Oral communication concerning the history of China and Mongolia presented to Kun-dga' rdo-rje by Dzam-bha-la (i.e. Jambhala) *stvo shrī* (or *tvan shri*) *mgon* (i.e. judge, Ch. *duanshi gong*? M. *ǰaryoči*), when visiting Tibet in 1344 A.D. (**DTHMP** being written *ab* 1346). As head (*mi dpon*, M. *noyan*) of a Mongolian delegation carrying a golden letter (*gser yig pa*, *pai zu*), he arrived in Tibet in order to invite, abortively it should turn out, Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub to the imperial court by command of Toγan Temür.[1]

A: An exposition (**DTHMP** 6b5-8b9) of the genealogy of the Chinese emperors from the Zhou until the Tang dynasty based upon Chinese chronicle(s) examined by the above Jambhala and subsequently penned down by Kun-dga' rdo-je.[2]

B: An exposition (**DTHMP** 12a7-12b6) of the Chinese and Mongolian dynasties after Tang: Wu-dai, Liao, Bei Song, Nan Song and the beginning of the Yuan dynasty whereupon the description was written down by Kun-dga' rdo-rje.[3]

4. Oral communication concerning the history of the Tangut empire (**DTHMP** 12b6-13b8) presented to Kun-dga' rdo-rje by Mi-nyag rTsen-rtse Shes-rab ye-shes and then written down by Kun-dga' rdo-rje.[4]

5. Oral communication dealing with the origin and history of the ancestors of the Yuan dynasty and an enumeration (**DTHMP** 14a1-15a1) of a part of its emperors according to **Ye-ke thob-can** (deplorably non-extant; M. Yeke tobčiyan) presented to Kun-dga' rdo-rje by 'Dzambhala.

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1 Cf. **Bu-ston rnam-thar**, 23a3-5, ed. and tr. Ruegg, 1966, p. 122 and Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Intro. p. VII; Petech, 1990, pp. 101-102.

2 **DTHMP**:...*zhes pa rgya'i deb ther rnying pa las* ‖ *dzam bha la stvo shrī mgon gyis mthong ba lha sa'i gtsug lag khang du yi ger bris pa yin.*

3 **DTHMP**: *hor gyi rgyal khams ta'i dben (Da Yuan) zer zhes pa 'dzam pha la sogs* [= *stvo*] *shrī mgon gyi*[*s*] *smras pa bris so.*

4 **DTHMP**:...*zhes pa mi nyag rtse rtse shes rab ye shes kyis smras pa yi ger bkod pa.*

135 Regarding this most interesting and important historical source attributed to Bla-ma Gu-shrī Rin-chen grags[-pa], the following data can be established: The pivotal characterisation of this work is found in **DTHMP** 12a4-7, who, after a long quotation, concludes:

rgya bod kyi lo rgyus 'di tha'i dzung gi dus kyi yig tshang ba su khyi zhes pas brtsams | phyis han gsi hus tshas bstus (= bsdus) te bstebs (= bsdebs) | rgya'i lo tsā ba ba hu gyang jus shing mo bya lo la shing kun du bsgyur | bla ma rin chen grags gu shrīs shing mo glang la bod yig tu par du btab bo || 'di lo'i dbang thang nor ba 'ga' re snang | thu hu hun hor ser yin | 'u then o thon yin | bod kyi rabs dang phal cher mthun pa la 'di zhib par snang ba che long zhig 'dir bris te | rgya bod gnyis yang yang 'khrugs pa dang | res 'ga' mthun zhing skyes dang dur gyi mchod pa bsgyur res byed pa la sogs zhib par thang zhu thu hven nyid du blta bar bya'o |

"This 'History of China and Tibet' was composed by the archivist called Su-khyi [i.e. the famous compiler Songqi 998-1061 A.D., cf. Giles, Bd. 1828] of the time of Ta'i-dzung [i.e. Taizong of Song 975-998 A.D. [*sic*]]. Subsequently, [this narrative] was compiled by Han-gsi hus-tsha and was translated by the Chinese translator Ba-hu Gyang-ju in the wood-female-bird year [i.e. 1225 *or* 1285 A.D.?] at Shing-kun [i.e. Lin-tao, at the Chinese-Tibetan border]. Bla-ma grags, Gu-shrī [i.e. Guoshi, 'National Preceptor' of Yuan] printed it in Tibetan letters in the wood-female-ox year [i.e. 1265 *or* 1325 A.D.]. There are some errors as to the chronological elements of the year-cycle in this edition: Thu-hu-hun [i.e. Tu-yü-hun, Tui-hun][5] is Hor-ser [i.e. Yellow Uighur] and 'U-then [i.e. Yutian, Khotan] is O-than. This work is very detailed, generally being in conformity with the Tibetan history, and a great part of it is written down here [i.e. in **DTHMP**]. The relationship between China and Tibet, many times at war, sometimes living in peace and occasionally exchanging presents and [funeral] offerings to the tombs [of the emperors and kings respectively], such details one should look up in Tangshu Tufan itself."

Bla-ma dam-pa has set forth the following information concerning this historical source in Chap. XVIII (cf. *ad* note 1558ff. *infra*) where he presents an extract (*zur tsam*) from the **rGya'i deb-ther chen-po [Thang-]zhu Thu-han chan** dealing with the Sino-Tibetan uncle-nephew rapport during the Tang period corresponding to the detailed exposé from his presumable source **DTHMP** 8b9-12a7, but with a wording which differs somewhat from the above, that Bla-ma dam-pa must have had direct access to Rin-chen grags' work; **GLR** B 96b4-5:

rgya bod lo rgyus deb ther 'di | rgya nag tha'i dzung rgyal po'i dus kyi yig mkhan su han gyis bsgrigs pa las rim pa bzhin du bcos te | dus phyis rgya'i lo tstsha ba 'u gyang dzus | shing khun sde chen du bod skad du bsgyur ba la | lo grangs mi mthun pa 'ga' re dang de dus kyi mi'i ming rnams la 'dra min re 'dug na'ang bla

5 I.e. the A-zha or A-chai in Chinese. They represent a nomadic tribal people of northern origin and was a powerful empire in the days of the Tibetan kings, cf. Molé, 1970; Uray, 1978.

ma gu shrī rin chen grags rgya yul na bzhugs dus | rgya bod kyi 'brel tshul 'di rnams gtan tshigs su bzhed nas | shing mo bya'i lo la shing khun sde chen par du btab ste kun la rgyas par mdzad pa yin no || 'di ni zur tsam yin gyis | bod dang rgya'i 'brel tshul dang dbon zhang gi lo rgyus rnams zhib par 'dod na par ma de nyid du gzigs shig.

This passage, which has been inadequately translated by Laufer, *TP*, 1916, pp. 412-13 and Tucci, 1950, pp. 27-28, does not differ substantially from **DTHMP** *supra*, aside from mentioning that the data found in the translation made by the unknown Chinese translator 'U-gyang-dzu was subjected to a critical collation by Rin-chen grags while sojourning in China and that he had his recension published in the wood-female-bird year, thus making it common to all. Cf. Sørensen, 1986, pp. 237-240, now superseded by the present exposition.

In default of the original, it is hardly possible to determine beyond doubt whether Bla-ma dam-pa had direct access to this work himself besides the extant quotations in **DTHMP**. This is most likely the case, as e.g. note 156 of the present chapter would corroborate. The above reference to the printing year, wood-female-bird year (either 1285 or 1345 A.D.) is hardly anything but a misreading of **DTHMP** (wood-female-ox, 1325 A.D., cf. *supra*), since Rin-chen grags, who became Dishi at the Yuan court on the 22nd December 1329 (Petech, 1990, pp. 83-84; 1330 A.D. acc. to Tucci, *TPS*, I, p. 15), could hardly have been in China as early as 1285 and, equally, hardly (albeit not altogether unlikely) corresponds to 1345, just one year prior to the composition of **DTHMP** in 1346 A.D. As stated by Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 83, the source **Yuanshi** renders this figure variously as Nian-zhen-qi-la-si (i.e. Rin-chen-grags) and Nian-zhen-chi-la-shi-si (i.e. Rin-chen bkra-shis), and it thus remains feasible, but ultimately inconclusive, to identify the nebulous Gushi Rin-chen-grags with this Dishi Rin-chen grags (or bkra-shis). Many figures carried the name Rin-chen grags during this time, cf. Petech, p. 83. Dung-dkar, 1981, p. 295, in this connection even maintains that this Bla-ma Rin-chen grags was a Mongolia-based translator living during Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa's time (1235-1280 A.D.). If this can be verified, then it speaks for the earlier dates, i.e. 1265 resp. 1285 A.D. As indicated by van der Kuijp, **Yuanshi** 30, p. 677 speaks about a *dasitu* Rin-chen grags[-pa], active around 1330, cf. L.W.J. van der Kuijp, 1991, p. 277, n. 1, who probably is identical with the above Dishi. Until his *floruit* can be fully certified, we may tentatively assume that the date is a simple confusion with the translation-year (wood-female-bird, by 'U-gyang-ju mentioned in **DTHMP**). Finally, we may quote **YLJBCHBY**, written by Shākya Rin-chen-sde in 1376, who adds new information, *loc. cit.* 32.15-33.2:

rgya bod kyi lo rgyus 'di tha'i dzung kyi yig tshang pa | ba su khyi bya bas brtsis pa yin la | dus phyis han sve hu tshas mdor bsdus te sdebs nas rgya'i lo tstsha ba ba'u gyang jus shing mo bya'i lo zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes bcu la shing kun bde chen du bsgyur pa yin | 'di bla ma rin chen grags gun shri bzhugs dus bod skad du bsgyur zhing spar du btab pa las | bde ba gcig gnyis shig byung ba yin gyis | rgya bod kyi rgyu mtshan zhib par shes 'dod na spar ma de nyid du bltas bar bya'o.

The information in **YLJBCHBY** follows **DTHMP**, yet it is conspicuous to

note that he dates its publication more precisely than **DTHMP** does, i.e. on the tenth day of the first month of the wood-female-bird year (i.e. 1285 A.D.?) and that one or two easily comprehensible versions exist of this work. For a now somewhat obsolete discussion of the same problems, cf. also Macdonald, 1963, pp. 55-56 and the introduction to Inaba & Sāto, 1964.

140 In order to acquire a fuller understanding of this Sandal-wood Account and its role in these sources, it will be worthwhile to provide here the bsTan-'gyur-incorporated Tsandan Jo-bo Account.

bsTan-'gyur, TTPE rGyud (RU) 154a1-155a4: **Tsan-dan gyi sku rgya-nag na bzhugs-pa'i byon-tshul bzhugs so**: | *om sva sti* || *bcom ldan 'das sku bltams nas sangs rgyas kyi bar dang* | *tsandan gyi sku'i byung tshul rgya'i lugs kyi mdor bsdus pa la* | *rgyal rabs ce'u zhes bya'i ring la rgyal bu bzhi pa ce'u dbang zhes bya ba rgyal sar bton nas lo nyi shu rtsa bzhi lon pa'i dus* | *shing stag lo zla ba bzhi pa'i tshes brgyad kyi nyin par bltams nas zhag bdun lon pa'i dus su yum sgyu ma chen mo 'das nas lha'i yul du skyes* || *rgyal po ce'u dbang rgyal sar bton nas lo bzhi bcu zhe gnyis lon pa'i dus su* | *rgyal bu don grub lo bcu dgu lon nas khyim dor nas grong khyer gyi pha rol tu gshegs nas gangs kyi ri la dka' ba mdzad nas* | *ce'u dbang gi rgyal rabs lnga pa mu dbang zhes bya ba rgyal sar bton nas lo gsum lon pa'i chu lug lo la rgyal bu don grub lo gsum cu lon pa'i dus su sangs rgyas nas lo brgyad lon pa'i tshe yum gyi drin dgongs nas sum bcu so gsum lha'i yul du gshegs te yum la chos bshad nas lha'i yul du dbyar zla gsum bzhugs pa la* | *rgyal po u tra ya nas bcom ldan 'das dran nas maudgal gyi bu la zhus pas* | *maudgal gyi bus rdzu 'phrul gyi bzo bo sum bcu so gnyis dang* | *tsandan dmar po smug po dang bcas pa blangs nas lha'i yul du khyer te* | *bcom ldan 'das kyi sku blta na chog mi shes pa mtshan sum bcu so gnyis yongs su rdzogs par bzos nas mi'i yul du gdan drangs te* | *rgya'i yul gyi ce'u mu dbang zhes bya ba rgyal sar bton nas lo bcu gcig lon pa'i dus su lcags yos lo la bcom ldan 'das lha'i yul du dbyar zla tshar nas mi'i yul du byon pa'i dus su tsandan gyi sku mchog 'dis* (154b) *bcom ldan 'das la dbu bkug nas sku khams 'dri ba'i tshul du bzhengs te* | *de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis phyag brkyangs te sku mchog de nyid kyi spyi bor bzhag nas 'di skad ces lung bstan to* || *nga yongs su mya ngan las 'das nas lo stong lon pa'i tshe rgya nag po chen po'i rgyal khams su gshegs te lha mi'i don rgya chen po mdzad par 'gyur zhes bka' stsal to* || *de nas bzung nas tsandan gyi sku mchog 'dis rgya gar du lo stong nyis brgya brgyad cu gya lnga bzhugs* || *khu seng zhes bya ba'i yul du lo drug cu re brgyad bzhugs* | *de nas mi nyag yul gyi byang ngos lo bzhi bcu bzhugs* | *de nas kyin chang hur lo bcu bdun bzhugs* | *de nas gyang gnam du lo brgya bdun cu don gsum bzhugs* | *de nas ha nam gyi yul du sum brgya drug cu re bdun bzhugs* | *de nas yang gyang gnam du phyir gshegs nas lo nyi shu rtsa gcig bzhugs* | *de nas thing ho zhes bya ba'i lo dgu pa'i dus su lcags phag lo la byang phyogs su byon nas* | *cung do'i su'i zhang si zhes bya ba'i sder lo bcu gnyis bzhugs* | *su'i zhang si'i sde ding sang shing ngan si 'di yin no* || *de nas sang kying zhes bya ba'i mkhar du da'i cung kying si zhes bya ba'i sde ru lo nyi shu bzhugs* | *de nas cur ci'i rgyal rabs kyi da'i thing zhes bya ba'i rgyal po rgyal sar byung nas lo gsum lon*

pa'i dus su | chu lug lo la yang cung tor gdan drangs nas rgyal po'i pho brang lo lnga bcu rtsa lnga bzhugs | de nas da'i cha'u zhes bya ba'i rgyal po'i dus su hor byung nas me glang lo zla ba gsum pa'i tshes dgu la pho brang bshigs pas | cang shu sang khun gyi tshig gis yang blangs nas sngon gyi gnas shing ngan si'i sde la (155a) *bzhugs nas | ding sang bar du mchod pa byas so || me glang lo nas chu phag yan chad la lo bzhi bcu zhe bdun lon | tsandan gyi sku mchog 'di bzhengs nas chu phag yan chad la lo gnyis stong lnga bcu rtsa lnga lon pa yin no || 'di'i lugs kyis bcom ldan 'das mya ngan las 'das nas chu phag yan chad la lo nyi shu stong dang bcu gsum lon pa yin no || cung zhes bya ba'i lo rgyus kyi nang du rdzogs par yod par snang | mdor bsdus pa 'di chu mo phag lo zla ba gnyis pa'i tshes bcu gsum la rgya'i skad las yo gur gyi skad du sgyur mkhan am chang zhes bya ba dang | yo gur skad las bod skad du sgyur mkhan da na si zhes bya ba gnyis kyis legs par bsgyur ro |*

Herein is found incorporated the Account of how the Sandalwood Statue arrived in China: Hail! Happiness! The narrative of Bhagavat, from birth until [his] attainment of Buddhahood and a résumé of the account of the arrival of the Sandalwood Statue [in China] according to the Chinese tradition: In the time of the twenty-fourth year after the ascension to the throne of the fourth emperor of Ce'i [Zhou] dynasty called Ce'u dbang [Zhao-wang Xia], on the eighth day of the fourth month of the wood-tiger year,[6] [Bhagavat] came into being, and seven days after his mother Mahāmāyā passed away and was reborn in the realm of the gods. When forty-two years had passed after the ascension to the throne by the emperor Ce'u dbang, prince Siddhārtha, at the age of nineteen, left home (i.e. = *abhiniṣkramaṇa*) and went outside town, where he practised austerities on glacier mountains. In the year water-sheep, three years after the ascension to the throne of the emperor called Mu dbang [Mu-wang Men, 962-908 B.C.], the fifth generation of the Ce'u dynasty, prince Siddhārtha, at the age of thirty, attained Buddhahood. Then eight years after, recollecting the kindness of his mother, he departed for the *devaloka* of Trāyastriṃśa and sojourned in the realm of the gods for three summer-months expounding the Dharma for his mother. King Utrayana [i.e. Udrāyaṇa], longing for Bhagavat, put forward a petition to Maudgalyāyana. Maudgalyāyana went off to the realm of the gods, bringing along thirty-two miraculously created artists, as well as red and brown sandal-wood. A statue of Bhagavat, which one could never look enough at, and possessing the thirty-two marks [of a Mahāpuruṣa] was successfully created, whereupon the statue was escorted to the human world. In the eleventh year after the ascension to the throne of the emperor called Mu dbang of Ce'u in China, in the iron-hare year, when Bhagavat came back to the world of man, having completed three summer-months in the realm of the gods, this most excellent Sandal-wood Statue rose and bowed its head towards Bhagavat, as if it would inquire about his bodily health. Then Bhagavat stretched forth his hand, placed it on the head of this most excellent statue and prophesied as follows: "A thousand years after my *parinirvāṇa* [this sublime statue] will come to the great empire of China and promote, most abundantly, the welfare and happiness of God and Man." From then, this most

6 I.e. according to the traditional chronology 1029 B.C., according to the Bamboo Annals 958 B.C.

excellent Sandalwood Statue remained for 1285 years in India. It was subsequently established for 68 years in the country called Khusen [Guiha, Kucha]; then it was installed in Byang-ngos [i.e. Liangzhou] of Mi-nyag [Xixia, Tangut] for forty years. Thereupon it was installed for seventeen years in Kying-chang-hu [Xianfu]. Thereupon it was established in Gyang-gnam [Jiangnan] for 173 years. Then it remained in the country of Ha-nam [Huainan] for 367 years. Then it returned again to Gyang-gnam and was installed there for another twenty-one years. Then, in the iron-pig year [i.e. A.D. 1131], the ninth year [or period] called thing-ho [*tianhui*] [the statue] was brought in the northern direction and remained there for twelve years in the monastery called Su'i-zhang-si in Cung-do [Zhongdu, i.e. Beijing]. The monastery Su'i-zhang-si is nowadays Shing-ngan-si [Shengansi]. Thereupon it was installed in the monastery called Da'i-cung-kying-si [Chuqingsi] in the walled city called Sang-kying [Shangjing, Upper Capital of Liao] for twenty years. Thereupon, in the water-sheep year [i.e. 1163 A.D.], three years after the enthronement of the emperor called Da'i thing[7] of the Cur-ci [Jurche, Jin] dynasty, the statue was again brought to Cung-to [Zhongdu, i.e. Beijing], where it remained for fifty-five years in the palace of the emperor. As the palace was destroyed [by fire] on the ninth day of the third month of the year fire-ox [1217 A.D.] during the time of the emperor called Da'i cha'u [Tai-zu, imperial title of Činggis Qan], when Hor came into existence, a Cang-shu [*shangshu*, royal secretary] Sang-khun took it in possession and restored it in its former place, the monastery of Shing-ngan-si [Shengansi] where it is worshipped the present. From the year fire-ox [1217 A.D.] until [the present] water-pig year [1273 A.D.] forty-seven years have elapsed, and from the erection of this most excellent Sandal-wood Statue until the water-pig year [1263 A.D.] 2055 years have passed. According to this [chronological] system from the *nirvāṇa* of Bhagavat until [this] water-pig year 2013 years have passed. This Account can be found in its complete form in the history-book called Cung. This abbreviated narrative has been duly translated respectively by the translator called Aṃ-chang from Chinese into Uighur and from Uighur into Tibetan by the translator called Danasi on the thirteenth day of the second month of the water-female-pig year [1263 A.D.].

A narrative of the origin of the same sandal-wood statue was composed in 1770 by lCang-skya rol-pa'i rdo-rje, cf. JA of his *gsung 'bum*, described in *VOHD*, no. 2752 and another by Sog-pa Lo-tsā-ba Gung mGon-po skyabs, cf. Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 216-18. For a full discussion, cf. also Macdonald, 1963, pp. 81-87; Sørensen, 1986, pp. 244-45. The corresponding Chinese original of this story, varying in wording, is found in Taishō 49, no. 2036, 22, 730BC-731A, entitled **Fo-zu li-dai tong-zai**, "The Short Account of the Sandal-wood Statue in China" [by Nian-chang], cf. H. Schmidt-Glintzer, 1982, pp. 148-153. This Chinese dating inserted into this narrative is based upon a theory fixing Buddha's birth to the wood-tiger (*jia-yin*) year, that is the 24th year of the reign of Emperor Zhao of Zhou, i.e. 1029 or 958 B.C. and fixes the date of his *nirvāṇa* to the 52th year of ensuing emperor's reign, of emperor Mu, i.e. in 949 or 878 B.C. This

7 I.e. not the name of the emperor, but the period *dading*, commwnced 1161 A.D., the emperor was Wu-lu, fifth emperor of Jin.

calculation was established by a Buddhist monk Tan-mo-zui during a debate between Buddhists and Daoists at the Wei court in 520 A.D.; cf. E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 271-74; H. Francke, 1991, pp. 444-446.

This chronology was interpreted variously by the Tibetans, but the most prevalent was the one incorporated in this translation of the Sandal-wood Account fixing Buddha's *nirvāṇa* to 749/50 B.C. (2013 - 1263 = 749/50) and dates the erection of the statue to 792 B.C. [*sic*] (2055 - 1263 = 792-791).

155 The crucial passage in **DTHMP** 7a2-7b9, conspicuously enough entirely ignored by Bla-ma dam-pa, cf. also note 154, provides us with the background: The lineage of He'u-Tsing split into two branches Tung-[r]Tsi[ng] and Ga'i-[r]Tsing. During the time of the emperor [of] Ga'i [r]Tsing, an old Indian paṇḍit addressed the emperor: "Between India and the country of lJang[8] there is a small kingdom in which one will find the Jo-bo Shākya, the statue of the Buddha having the size when he was twelve years old and raised once when Buddha Śākya-muni was residing in [the *devaloka* of] Trāyastriṃśa, along with the relics of Buddha and a learned *paṇḍita* called Kumāraśrī. As this kingdom was very small, the benefit secured [from these three emblems of Triratna] is very limited. If you dispatch an army in order to fetch these things, they will turn out to be of an immense benefit for many sentient beings [here in China proper]." Hearing this the emperor committed an army of 400.000 soldiers to a minister of his, a Provincial chancellor (*zhing gi 'ching sang*, i.e. Ch. *cheng-xiang*) and to a general who was leader of the central chancellery of Chu-mi-yuan (cf. Stein, 1952, p. 105) and dispatched them to that country. Arriving there, the king of that country spoke: "Between you and me there is no hostility. Why are you arriving with an army that big?" [The general] responded: "We want the Jo-bo Shākya statue, the relics of Buddha and the *paṇḍita*. If you do not hand them over to us, we are going to wage war!" To this the king replied: "The Jo-bo Shākya statue and the relics of Buddha are actually to be found here and they shall be given to you, but as to the *paṇḍita*, he passed away last year. But his son, eighteen years old, called Kumāra the Young is here in this country and he shall be given instead." Having taken hold of these things, the general returned.....Thereupon, the general approached the emperor for an audience, only to be told that the emperor Ga'i [r]Tsing [meanwhile] had passed away without issue whereby the lineage had come to an end. The former Provincial Governor had become emperor. Hearing this the general gathered an army of his own counting 400.000 soldiers and made himself emperor of Si-chon (Gangtok ed.: Pī-chon; Sichuan?) and twenty-four walled cities (*ce'u mkhar*, Ch. *zhou*; Roerich, *Blue Annals*, p. 48). Later, a descendant of the Governor-emperor took from the hands of the descendants of the General-emperor the Jo-bo Shākya statue, the relics of Buddha and the *paṇḍita* and brought them to King-cang-hu (Xianfu, i.e. Chang-an) where he paid them respect beyond imagination.....;

From this passage in **DTHMP** the key issue is whether this Jo-bo Shākya

8 Or 'Jang, i.e. the Mo-so country, i.e. Li-jiang; later, during Tang, the area became the new Yunnanese kingdom and dynasty of Nan-zhao. Cf. also Stein, 1983, p. 216: Qiang Dang-xiang.

statue is identical with the Jo-bo Tsandan or sandal-wood statue, an issue not addressed by Kun-dga' rdo-rje in his **DTHMP**. If confirmed, it would mean that *only one statue* arrived in China. If we - tentatively - try to put the above narrative into a historical context, it is altogether plausible that Ga'i-[r]Tsing [bSi-chen in **GLR** ?] is Fu Jian (356-384 A.D.), the emperor of Qian Qin and the *pandita* Kumāra Junior of course is identical with the famous Serindian pioneer in establishing Buddhism in China in the last part of the IVth cent. and beginning of the Vth cent.: Kumārajīva (349/50-413 A.D.).[9] He was brought to Liang-zhou (in present-day Gansu) in 384 A.D. by Lü Guang (386-398) the general of Fu Jian, when Lü Guang conquered Guzang (Kucha, Wu-wei; = located between India and lJang in the above narrative) and established his own dynasty, Hou or Later Liang (386-403 A.D.), an ethnic 'Tibetan' petty dynasty. About 398-400 A.D. this gereral-emperor (of the above narrative) died and in 401 A.D. Kumārajīva was attached to the court of Hou or Later Qin (383-417) as a *purohita*, when Yao Xing (393-415 A.D.) conquered Hou Liang. Identifying Ga'i-Tsing with Fu Jian, as said, it is obvious that the general-emperor of our narrative is Lü Guang and Yao Xing is the Provincial Governor. Cf. similarly Sørensen, 1986, pp. 247-249; Macdonald, 1963, pp. 132-33, n. 127; Pelliot, *JA*, 1934, pp. 103-05.

Finally, a note on the (indirect) equation between the enigmatic sPri-sti-ma and the emperor [of?] Si-chen [also bSi-Tsing, Ga'i-Tsing] made by Bla-ma dam-pa (and following him, most directly by dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (NGA) 64.18-20: *rgyal po drug cu rtsa gnyis 'das pa'i 'og* || *Prī ti dza ya Si chen rgyal po'i dus* || *jo bo shā kya rgya nag yul du phebs*; (MA) 781.5: *Ga'i tsing rgyal po'am Pri til rgyal po yang zer*). Concerning these emperors, during whose reign the statue(s) came to China, another construct is feasible. In lieu of identifying Si-chen with Fu Jian, cf. above, we may pay heed to what Sum-pa mkhan-po, who, obviously trying to make the two stories meet, states (**PSJZ** 168.12-15: *yi ge la la* [i.e. **GLR** etc.] *na....de va pā la'i dus su rgya mtshor gzings kyi steng nas rgya nag tu rgyal po bri ti zhes pa se chon na yod pa de la bskur zer ro*. From his rendering it is evident that the mysterious emperor Bri-ti/sPri-ti dza-ya in this 'historical reading' of the passage must be identified with Lü Guang, who established himself in S[r]i-chon i.e. in Sechuan. Dung-dkar, 1981, p. 260, on the contrary, identifies Si-chon with the above-mentioned Liang-zhou. Has, then, Bla-ma dam-pa confused the alleged name of the dynasty Si-chen with the place-name Si-chon? What is clear, nevertheless, is that the Jo-bo Shākya of the above Kumārajīva story is the one brought along by Kong-jo as dowry to Tibet, cf. **DTHMP** 8b8.

172 **DTHMP** 12a9-12b2 reads: Thereupon, there appeared in the territory of sPen-lang (Bian-liang) eight generations, [such as] the emperor called Ce'u Tha'i-ju (Zhao Tai-zu [of Bei Song]). From the hands of the eighth successor Shang-hang (?), father and son (i.e. prob. Hu-zong (1100-1125 A.D.) and Qin-zong (1125-1127 A.D.)), half the empire (of Bei Song) was taken away by the so-called Chi-tan Ta'i

9 On his life, cf. Zürcher, 1959, pp. 225-227.

gLe'u (i.e. the Tatar Kitan or Chitai Liao (907-1125 A.D.),[10]. This state was known as Tai Liao. The monk-son of Shang-h[r]ang, called Khang-dbang (i.e. Kang-wang, the ninth son of Hui-zong, called Gao-zong (1127-1162 A.D.), the founder of Nan or Southern Song (1127-1279 A.D.)) went to the country of sMan-rtse (Man-zi, = South China)[11]and took possession of half the empire of his father. [It] was called Nam-tha'i [by] Hor (the Mongols). Khyen-khang (Jian-kang)[12] stayed in Hvang-je-'u (Hangzhou). The state was called Nan Song (= *Sung lho ma*). The emperors [of that dynasty] stayed in sMan-rtse for eight (actually nine) generations, until sMan-rtse lHa-btsun (the prospective emperor Bing-di (1278-1279 A.D.).[13]

Phrased differently, Bian-liang was the capital of Bei Song, until the change to Nan Song in 1127. The nine (T: eight) generations represent the eight emperors of Bei Song, until this dynasty came to an end. However, a brother of an emperor of the Bei Song established himself in South China (around Hangzhou) and founded the Nan Song (1127-1279) existing there for nine generations before it was finally subjugated by Yuan. The last emperor of Nan Song was the lHa-btsun (priest-emperor, i.e. prelate of royal origin) of Manzi, who was sent to Sa-skya for religious training. **DTHMP** has rendered the Song history fairly faithful, contrary to **GLR**, and through the latter also **DTHNGP** (I, 81.2-11, Roerich, 56-57); and **DTHMPSM** 44b4-6 etc.

223 From the Sandal-wood Account, cf. in detail note 140 *supra*, we know that the Jo-bo Tsandan statue was erected when Bhagavat was forty-two years old, so adding to the previous calculation figures we have 3258 (*nirvāṇa*) + 42 (it was erected when Bhagavat was thirty-eight and he became eighty = forty-two) = 3300, not 3500. This only shows how careful we should be with the data available. In the Jo-bo Tsandan Account a Chinese calculation system is provided, which adduces that the Jo-bo Tsandan was erected in 792 B.C. Here, however Sa-skya's own system is assumed to be involved, calculating 3300 minus 1260 (Qubilai's ascension-year) = 2040 B.C. to be the erection-year deviating grossly from the one commonly accepted by the Sa-skya-pas, i.e. 2134 B.C., *nirvāṇa*-year minus 42 = 2172 B.C. Increasingly suspicious we become, when we in vain attempt to trace these figures in 'Phags-pa Bla-ma's **SHBRS**. However, **SHBRS** 19b1-2 mentions, cf. note 202 *supra*, that 3250 years had expired from Buddha's *nirvāṇa* until Činggis' appearance on the scene, thus placing this event to appear in 1116/17 A.D. [*sic*]. The - approximate - figures we have are **SHBRS** 19a1-2, which provides a sūtric prophecy (from **Bu-mo Dri-ma med-byin lung-bstan-pa'i mdo** = **lHa-mo Dri-ma**

10 Actually it was taken away by the Turkish Jin dynasty (1115-1234 A.D.).

11 Cf. Tucci, *TPS*, II, p. 684; Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 304-5, the area between present-day Nanjing and Hangzhou; here = Lin-an = Hangzhou.

12 But see Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 303-304.

13 He had a hapless fate, while he was killed, though being innocent (*khrag 'o mar byung, dmar gsod*) later Tibetan sources maintain, by the Mongols shortly after he had been called back to China. Cf. e.g. **YLJBCHBY** 82.14-15 and Dung-dkar, 1981, pp. 304-05.

med-pa lung-bstan-pa'i mdo, no more extant, cf. note 433 *infra*) announcing that Buddha's Teaching would appear in the country of the red-faces [= Tibet] 2500 [not 3500!] years after his *nirvāṇa*; any allusion to the erection of the Jo-bo sandal-wood statue is thus not traceable. Indirect vestige, however, of a calculation made by 'Phags-pa Bla-ma, based upon this chronological fixing-point, i.e. the erection of the Jo-bo Tsandan statue, does exist: **DTHMPSM** 44a2-4, where bSod-nams grags-pa mentions, without providing details, that it seems to deviate slightly from the figures generally accepted, or, in his words, 'seems to calculate a *nirvāṇa*-year far too low' (*'das lo nyung par snang*; i.e. 2040 minus 42 = 1998 B.C. instead of 2134 B.C. generally accepted). The generally accepted calculation of Sa-skya was corroborated by 'Phags-pa Bla-ma at this council, the famous Chu-mig council (*chu mig chos 'khor*), held in the year *me mo glang*, i.e. 1277 A.D., cf. also e.g. Buston, **CHBY** 92b7-93a1. This calculation was based upon the *rgyal po lugs* system (**DTHMPSM** 49b4-6) and here 'Phags-pa calculated, as said above, that Buddha's *nirvāṇa* took place in 2134 B.C, by stating that 3410 years have passed since Buddha's *nirvāṇa* (3410 minus 1277 = 2134).

Appendix Chapter IV

252 **MṆKB** E (A) 12a3-12b2:

nub phyogs bde ba can gyi zhing khams padma can zhes bya ba | *rin po che sna tshogs kyi sa gzhi la*

mig mangs ris su bris pa las |
sa dang rdo'i ming yang med |

byang chub shing gis rab tu brgyan pa las |
rtsi shing dang nags tshal gyi ming yang med |

ting nge 'dzin yan lag brgyad ldan gyi chu 'bab pa las |
sna tshogs chu'i ming yang med |

ye shes dpal gyi me 'bar ba las |
'jig rten bsreg pa'i me'i ming yang med |

rnam grol spos kyi ngad ldang pa las |
'jig rten rlung gi ming yang med |

chos kyi dbyings kyi sa gzhi brdal ba las |
'byung ba sa'i ming yang med |

ye shes gsal ba'i gdugs gsal ba las |
nyi ma dang zla ba'i ming yang med |

'phags pa'i shes rab 'od gsal ba las |
nyin mo dang mtshan mo'i ming yang med |

chos kyi rgyal srid rang shar ba las |
rgyal po dang blon po'i ming yang med |

bdag dang bdag gir mi 'dzin pa las |
'thab cing rtsod pa'i ming yang med |

ting nge 'dzin gyi zas kyis 'tsho ba las |
zas zhes bya ba'i ming yang med |

yid bzhin bdud rtsi'i chu gsol ba las |
skom zhes bya ba'i ming yang med |

tshul [12b1] *khrims gtsang ma'i gos gyon pa las* |
gos zhes bya ba'i ming yang med |

padma'i steng du rdzus te skye ba las |
skye ba rnam bzhi'i ming yang med |

g.yung drung tshe la mnga' brnyes pa las |
rgas shing rgud pa'i ming yang med |

skye shi med pa'i lam bsgom pas |
skyes shing shi ba'i ming yang med |

etc.

Appendix Chapter V

283 Interestingly, dPa'-bo, *par excellence*, has preserved throughout his famed and reliable Feast for the Sage (**HBCHBY** JA) a metrical narrative dealing not only with the present mythological vita-cycle of Avalokiteśvara-*cum*-Dharmarāja Srong-btsan sgam-po (quoting here, as said, arguably non-extant versions of the many biographies of this king), but also presenting a lengthy quasi-historical exposition on the Tibetan dynastic history, equally rendered in a versified fashion, which, as is known, occasionally is interspersed with dPa'-bo's rare talent for pertinent commentation, analyses and quotations derived from a number of ancient historical documents focussing on relevant themes in the main-text (although, to be true, the intriguing question remains to be addressed whether and to what extent dPa'-bo himself has composed or has merely paraphrased the lengthy metrical narrative embodied in his work or whether we are dealing with lengthy and original quotations from these works). Nevertheless, throughout the following chapters Bla-ma dam-pa and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag 'phreng-ba each appear, in their own way, to be drawing from common source(s) or, equally plausible, we may adduce that for some parts at least dPa'-bo follows **GLR** slavishly (cf. e.g. Uray, 1972, pp. 56-57) inasmuch as they both - with striking frequency and in a historical-chronological and thematic sequence - seem to have well-nigh verbatim corresponding and mutually supplementary text-portions in common. The many textual parallels gleaned e.g. from **HBCHBY** JA 1b1ff. and similar sources, and duly referred to in the notes carry evidence to this fact.

Appendix Chapter VI

310 The present story alludes to the illlustrous Buddhist *jātaka* of the caravan-leader Siṃhala. The most important and oldest preserved version of this story is the **Valāhassajātaka** (in Pāli), but it is also conserved in the **Dharmalabdhajātaka** (all differently titled due to the diverging names of the protagonist), and other recensions of uneven length are found embodied in a Mūlasarvāstivāda version in **Divyāvadāna** and the **Guṇakāraraṇḍavyūha** (the longest and fully elaborated versions) respectively. The latter-mentioned and the version embodied in **Kāraṇḍavyūha** (abbr. **KV**), the recension employed by Bla-ma dam-pa here, have undergone some redactional changes while Avalokiteśvara is introduced as the manifestation of the white horse Balāha. In the Pāli-version the flying superhorse is an embodiment of Gautama Buddha.

The impact wielded by the *Siṃhalāvadāna* and the popularity it enjoys in the Buddhist world are considerable, not only in Tibet, but also in Nepal, China, Khotan and Japan. It paved the way for a rich artistic representation of the legend in form of murals and sculptures. For further details, cf. M. Slusser, 1972, pp. 362-363; S. Lienhard, 1985.

Of immediate interest for us here, the story is found incorporated in **KV**, which provides a detailed version and in a very abbreviated rendition in **MṆKB** E **Lo-rgyus chen-mo**, Chap. XXVII: *Thugs-rje chen-mos tshong-pa rnams sing-ga-la'i srin-mo'i gling nas bton-pa*, 68b5-69b6. Bla-ma dam-pa's version is quite detailed, at places far longer than the one given in **KV**; it further deviates in some details from the one given in **KV**, inasmuch as it contains elements and passages not traceable there. Reversely, **KV** contains elements not shared by **GLR**. **GLR**'s source is supposedly **KV**, cf. the ensuing note, but the version of **KV** embodied in the bKa'-'gyur and an identical version of **KV**, which until about two hundred years ago was part of **MṆKB**, are at variance with **GLR**. It therefore compels us to assume that a more detailed version of **KV** has been in circulation, or that Bla-ma dam-pa took a free hand in his rendition of the story, though this is less likely.

The immediate or direct import of the story is a edifying one. The story here serves as a parable urging anyone to turn to the Buddhist lore.

Appendix Chapter VII

329 Not unsurprisingly, Nyang-ral, who besides compiling **CHBYMTNYP** (see also **MBNTH**) also had an active hand in the compilation of **MṆKB**, thus emerging as the key-figure in the transmission and dissemination of this *mythogenesis*, denotes this narrative a legend (*gtam rgyud*), cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 151a1 followed by Buston, **CHBY** 137a3 (Szerb, p. 2).

The earliest brief note of this anthropogenetic theory is recorded in **sBa-bzhed**,[1] although it remains to be settled whether this terse passage pertains to the original core of **BZH** or whether it reflects a later interpolation. Searching for the possible origin of this myth, it is interesting to observe that it is quite possible that monkey-tales staging e.g. Hanūmān (depicted to enhance the belief in the Tibetan race (*bod kyi rigs rgyud..dad*; i.e. the above myth, cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 254.15-16) were depicted on the walls in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and that these most probably belonged to the earliest stratum of murals (cf. note 874 *infra* for details) produced in the seventh century by Nepalese artists at the court of Srong-btsan sgam-po. Herewith we perhaps have the *first concrete piece of evidence* that provided the background for the creation of this myth as delineated in the above early (XIth cent.) literary sources. Inspired by these presumably early murals depicting the Ape-king and supported by canonical material dedicated the Avalokiteśvara-cult such as the **Kāraṇḍavyūha**, one of the earliest **sūtra**-s translated into Tibetan in the dynastic period, it might well be a fact that this myth was formulated sometimes in the later part of the dynastic period, at a point when Srong-btsan sgam-po became generally acknowledged as an emanation of this divinity, and literary testimony for this assumption perhaps was in demand, rather than we should assume that this *mythogenesis* was first formulated or invented as a literary fabrication at the inception of the *phyi-dar* by Tibetan mythographers pertaining to the religious milieu surrounding the Bengali saint Atiśa (982-1054), to whom is ascribed not only the detection (: compilation?) of the above crucial *gter-ma* **KCHKKHM**, but also the pioneering promotion of meditational techniques focussing on Avalokita.[2]

This anthropogonic myth was nevertheless fated to exert a tremendous influence and to enjoy a wide-spread popularity among Tibetan-speaking peoples outside Tibet proper.

This *gtam rgyud* which delineates the etiological genesis and formative origin of the Tibetan people and race, is divided into two parts.

A. The gathering [of the Tibetan people] through materialism (*zang zing gis bsdus pa*; *zang zing* = *āmiṣa*, material possessions)[3] and

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1 Cf. Chin. ed. 2.11-12.

2 Cf. e.g. Kapstein, 1992, p. 85 and the Introduction to this book.

3 Interestingly, sKyogs-ston Rin-chen bkra-shis in his famed **Li-shi'i gur-khang** glosses *zang zing* with flesh (*sha*) or nourishment or food (*zas*). This reading is thus also possible, perhaps even preferable in the light of the present narrative in this chapter where the monkeys or apes, the Tibetan man *in spe*, in fact were gathered and reared by means of nourishment. The pair *āmiṣa* and *dharma* is known and taken over from the *Pāramitā*-lit. as forms of almsgiving (*dāna*).

B. The gathering [of the Tibetan people] through Dharma (*chos kyis bsdus pa*):

Sources:

MṆKB E (A) **Lo-rgyus chen-mo**, Chap. XXXIV: *Bod kha-ba-can gyi rgyal-khams kyi mi rnams bka'-drin che-bar bstan-pa* 71b4-78a5 (A. 71b4-76a3; B. 76a3-78a5) and (a shorter version)
MṆKB E (Ca) **mDzad-pa rNam-thar**, 1. mdzad-pa: *sPre'u dang brag srin-mo la brten nas bod kyi mi rnams spel-ba'i mdzad-pa* 98a1-100a1 (A. 98a1-99b3; B. 99b3-100a1).
KCHKKHM-1 Chap. III: *Kha-ba-can gyi sems-can snod du ma gyur-pa rnams sprul-pas mir 'gyur nas de dag dang-po zang-zing gis bsdus-pa*, 645.2-655.2.
KCHKKHM-2 Chap. IV: *Zang-zing gis btul-ba*, 45.1-57.4.
KCHKKHM-3 Chap. III: *Zang-zing gi 'dul-ba'i le'u*, 380.1-386.7.
CHBYMTNYP 152a3-164b4 (A. 152a3-161b1; B. 161b1-164b4).
MBNTH 16b1-20a4.

In addition, the legend is found rendered at varying length in an endless number of later Buddhist works and histories, among which we shall mainly refer to **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. I, 431.3-434.6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 3a5ff. The first brief *phyi-dar* mention of this legend is arguably to be found in the historical-doctrinal treatise **Chos la 'jug-pa'i sgo** by bSod-nams rtse-mo written in 1167 A.D., which is approximately simultaneous with the compilation of **MṆKB** and **CHBYMTNYP**.

The above versions are *grosso modo* congruous, with **KCHKKHM-2** and **CHBYMTNYP** being slightly more detailed. **GLR** only rarely deviates from **MṆKB**, but displays nonetheless phrases and passages not found in the current versions of his prime sources, and occasionally Bla-ma dam-pa (or some redactor of **GLR**) has reverted the sequence of the narrative, though dPa'-bo's metrical rendition (or personal paraphrase) of the same account does corroborate **GLR** narrative sequence. Noteworthy it is that **GLR** only renders the first, though largest and most interesting part of the myth, i.e. the *zang zing gis bsdus pa*.

341 The enumeration and characterization of the *sadgati*-born ape-infants (**MṆKB** has the succession somewhat distorted) is here further detailed and, as we see, **GLR** is also here occasionally at variance with its prime source: **MṆKB**: the *naraka*-infant: *zhe sdang la khong gtum pa sdug sran che ba*; the *preta*-infant: [*lus*] *byad* [*gzugs*] *ngan rid pas* [or *la lto la*] *ser sna 'jur 'gegs la dga' ba* [or *ngan pa ser sna che ba*]; the *tiryak*-infant: *legs ma legs* (or *nyes*) *cha mi phyed* [or *chod*] *pa*[*s*] *go ba dang shes rig med pa*; the *manuṣya*-infant: *'dod chags che la mi nor* [*rdzas*] *la dga' ba*; the *asura*-infant: *khong khro ba* | *tshig rtsub pa* | *nga ro dang zhe sdang* || *nga rgyal che ba* | *'thab rtsod la dga' ba* [or *'dod*] and finally the infant descending from the *deva*-s: *dal ba dang* | *g.yung ba* [or *gzhungs pa*] | *ngang rgyud ring ba* [or *'jam pa*] *dkar po la dga' ba*. The **KCHKKHM** versions mention

that a being was born to the pair, neither resembling a male nor a female, being hairless and tailless, with a red face, eating raw flesh and drinking warm blood; cf. also **KTHDNG** (CA) 433.11-20.

If anything, these anthropoid (i.e. patroclinous and matroclinous) descriptions in accordance with Buddhist soteriological cosmology deliver early samples of the never-failing wits and self-irony of the Tibetans.

Appendix Chapter VIII

359 This story is only one part of the complex picture pertaining to the many Tibetan theories associated with the origin of gNya'-khri btsan-po; for a survey of the many mythological layers, cf. Haarh, 1969, pp. 168-230; Macdonald, 1971, pp. 190-219; Uebach, 1987, pp. 55-57. As laconically delineated in **DCHBY** 99.8-10ff. and with telling details in **GBCHBY** 238.11-243.4; **KTHDNG** (CA) 435.6-9, this ancestor-king is conceived, according to three prevailing theories, to originate either from an [Indian] king according to a [Buddhist] gSang-ba chos-lugs tradition, to descend from the *lha*-gods, according to a [bs]Grags-pa Bon-lugs tradition or to originate from the *the['u]-[b]rang* spirits acc. to a so-called Yang-gsang [']chad-lugs tradition.

In both above **KCHKKHM** versions the escape to the mountains is mentioned but the story of him and his soldier-companions being dressed as women is lacking from the extant **KCHKKHM** versions. In **KCHKKHM-2** there is an interesting description of the origin of Ru-pa-skyes (i.e. the prospective gNya'-khri btsan-po), reflecting the [bs]Grags-pa Bon-lugs tradition, describing him as a *srid pa phy[v]a'i lha*, linking him, *inter alia*, with 'O-[l]de gung-rgyal. He eventually descends to the earth via his *dmu*-cord, and arrives upon the summit of lHa-ri Yor-po (i.e. Yol-po; cf. note 363 *infra*) where he meets a group of Bon-po-s, i.e. Na-se Bon-po, sMu Bon-po, lDong Bon-po, 'Ob Bon-po, sGam Bon-po, lHa Bon-po, 'Bro Bon-po, Khyung Bon-po, She Bon-po, gNyen Bon-po, 'Jag Bon-po and lCog-lha Bon-po. Cf. parallelly, though slightly differently, **KCHKKHM-3** 394.1-5; **CHBYMTNYP** 167b1-169a6. In **KCKKKHM-1** and **GLR**, cf. below, his first encounter is with a group of herdsmen.

The present **GLR**-quotation from **bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma** (cf. also **YLJBCHBY** 38-39) is a combination of two distinct text traditions, when, theoretically speaking, the fact is not so that the present quotation is taken from a currently non-extant or older version of **KCHKKHM**. It appears to combine more layers stemming from different Tibetan-invented but India-inspired stories: Respectively about one Ru-pa skyes, being identified variously as the off-spring of different dynastic figures such as Prasenajit (*gSal-rgyal*), Bimbisāra (*gZugs-can snying-po*) or Udayana (*'Char-byed*) (cf. the next note 360), all contemporaries of Buddha, whereafter he eventually fled or was exiled to the northern mountainous regions (= Tibet, cf. Haarh, 1969, pp. 189-193, to which we can add, aside from the above **KCHKKHM** sources, **CHBYMTNYP** 165a4-168b1), respectively about one Rupati (at some level confounded with the above Ru-pa skyes), the latter being one of the five Pāṇḍava-brothers who fought a battle, and suffering a defeat, he and his soldiers eventually fled to the Himalayas attired as women, cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 150a3-150b5.

The crucial source, however, for the latter legendary passage (borrowing the plot from Mahābhārata) is the **lHa-las phul-du byung-bar bstod-pa'i rgya-cher 'grel-pa** (or **Devātiśāyastotraṭīkā**) by Shes-rab go-cha (i.e. Prajñāvarman), cf. TTPE no. 2005, fol. 54b4-5, where it is briefly stated:

"Once when a king named Rupati was engaged on the battle-field together

with his army, they fled, and having dressed [themselves] in women's attire, they sojourned in caves in Himavat (*ri kha ba can gyi ri khrod*; later = Tibet) and the descendants of the lineage of these [mountain-] settlers are even today known as Tibet (*ru pa ti zhes bya ba'i rgyal-po dpung gi tshogs gcig dang bcas pa g.yul 'gyed pa'i tshe | bud med kyi cha lugs su byas te bros nas ri kha ba can gyi ri khrod du zhugs te | gnas pa'i rigs las deng sang na yang bod ces bya bar grags pa yin*)."

A passage copiously quoted by numerous Tibetan monk-historians, cf. Haarh, *ibid.*, pp. 171-195 for further ref.; Macdonald, 1971, pp. 192-194; Uebach, 1987, p. 55. A possible clue to (or a partial explanation of) the **KCHKKHM**-quotation in **GLR** may be had from **DTHMP** 15b3-4 which states:

"That the youngest son [no name provided] of King sKya-bseng (Dung-dkar ed. **DTHMP**, 1981, p. 33: sKyabs-seng), descending from the Śākya Ri-brag-pa of the tripatite ramification of the Śākya-s, together with his army, fled in the direction of the glacier mountains [i.e. Tibet] disguised as women, and eventually became ruler of Bod (*lha las phul du byung ba'i bstod pa'i 'grel pa slob dpon shes rab go chas mdzad pa dang | lha sa'i ka tshig ka khol ma las byung ba | shākya'i rigs la shākya chen po dang | shākya li tsa byi | shākya ri brag pa gsum las | tha ma las rgyal po skya bseng zhes pa'i bu chung ba gcig dpung gi tshogs dang bcas pa bud med kyi chas su zhugs nas ri gangs can gyi phyogs su bros pas las bod kyi rjer gyur par bshad*)"

Here Kun-dga' rdo-rje adduces that it stems from a successive quotation from Prajñāvarman's celebrated passage and from **lHa-sa'i Ka-tshigs Ka-khol-ma**, where the latter quotation must be shared by **MṆKB** also (or, accounted for by the fact that by the time of Kun-dga' rdo-rje, **KCHKKHM** was *possibly* part of **MṆKB**, cf. the Introduction), since the latter reads,

MṆKB E (Ca) (*Chos skyong-ba'i Srong-btsan sgam-po'i mdzad-pa rnam-thar*), 100a2-3: *de'i tshe bod rje 'bangs kyi rnam dbye med pa las | shākya'i rigs la shākya chen po dang | shākya li tsa byi dang | shākya ri brag pa dang gsum las | tha ma rgyal po skyabs seng zhes bya ba'i bu chung ba cig dpung gi tshogs dang bcas pa gangs can gyi phyogs su bros pa las | bod yul du sleb nas yar lung lha ri rol pa'i rtse nas.....*

Collating the latter two quotations, our suspicion is confirmed, when the only difference is that **DTHMP** adds that the youngest son of Paṇḍu and his soldiers were dressed in women's cloth, a description which was taken over from the above-cited **lHa-las phul-du byung-bar bstod-pa'i rgya-cher 'grel-ba** (for a possible hidden reference to this celebrated Prajñāvarman passage also in **GLR**, cf. previous note). The only element lacking in our assessment of the **GLR**-quotation then is the mention of king Aśoka, but this may simply be an addition by Bla-ma dam-pa, linking, *qua* tacit deduction, the Buddhism-prone king Aśoka with the Śākya-s. Clearly our author, by his brief quotation, thus only reflects what already Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** *loc. cit.* 165a3-4, stated, namely that a number

of theories concerning the origin of the Tibetan royal ancestor were prevalent already during the XIth-XIIth century. Bla-ma dam-pa has here conflated two distinct traditions of the Buddhist *gSang-ba chos-lugs* legendary tradition concerning gNya'-khri btsan-po.

Etiological Genealogical Theories

During the first phase of the post-dynastic *phyi-dar* period, Tibetan monk-historians had since long been able, it can be adduced, to avail themselves of a spectrum of ancient genealogical texts. A number of these were genuinely *mi-chos* texts, which had been bequeathed to them from the dynastic period and a number again had partly been formulated in the very beginning of the *phyi-dar* period as discussed in the Introduction to this work.

As chronicled in a number of highly reliable sources, king Ral-pa-can, probably continuing a tradition already initiated by his immediate predecessors, is recorded to have offered a number of so-called greetings presents (*snyun*[*g*] [*rmed*] *phyag*) to the leading *zhang blon*-s among the nobility and clans. These gratuities consisted *inter alia* of a series of written genealogical accounts and mythic narratives, which, as we shall see, later became known as the authoritative, perhaps even official records for the origin and spread of Tibet's royal genealogy and ancestry. Judging from the importance attached to the compilation of these treaties, typologically classed as *mi chos* scriptures, and recorded to be a means to quench growing resentment nurtured among the leading circles towards the ever-powerful and financially burdensome Buddhist institutions, we have reason to assume that these narratives, aside from offering a mimetic record of the royal genealogy and history, most probably also contained minute genealogical accounts of the leading clans, their filiation to the royal house, their entitlements, privileges and rights. Only the non-royal parts of these genealogical accounts have apparently never, if ever, come down to us among the fragments found of these sources. Simultaneously, they provided the Tibetan people with an account of the dynastic origin and thereby of the national origin of the Tibetan state and people.[1]

The picture, in retrospect, presented by these diverging genealogical accounts and origin myths is rather complex, while each account, rather than supplementing each other, claimed to propound the most authoritative version. This clearly accounts for the confusion and hesitation we meet in later historical works and chronicles when their authors tried to sort out and disentangle the threads in this heritage. These sources and systems incorporated the various indigenous etiological speculations and genealogical theories (*'chad lugs*, *gleng ba*, *lo rgyus*, *rgyal rabs*) that prevailed then and which presented the origin myth and historical-mythological background of the Tibetan dynastic progenitor and of the Tibetan dynasty. These original manuscripts probably disappeared in Tibet sometimes in the XIIIth century, the last monk-scholars having direct access to them being mKhas-pa lDe'u

1 Cf. the Introduction note 6 and note 1488.

(**GBCHBY**, written around 1260 A.D.) and, possibly, Byang-ji's deplorably non-extant **rGyal-rabs dPag-bsam ljon-shing** (of 1286 A.D.). O-rgyan gling-pa, somewhat later, in his writings from the mid-XIVth century may have had access to them, although he does not use them extensively. Thereafter they went into oblivion.

These original sources are more extant. Many of these origin myths and accounts, - whether Buddhist, pre-Bon, Bon (or most often mixed) delineating either the progenitor's Indian dynastic or native divine background - have long attracted the interest of Tibetologists beginning with G. Tucci. The problems involved in these studies are many and complex, all the more so as we only possess scattered references and extracts often presented in a bewildered disorder in later historical works, and a number of these long-lost basic works and accounts are usually only known by their names or titles or from scattered quotations, and then again mostly in a corrupted or hopelessly conflated fashion. Surprisingly, to date no reference to them has been traced in the Dunhuang material.

Brief piecemeal reference so far, brought to our attention foremost by Karmay and Blondeau, to the names of these works and theories has been traced in:

Nyang-ral's **CHBYMTNYP**: Ms. B 588.5-6, 594.5-6 (= Appendix Berlin Ms. (Meisezahl) Tafel 361.1.4-6, 364.2.2-3) but also 422a5-6 (Tafel 283.3.5-6), 460a4-6 (Tafel 307.3.4-6); the Autobiography of Guru Chos kyi dbang-po: vol. 1, chap. 3, 14-20 (Blondeau, 1990a, pp. 39-40); **BZH** (*zhabs-btags-ma*): Stein ed. 75.9-12; dPa'-bo's **HBCHBY** (JA) 5a7-b1; Don-dam smra-ba'i seng-ge's **bShad-mdzod yid-bzhin nor-bu** (ed. of Gene Smith 74a1-79a2 (33. and 34. *skabs*, cf. also Haarh, 1969, p. 213, text, pp. 409-412); Macdonald, 1971, p. 20); **La-dvags rgyal-rabs** (Francke ed.) p. 28 = Kah-thog's **MYDTH** 171.10-15.

To this we can now add: **KCHKKHM-1** 656.3-4; **KCHKKHM-2** 61.6-11; **KTHDNG** (CA) 434.7-435.22 and in particular the detailed synopsis provided by mKhas-pa lDe'u in **GBCHBY**: 226.12-243.17, 374.14-384.6 and lDe'u jo-sras' **DCHBY** 98.21-99.4sqq.

In the light of the new material that now have surfaced, the preliminary survey presented by Karmay, 1988, pp. 219-222 and Blondeau, 1990a, pp. 37-54 can now somewhat be rectified and expanded. No doubt, when hitherto unheeded material in the future are properly explored and new historical sources have surfaced, a clearer picture may be drawn. Recent research has already shown with compelling clarity, that many of the older historical narratives were detected, compiled or transmitted in a mixed Bon-Buddhist milieu.

The Tibetan royal origin myth is conceived, as first noted by Macdonald, 1971, pp. 202-13, to evolve out of a cosmogonical-evolutionary narrative initially delineating the royalty of man in general. The Tibetan genealogy is then eventually defined as the 'accidental genealogy or royalty' of Tibet (*Bod glo bur [gyi] rgyal po*, cf. e.g. **GBCHBY** 226.10ff., **KTHDNG** (CA) 434.7ff. etc., of which there once existed three or four types of human royalty (*mi'i rgyal po*), i.e. the 'lineage-type of royalty' (*gdung brgyud kyi rgyal po*), the 'elected/chosen type of royalty' (*bskos pa'i rgyal po*), the 'dharma type of royalty' (*chos kyi rgyal po*) and the

'accidental[ly originated or aleatoric] type of royalty' (*glo bur gyi rgyal po*).[2] Here various legends and quasi-historical systems were formulated and although the testimonia in later texts occasionally are somewhat contradictory, the 'accidental-type of royalty' is usually the type characterizing the Tibetan dynasty.

But the picture is more complex and still far from pellucid. It appears that the evolution of the genealogy as delineated in these texts/theories were described through three stages (by later historians):[3]

A. The succession or enumeration of the gods in the upper sphere/in the beginning [of the Dynasty] (*stod lha rabs*). This part delineates the origin of the progenitor of the Dynasty, normally, but not exclusively, being identified with gNya'-khri btsan-po.

B. How the [or their?] power spread in the intermediate sphere/time (*bar mnga'* [= *mnga' thang*?] *dar*). This part of the genealogical narrative delineates the intermediate period of the Dynasty, i.e. from the first seven 'Throne kings' of the pre-historic line until the last of the historic line, i.e. Ral-pa-can and Glang-dar-ma.

C. How the [gods = kings][4] below/at the end [of the Dynasty] were divided/split/fragmented (*tha ma* [also: *smad*] *gyes mda'am* [also *mdo'am*] *sil chad*). Conjointly with the previous section, this latter part deals in particular with the fragmentation of the royal lineages in the wake of the break-down of the Dynasty in the IXth century. Cf. the crucial passages in **GBCHBY** 227.5-13, 238.4-11 and in particular 380.12ff.

Apart from this compositional division, the main bulk of texts delineating each of these three episodic and compositional stages in the Tibetan genealogical narrative can moreover be analysed according to three systems/theories each giving, it appears, their version of the genealogical origins: *gSang* [*bs*]*Grags Yang-*

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2 Cf. e.g. **KCHKKHM-2** 61.6-12; **CHBYMTNYP** (Tafel) 359.2.3-361.1.4; **GBCHBY** 196.3ff; **DCHBY** 97.12-98.20. We have no way of telling, again, how old this segment of the Tibetan royal origin myth is, but the Buddhist coating is clearly discernible. For another kind of aleatoric device in selecting a local headman (through game) in a small area under Tibetan cultural influence (with clear allusions to the ancient Tibetan kingship here), cf. Ramble, 1993, pp. 292-98.

3 The division itself into three sections is formulated, at the earliest, in the first part of *phyi-dar* period while the last section *smad sil chad* covers the phase of the dynastic history from its break-down in the IXth century until its fragmentation into petty principalities in the Xth and XIth century in West and Central Tibet.

4 The expression *lha*, whether reflecting Skt. *deva* in its later Buddhist reading or reflecting a pre-Buddhist, autochthonous group of divine Tibetan creatures, early became a synonym or supplementary epithet of the Tibetan king often in the form of *lha sras*. This is e.g. repeatedly documented in the Dunhuang material and in the *rdo-ring*-Inscription.

gsang.[5] These were, around the middle of the eleventh century at least, known basically from seven (six-and-a-half works(!), according to **GBCHBY** 227.9-10) works in all.

Five works were apparently known from what may be denoted as the 'Brother Pentad' (*spun-po lnga-can*, often laconically just *can-lnga*, cf. **BZH**, **CHBYMTNYP**, **GBCHBY**, **DCHBY**, **KTHDNG** (CA), and also Karmay, 1988, p. 222, where I think that **BZH** should be read as *spun po* [= sPun-po gSer-skas dgu-ba, rGyal-rabs spun-po; separate work(s?)] *can lnga*, and not *spun po can lnga* as Karmay does, see below), a corpus of texts or titles as specified:

1. The *Yo-ga lHa-gyes-can* [= [? *Bon-po'i*] *yi-ge* [*las*] *lha-dge* [= *gyes*]-*can* (**CHBYMTNYP**), *Yo-ga lHa dgyes-can* (**DCHBY**), *Yo-ga lHa-dge-can* (**BZH**), *Yo-ga lha gyes-pa'i lo-rgyus* (**bShad-mdzod**)], i.e. the theory [how] the gods [became] divided [according to the [Bon] texts], cf. also Karmay, 1988, pp. 221-22. It is the name of one of the three etiological theories (*spyad* [= *chad* or *'chad*] *lugs gsum*, or *gleng lugs*: i.e. gSang [bs]Grags Yang-gsang, cf. e.g. **CHBYMTNYP** 361.1.4-5; **GBCHBY** 226.12-14). lDe'u Jo-sras, **DCHBY**, maintains that this Yo-ga lHa-gyes-can was composed by the sPa-sa Bon-po-s [*sic*! Nyang-ral in his list has sBags-pa, probably = sPun-po]. For an elaboration of this [bs]Grags system[6] or *lo rgyus* adducing e.g. the royal house's origin from the *srid pa phy*[*v*]*a* gods, etc., cf. **GBCHBY** 227.13-238.13, 374.14ff., 380.13ff. **bShad-mdzod** (33. *skabs*, text, Haarh, pp. 409-411). This system/theory is thus (exclusively?) concerned with the part of the genealogy which delineates the succession of the gods in the upper sphere/in the beginning [of the Dynasty] (*stod lha rabs*), i.e. the very origins of the genealogy.

2. The *Zangs-ma gZhugs-ral-can* [= *Za bzhugs rgan-rabs-can* (**CHBYMTNYP**), = *Thang-ma 'Jug-dral-can* (**DCHBY**)] being the theory, one among three ways of a minute counting (*zhib rtsing* [= *rtsis*] *gsum*] in the exposition concerning the genealogy, here, Nyang-ral adduces, the one counting the genealogy singlewise ((*rkyang pa*) = successively); mKhas-pa lDe'u, **GBCHBY** 243.5-17, 374.17ff., while briefly rendering it, maintains, followed by lDe'u Jo-sras, that this theory was composed by Yab-'bangs (lDe'u Jo-sras: Yab-tshan-'bangs) and he provides its genealogy (the eighteen rulers of the superior (*bla na bzhugs pa bco brgyad*).[7] Further, it renders the genealogy until gNya'-khri btsan-po being concerned with the section of the narrative denoted *stod lha rabs* or the divine lineage in the beginning/of the upper sphere, i.e. like the previous

5 Extensively researched by Haarh, Macdonald, Blondeau, Karmay, etc. Further research (and material) is still required to form a proper picture.

6 For this term, cf. Blondeau, 1990a.

7 'Gro-rje-legs-pa, gNam-lha dkar-gsum, sKar-ma Yol-lde, rGya-lha 'Brong-nam, 'O-de gung-rgyal, Yab brdal-drug, bDud-rje chen-po, lDe [=rJe] gNya'-khri btsan-po, rMu-rje btsan-po, sTang-sa mgon-bu, Dog-lha smin-bu, Mer-lha smongs-bu, Sa-lha 'khor-mo, sTing-[= sTengs]lha gar-chen, gSang-lha de-ba, bDud-rje chen-po.

item concerned with the very origins.

3. The *lHab-ma dGu-brtsegs-can* [= *'Dab-ma/gDab-ma dgu-brtsegs-can* (**CHBYMTNYP**), = *lTab-ma dgu-brtsegs-can* (**DCHBY**), = *lTab-ma dgu-tsag-can* (**BZH**); *lTeb-ma dGu-rtseg-can* (**GBCHBY**)]. lDe'u Jo-sras maintains that it was composed by the Zhang-blon-s[8] and Nyang-ral defines this theory with the enigmatic words *khug pa yum sgom smos*, which Karmay, perhaps correct, construes as the 'pair' (*khug pa*, i.e. royal couple) theory enumerating the [successive kings along with their queen]; accordingly the reading given in Guru Chos dbang's list: *kyang lugs gnyis* should in this light perhaps be corrected to *rkyang [pa dang] khug [pa] gnyis*?, cf. Blondeau, *op. cit.* p. 39. Moreover, contrary to no. 2 above, it concerns itself with the section of the genealogical narrative that delineates how the royal lineage (i.e. the Yar-lung Dynasty) fragmented in the end/during the last time, *smad sil chad*: I.e. this version (of the genealogical narrative) addresses nine (points) (*dgu ston pa*): 1. In which palace were [the royal figures] born. 2. Identification of the father (the king). 3. How long did they hold the throne. 4. Who did the various kings marry. 5. How many princes had [each king]. 6. Which minister made what. 7. What tasks were conducted [under each ruler]. 8. How old became [each ruler]. 9. When [or where] did [the rulers] pass away.

Therefore [it] is denoted '[the version] with the nine folds (*ltab ma*) [i.e. issues?] piled up'.[9]

4. The *Zing[s]-po mgo-sngon-can* [= *Zings-po sna-tshogs-can* (**CHBYMTNYP, BZH**)]; lDe'u Jo-sras maintains that it was composed by a certain sKye-nam, whereas it was defined by Nyang-ral as the extensive exposition by a certain sPun-po, cf. **CHBYMTNYP** and also Karmay, p. 222. Like source no. 3, this system also concerns itself with the later part of the genealogy, or *smad sil chad*. It further is an exposition delineating the multifarious temporal/mundane possessions [of the dynasty] (*lo rgyus zang zing sna tshogs can*).

5. *gSang-ba phyag-rgya-can* (**CHBYMTNYP, BZH, GBCHBY**), possibly (and confusingly) also called *Grags-pa chos-lugs*, cf. **GBCHBY** 238.14-239.2.

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8 Whereas Nyang-ral maintains, *op. cit.* 460a4-5, that (king Sad-na-legs) offered this *mi chos* (text/narrative) to the Zhang-blon.

9 Cf. **GBCHBY** 374.21-375.7: *pho brang gar bltams pa dang gcig yab gang yin pa dang gnyis | chab srid lo du bzung ba dang gsum | khab tu gang bzhes dang bzhi | sras du yod pa dang lnga | blon po gang gis byas pa dang drug las thabs ci byas pa dang bdun | sku tshe lo du thub pa dang brgyad | 'das pa gang [du] 'das pa dang dgu | dgu ston pas na lteb [= ltab] ma dgu brtsegs can ces bya'o.*

The information given that this system/theory is concerned with the last phase of the genealogy also, i.e. *smad sil chad*, contradicts of course the statement given by Nyang-ral that it obviously originated during the rule of king Ral-pa-can. Perhaps the original version of *gDab-ma dgu-brtsegs-can* later circulated in Tibet with a supplement, bringing the dynastic narrative up-to-date?

lDe'u Jo-sras maintains it was composed by the ruler himself (*rje nyid kyis brtsams pa*) and in this light the reading in Nyang-ral should also be seen: *rje nyid gsungs pa phyag rgya can*, instead of correcting *gsungs pa* to the more obvious *gsang ba* which is tempting, cf. above *ad* text no. **1** and Karmay, *op. cit.* p. 220. It obviously (or later?) represented the overall Buddhist, official tradition of the origin of gNya'-khri btsan-po, cf. also below. In particular, this system/theory concerns itself with a number of etiological tales (*rgyu mtshan*) that describe the background for the demise of the successive kings, cf. **GBCHBY** 375.8-376.14.

Moreover, we are bound to assume that the enumeration and listing of the pre-historic line of kings, incl. their division into groups, cf. the notes 370, 395, 398, 401, 404 *infra*, in the main follows the one propagated by this system. To what extent variant readings and listings of names allow us to ascribe such variants to other systems/theories, the material at our disposal today does not render possible.

In addition to this, both mKhas-pa lDe'u and lDe'u Jo-sras mention two more important texts, which plausibly contained similar material. These probably originated in the elleventh century and had the nature of historical treatises and may foremost be considered later supplements to the above more original (i.e. *snga-dar*) material:

The **Lo-rgyus chen-po/mo**,[10] also called **Log-non chen-po** written by dGe-bshes Khu-ston brTson-'grus g.yung-drung (1011-1075 A.D.) of lHa-sdings and [by] a certain rGya-lha-po. This deplorably lost work was well-known to Tibetan historians (as e.g. dPa'-bo) until the XVIth, possibly XVIIth century. Finally,

The work **gSang-ba Yang-chung**: 'the Extraordinary Small [i.e. Supplementary?] Secret [gSang-ba, i.e. to gSang-ba chos-lugs?]', a text already known, like in the case of the previous, to dPa'-bo, cf. Panglung, 1988, p. 351. For a lengthy, mainly metrical quote from this source, by mKhas-pa lDe'u denoted a half exposition (*phyed du 'jog[s] pa*) while it (or mKhas-pa lDe'u?) only offers a listing of the tombs of the royal figures by quoting [only?] certain couplets of the [complete] stanzas in this work, cf. **GBCHBY** 225.9-10, 376.15-380.11. It is a major source for an account of the succession and description of the tombs of the deceased Tibetan kings (*gshin bang so btab pa'i rabs*; *grongs nas bang so btab pa*).

Leaving this brief survey, we may also present in extenso the material offered by Nyang-ral where we similarly encounter data at greater length. It consists in his presention of different theories which he subsequently refutes, until

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10 This work has nothing to do with the homonymous titled text found in the *Sūtra*-section of **MNKB**. The **Lo-rgyus-chen-mo** by Khu-ston was also titled **Rin-chen bang-mdzod**, cf. the Vth Dalai Lama, **DTHZHG** 78.13-14. Titles like **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** were apparently frequently found in the earlier *phyi-dar* period, so e.g. the earliest, now lost biographical material on Atiśa was entitled [*Jo-bo'i*] *Lo-rgyus* [*chen-mo*], possibly originating in the mid-XIIth century, cf. Eimer, *Berichte*, p. 291-92.

the last one.

1. The [Mahābhārata-inspired] theory about gNya'-khri btsan-po descending from one of the Pāṇḍava sons, hinted at in Prajñāvarman's celebrated passage about Rupati; cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 165a3-166a2.

2. The theory that gNya'-khri btsan-po's ancestry is to be linked with the third of five sons of Kṣudrabala, who again is one of the two sons, i.e. Varabala and Kṣudrabala, of Ajātaśatru, being again the son of Udāyana (sic!), the son of king Bimbisāra.[11]

3. The theory that gNya'-khri btsan-po is the third son in the fifth generation from the Kosala king Prasenajit.[12]

4. The [Bon] theory that he is to be identified with lHa gar-ma, the fourth (*bdun tshigs*) among the seven *rabs mched* of the Srid pa'i lha (cf. here parallel Haarh, p. 213).[13]

5. The Bon theory (sharing elements with **Po-ti bse-ru**, cf. Haarh, *ibid.*, pp. 253-262) proclaiming gNya'-khri btsan-po to be the son of gZig-dgu [, who is the son of] sTag-dgu, being the son of dBu-nag, who again is the son of sMon-mi dbu[s]-dkar, and further down through Shes-rab sMon-pa btsan, mThing-gi, Yab lha brda[l]-drug, Bar-[pa] bdun-tshigs etc. and ultimately descends from Yin [= Ye ?]-smon.[14]

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11 166a3-b4: *la la na re 'di ni rgya gar yul bdun nas chad de ma ga ta'i rgyud la ma ga ta'i rgyal po gzugs can snying po'i bu ma skyes dgra | de'i bu gzhon nu 'char byed | de'i bu gnyis dang stobs mchog dang stobs chung ngo | stobs chung la sras lnga yod pa'i lnga tshig[s] mtshan dang ldan pa bram ze mtshan mkhan la bstan pas | mkhan pos mtshan 'khrul te 'di mched la ngan pas spyugs na bzang zer re nas g.yog bdun dang bcas te spyugs pa yin zer te de yang ma yin zer te bu phu bo stobs mchog gi rgyal pos nu bo phrogs ste pham pas bu phos lha ma hā de ba bsgrubs te mthu btang bas stobs chung gi 'khor thams cad shi ste phu bos 'dul byas te | rgyal sa gtad nas nu bo la yang rgyal srid dgos [= bgos ?] te byin | bod du byung zhing 'phel ba ma yin no |*

12 166b4-5: *la la na re [s]ko[s] sa la'i rgyal po gsas [= gsal] rgyal gyi rgyud las rabs lnga na sras lnga tshigs gcig mtshan mkhan 'khrul nas spyugs pa las 'phel zer ba yo | de yang ma yin te de rnams la khungs thub pa'i gtan tshigs med do |* For these theories, cf. also **GBCHBY** 238.3-242.6.

13 166b6-167a4: *la la na re 'gro ba mi la rje med | dud 'gro rngog chags la skyen bu med nas lha [ri] gyang mtho'i kha nas phyis mi [= phya'i] rgad po gcig gis lhas spyon lan gsum byas pas lha'i snongs phyug [= bcu] [g]cig byung [ste] de la mi'i lhar mi 'dod byas nas gnam du spur te btang | srid pa'i lha rabs mched bdun gyi bdun tshigs gsungs so | ming yang lha gar ma zhes bya'o | de nas yang lha ri'i kha nas phya'i rgan mos lhas spyon lan gsum byas pas gnam rim bcu gsum gyi kha nas gnya' khri btsan po byon pa yin zer |*

14 167a4-167b1: *bon po la la na re sems can yin smon byas pa las gnam nas lha'i lha bzang re [= ste] bar la [= pa ?] bdun tshig[s] | rje yab lha brda' drug sras rgyal bu mthing gi byung | de'i sras shes rab smon pa btsan | de'i sras smon mi dbus dkar | dbu nag de'i sras stag gu gzig dgu de'i sras gnya' khri btsan po | de'i sras khri rtse 'bum bzher | de sras lha tho re byon zer te de rnams thams cad ma yin no | = Yo-ga lha-gyes-can* theory, cf. also the more detailed mKhas-pa lDe'u, **GBCHBY** 227.14-238.5 and lDe'u Jo-sras, **DCHBY** 99.17-102.12.

6. Finally, Nyang-ral cites (his favourite) theory (adopted by Bu-ston also) maintaining that gNya'-khri btsan-po should be the off-spring of king Udayana of Vatsa. What follows now in **CHBYMTNYP** (and **CHBY**), here being bound up with the present provenance-theory, is a description of this miraculous being as being endowed with features such as eyes closing from below and his fingers being connected by a web etc. (cf. for details, Haarh, *ibid.*, pp. 179, 197-212). This description, however, most of the later Tibetan Buddhist historiographers agree, is part of the legend originating within the *gSang-ba chos-lugs* tradition. Where the historians disagree as said, concerns the question as to which Indian royal figure, as enumerated e.g. by Bu-ston, should be identified as the alleged Tibetan progenitor. For example, already here the traditions are conflated because the **KCHKKHM** versions quoted previously combine almost the same description of the wonderous infant with an off-spring of Śātānīka (*dMag brgya-pa*) known as Ru-pa skyes. Also there the tale winds up with this India-born progenitor's escape to Tibet and his descent upon the lHa-ri gYang-mtho and lHa-ri Rol [or Yol]-po etc. as delineated later in the present **GLR**-chapter.[15]

370 A remarkable consensus has long been maintained concerning the transmission of the pre-historic line of the Tibetan Yar-lung Dynasty. This assumption can be

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15 **CHBYMTNYP** 167b7-169a4: *'o na gang ltar yin zhes na ‖ rgyal po srong btsan rgam bu'i [= sgam po'i] zhal nas ‖ 'di ni rgya gar gyi bha [= bad] sa la rgyal po ['ch]ar byed la ‖ sras rgyal po shar pa'o ‖ de la sras gnyis byung ba'i nu bo'i rgyud la btsun mo dam pa la sras shig btsas te phu bo mig bya [r]mig ltar mas gyi[s] yar 'gebs ‖ dpral ba'i dbyes che na [= ba] ‖ g.yu'i smin ma yod pa ‖ sna'i gzengs legs pa ‖ so dung so 'khor ba yod pa lag pa'i sor mo ngang pa lta bu 'brel ba ‖ gzi brjid yod pa zhig zhig byung ngo ‖ des yab rgyal po'i snyan du gsol bas ‖ de ltas ngan zhig 'dug pas gsod cig par gnang ngo ‖ de la blon po rnams kyi[s] mtshon gyis 'debs par ma phod te zangs kha sbyar du bcug [nas] de nas shing sgrom byas te nor skal dang bcas pa chu bo gha gha [= gang gā] bsk[y]ur btang ngo ‖ de grong khyer yangs pa can gyi chu kha nas zhing pas rnyed de ‖ de nags khrod du gsos pas de mkhar gyi rgyal po yin pas ‖ ri dvags thams cad kyi[s] rtsed zla byas ‖ gcan gzan thams cad kyi[s] zas [b]skyal ‖ shing thams cad kyi[s] mgo bsdu [= dud?] ‖ bya thams cad kyi[s] skad 'don no ‖ der me tog thams cad kha ba ston [= kha bstan?] ‖ de la rgyal bu na re 'khor ngan pa ji ltar yin nga'i pha su yin zer ba dang ‖ khyed pha yis ltas ngan du byas nas [g]sod zer ‖ blon po rnams kyi[s] ma gsad par chur bor ba yin pas de nged rnams kyi[s] rnyed pa'i gtam rgyud bshad pas ‖ yid ma dga' nas gangs kyi phrag tu bros pas ‖ byang phyogs thams cad kyi ri lha ri gyang [ma] mtho'i khar byung ‖ de nas bltas pas kha ba can gyi rgyal khams kyi dbus na yar mo sna bzhi ‖ lha yar l[h]a sham po mthong nas ‖ bsod nams 'od kyi dmu skas la babs te ‖ lha ri yol ba'i [= po'i] khar byon no ‖ de nas btsan thang sgo bzhir byon pas ‖ de'i dus su bod 'dir spre'u'i rgyud rnams bdud dang ‖ gnod sbyin la sogs pa mnga' mdzad rim pa bdun gyi tha ma la ‖ rgyal sil bu'am bcu gnyis ‖ rgyal phran mo ngan la sogs pas dbang byas nas ‖ gcig zer la gcig mi nyan te ‖ ma 'chams pas dmangs rnams mnar nas brdungs [= gdungs] pa la ‖ 'gal lha'i sras ‖ smu [= dmu] bon po dang ‖ co la bon po dang ‖ zhang zhung bon po dang ‖ tshe mi bon po dang ‖ zings pa bon po dang ‖ ze ba bon po dang ‖ shes pa mkhan bcu gnyis phyugs skyongs ba'i sar byon pa dang ‖ de dag gi[s] mthar sgam gyis khye'u su yin byas pas ‖ btsan po yin zer ‖ gang nas 'ongs dris pas ‖ 'dzub mo gnam du bsgrengs ‖ de'i rgya gar gyi skad pa ra pi ra ma go nas ‖ 'di ni gnam nas byon pa'i lha ‖ mi rje ngo mtshar can zhig 'dug pas 'di khyim gyi mi rnams la ston no zer te ‖ shing la khri byas mi'i gnya' ba la khur nas grong khyer gyi mi rnams la bstan pas ‖ 'di ni gnam las byon pa'i btsan po ngo mtshar can zhig 'dug pas ‖ 'o cag rnams kyi jo bo bya'o zer te ‖ bon po rnams na re ‖ gnam [r]gung nas sa dog pa la gnyags pa'i rgyal po sa thams cad la dbang ba yin zer ‖ ming yang gnya' khri btsan po bya bar grags so.*

culled from the extensive concordance delivered by Haarh, where it has been amply documented that the entire lineage of the dynasty counted fourty-two kings from its mythical foundation by gNya'-khri btsan-po until the collapse in A.D. 842. As reliable contemporary data at our disposal only allow us to reckon Srong-btsan sgam-po as the first truly documented historical figure, all royal figures prior to him must necessarily be assigned to a pre-historic lineage. Moreover, as the historical line usually counts ten royal heads, this pre-historic stemma is thus considered to number thirty-two kings.

Since the synoptic listing of twenty-two sources by Haarh, which offers a representation of the pre-historic line, it has been a commonly accepted dictum that the Tibetan [Buddhist] historiographical tradition evinces a fairly clear consensus both in terms of the sub-divisions and grouping of the kings as well as what concerns the names and number of kings adhering to each royal group. Since the publication of Haarh's survey, new sources, and in particular sources of considerable antiquity, i.e. all prior to the fourteenth century, have come to light. The present survey offers a schematic representation of a number of new pre-fourteenth century Tibetan historiographical sources published or traced within the last twenty years. As quite a number of Haarh's sources are relatively late, secondary and, moreover, fairly uniform, they only add little information to the possible existence of any earlier and thus more original representation of the line and groups.

Here and in the following notes we shall not attempt to reconstruct a proto-version of the pre-historic line, nor shall any attempt be made to answer the intriguing question as to the origin of this segmentation of the lineage into separate bodies and their nomenclatura. Rather it adds a bulk of new data, or a *corpus comparationis* for further research. What is to be adduced is that, despite occasional discrepancies in terms of the names and number of kings in some of these groups, the overall number counting thirty-two kings would seem to be confirmed.

As already noted by Haarh, *loc. cit.* p. 72, the king lHa Tho-tho-ri gnyan-shal, the first "Buddhist" king in the pre-historic line and variously listed as the twenty-sixth to the twenty-eighth king, constitutes the turning-point between a pre-Buddhist strata of kings divided into more or less well defined groups and a remaining pre-historic Buddhist lineage of kings usually numbering four kings. The fact that this division into groups comprises almost exclusively the pre-Buddhist part of the lineage should arouse our suspicions (which Haarh also noted), namely that the entire construction and representation is an integral part of a later Buddhist mythographical tradition that attempted to reconstruct the origins of the Tibetan Dynasty. That the material has been substantially reworked by later Buddhist historiographers cannot surprise us. But we have cogent reason to assume, as Haarh also indicates, that behind this reworking and these schematic representations of the lineage, earlier pre-Buddhist structures may be assumed, though to what extent this postulate holds true still remains to be documented. In the following schemes it will be clear that **KCHKKHM-1** and **2** occasionally are at variance, whereas **GBCHBY** and **DCHBY** also in this respect are closely cognate, the two lists in Nyang-ral differs and that **BGR** and Nel-pa's text are

fairly congruous.[16]

Please note that the bold-written numbers in the first column at the very left refer to the number and corresponding royal names given in the prevailing lists in Haarh, 1969, p. 40 and the number in parentheses indicates the relative position of the names in the succession in the relevant text:

The Seven Throne Kings of Space (*gnam gyi khri bdun*).

When comparing the lists below against the lists given in Haarh, *op.cit.* p. 40, we observe that both **GBCHBY** and **DCHBY** are closely related to the Buddhist division found in particular in Haarh's division A. The royal figures, Nos. 1-3, moreover show full conformity throughout all sources. The problems and discrepancies emerge with figure 4 and henceforth. Noteworthy also are the apparent metathetical (?) Khri-begs (-pe/pan) and Khri-ye[r] forms, where *khri* usually forms the second element and not the first. Could we here assume a scribal error similar to Khri-gum, which clearly is mistaken for Gri-gum, usually considered the first king in the next group? This inclusion, incidentally, characterizes the division called C in Haarh, but see also the next group (note 395):

KCHKKHM-1	**KCHKKHM-2**	**CHBYMTNYP (A)**
(665.12-15)	(84.12-15)	(169a6-b4)
1. (1) gNya'-khri	(1) gNya'-khri	(1) gNya'-khri
2. (2) Mu-khri	(2) sMu-khri	(3) Mu-khri
3. (5) Ding-khri	(4) Deng-khri	(2) Ding-khri
4. (3) Khri-btsan	(3) lHa-khri	(6) gNya'-khri-po
5. (4) Dad-khri	(5) Ngos-khri	(5) Ye-shes-khri
6. (7) Khri-begs	(6) Khri-pe	(7) Khri-pan
7. (6) Srab-khri	(7) Gung-khri	(4+8 *sic*) Sribs-khri

CHBYMTNYP (B)	**GBCHBY**	**DCHBY**
(Tafel 362.1.1-3)	(243.18-244.5)	(102.13-17)
1. (1) gNya'-khri	(1) gNya'-khri	(1) gNya'-khri
2. (2) Mu-khri	(2) Mug-khri	(2) Mug-khri
3. (3) Ding-khri	(3) Ding-khri	(3) Deng-khri
4. (4) So-khri	(4) So-khri	(4) So-khri
5. (5) Khri-ye	(5) 'Dar-khri	(5) Dog-khri
6. (6) Khri-yer	(6) gDags-khri	(6) gDags-khri

16 Of significant interest is the testimony in **KCHKKHM-2** 84.4-7, that the main part of the prehistoric line (i.e. the seven *khri* kings, two *steng* kings, the eight *sde* kings, the six *legs* kings and the five *btsan* kings) and how they made their individual appearance in Tibet are found as wall-paintings accompanied by text-portions in the chapel of dPal-chad in the north (one of king Srong-btsan sgam-po's alleged prostate *srin-mo* suppressing temples, cf. Appendix, note 770, subnote 16).

7. (7) Gri-gum*[17]	(7) Sribs-khri	(7) Sribs-khri

BGR	**NGTMTPH**
(197a1-2)	(2b6-7)
1. (1) gNya'-khri	(1) gNya'-khri
2. (3) Mu-khri	(3) Mu-khri
3. (2) Deng-khri	(2) Ding-khri
4. (6) Khris-ye	(6) Khri-so
5. (7) Khri-gum*	(7) Khri-gum*
6. (5) gDags-khri	(5) gDags-khri
7. (4) Pri-khri	(4) Sribs-khri

395 Continuing the lists given in note 370 *supra*: (x = deest):

The two Superior-kings of the Upper Sphere (*stod kyi steng gnyis*):

This small group numbers two figures, the two Upper or Superior kings originating in/descending from the Upper Sphere. It is interesting to see the supplementary nomenclatura prevailing, i.e. the Father and the Son of the Upper Sphere. Not unsurprisingly, in **CHBYMTNYP**, **BGR** and **NGTMTPH**, similar to Haarh's division C, Gri-gum is discounted from this group, and possibly occasioned by the *btsan-po* in Gri-gum btsan-po this figure is included among the *btsan-po* kings of the first group. The total absence in **CHBYMTNYP** of both Gri-gum and sPu-lde/'O-lde, two highly important figures in the mythological tradition, is particularly noteworthy. This makes Nyang-ral's testimony unique in the transmission. Significant also is the fact that a number of texts characterizes this group as the two kings of the Upper Sphere, other texts denote them the two Upper kings of the Intermediate Sphere (*bar gyi steng*), cf. Haarh, *op. cit.* 73-77.

KCHKKHM-1	**KCHKKHM-2**	**CHBYMTNYP**
(668.2)	(88.18-19)	
1. Gri-gum/Pha-stengs	Gri-gum/Pha-stengs	x
2. sPu-lde/Bu-stengs	sPu-lde/Bu-stengs	x

17 In **CHBYMTNYP** (**B**), but also **BGR** and **NGTMTPH** which throughout all the groups display a remarkable consensus (cf. Uebach, p. 24ff.), king number seven Khri-gum no doubt is Gri-gum btsan-po, who is usually considered the eighth king in the pre-historic line and one of the subsequent sTeng gnyis kings, cf. below. This probably accounts for the fact that both these texts only have one sTeng[s] king in the subsequent group. Cf. also abbreviated **MBNTH** 26a2ff.

For the latter two lists, cf. also Uebach, 1987, pp. 55-57; Panglung, 1988, pp. 324-25 and also Szerb, 1990, p. 4-5.

	GBCHBY (244.5-248.11)	DCHBY (103.1-18)	BGR (97a2)
1.	Gri-gum	Gri-gum/Yab-stengs	x
2.	'U-de gung-rgyal	sPu-lde/Sras-stengs	sPu-lde

	NGTMTPH (2b7)
1.	x
2.	'O-ste spu-rgyal

398 Further pre-**GLR** lists, aside from the extensive lists offered by Haarh, ref. cf. note 370 *supra*, of the six kings with the name-element 'Excellent' of the 'Intermediate Sphere':

The Six Excellent-Kings of the Intermediate Sphere (*bar gyi legs drug*):

	KCHKKHM-1 (668.3-4)	KCHMMHM-2 (89.3-6)	CHBYMTNYP (A) (172a5-b3)
1.	(1) I-sho-legs	(1) lHa-sho-legs	(1) A-sho-legs
2.	(3) Di-sho-legs	(4) The-sho-legs	(6) The-sho-legs
3.	(2) Di-sho-legs	(5) Tho-sho-legs	(4) dGe-sho-legs
4.	(4) Gu-ru-legs	(2) Go-ru-legs	(3) Go-ru-legs
5.	(5) 'Gro-rje-legs	(3) 'Brong-zhi-legs	(5) 'Brang-rje-legs
6.	(6) [g]Shog-legs	(6) I-sho-legs	(2) I-sho-legs

	CHBYMTNYP (B) (362.1.5-361.2.1)	GBCHBY (248.11-17)	DCHBY (104.1-4)
1.	(1) Sho-legs	(1) Ni-sho-legs	(1) Sho-legs
2.	(2) De-sho-legs	(2) De-sho-legs	(2) De-sho-legs
3.	(5) I-sho-rno-legs	(5) The-sho-legs	(5) The-sho-legs
4.	(3) Phu-ru-legs	(3) Gor-bu-legs	(3) Gor-bu-legs
5.	(4) 'Bring-shar-legs	(4) 'Bro-bzhi-legs	(4) 'Bro-bzhi-legs
6.	(6) I-sho-legs	(6) I-sho-legs	(6) I-sho-legs

	BGR (197a2-3)	NGTMTPH (3a2-3)
1.	(5) I-sho-legs	(5) I-sho-legs
2.	(3) Sho-legs	(2) Tho-legs
3.	(1) Ngo-legs	(3) Sho-legs
4.	(2) 'Og-rgyu-legs	(4) mGo-ru-legs
5.	(4) 'Bro-zhing-legs	(5) 'Bro-sho-legs
6.	(6) Ring-gnam zi-	(6) Ri-gnam-zin/

legs/Zi-gnam	Zha-gnam
zi-legs*[18]	zin-legs*

401 The eight lDe Kings of the Terrestrial sphere (*sa la sDe/lde brgyad*): (x = deest)

	KCHKKHM-1 (668.5-6)	**KCHKKHM-2** (89.7-11)	**CHBYMTNYP (A)** (172b4-173a2)
1.	x	(1) Za-nam-zin-te	(1) rGyal-nam-zin-te
2.	(2) lDe-'od gzhung-btsan-lde	(2+3) lDe-'phrul-po gNam-gzhung-btsan	(3) lDe-'sprul gNam-zhung-btsan
3.	x	(6) bSe-rnol-nam	(7) lDe [rgyal]-nam
4.	x	(5) sDe-rnol-nam	(2) gNam-spu'o gZhung-btsan-lde (!)
5.	(1) lDe-rnol-nam	(7) bSe-rnol-po	(4) lDe-snol-nam
6.	x	(4) sDe-rnol-po	(6) lDe-gso-nam-nam
7.	x	(8) sDe-rgyal-po	(5) lDe-rgyal-po
8.	(3) lDe-srin-btsan	x	(8) lDe-khri/Srid-btsan

	CHBYMTNYP (B) (Tafel 361.2.1-3)	**GBCHBY** (248.18-22)	**DCHBY** (104.5-14)
1.	(1) bZa'-nam-zin-te	(1) Gyal-zan Nam-zin-lde	(1) Gyal rNam zin-lde
2.	(2) lDe-'khrul-po	(2) lDe-'Phrul-po Nam-gzhung-btsan	(2) lDe-'Khrul-po gNam-gzhung-btsan
3.	(3) lDe-snol-nam	(4) lDe-gnol-nam	(4) bSe-rnol-gnam-lde
4.	x	(5) bSe-lde	(5) bSe-rnol-po-gnol-polde
5.	x	(6) bSe-lde gnol-nam	(3) lDe-rnol-nam
6.	x	(3) lDe-gnol-po	x
7.	(4) lDe-rGyal-te	(7) lDe-rgyal-po	(6) lDe-rgyal-po
8.	x	x	(7+8) rGyal-po sprin [dang?] btsan-lde

18 * This figure belongs to the subsequent list according to other sources. But carrying the name-element *legs*, it properly belongs to this group. See also next group.
Cf. also abbreviated **MBNTH** 26b1-2; Uebach, 1987, pp. 56-57 and Szerb, 1990, pp. 4-5.

	BGR (197a3)	**NGTMTPH** (3a3-4)
1.	(1) lDe-mnam (!) zin-lde	(2) lDe-rmul-bu (!)
2.	(2) 'Phrul-po gzhung-btsan	(1) lDe-gnam 'Khrul-po gzhung-btsan
3.	(6) lDe-se-snol-lam	(5) lDe-bis rnol-gnam
4.	(7) lDe-se-rnol-po	(7) lDe-se-rnol-po
5.	(4) lHo-snol-nam	(3) lDe-rnol-nam
6.	(5) lDe-snol-po	(4) lDe-rnol-lo
7.	(8) lDe-rgyal-po	(8) lDe-rgyal-po
8.	(3) rMan-bum	(6) lDe-rmu-la-gnam

Cf. also abbreviated **MBNTH** 26b1-2.

404 The Three/Five Mighty-Kings of the Underworld (*'og gi btsan gsum/lnga*):

The last group of the pre-Buddhist lineage of the pre-historic kings is also very unevenly transmitted. As already shown by Haarh, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76, alone the name of the group varies markedly. In some texts the group is called the btsan-kings of the Lower Sphere (*'og, smad*), in others of the Intermediate Sphere, or of the Sphere of Juncture? (*tshigs*). The number of kings adhering to this group differs also pronouncedly, counting from three to seven kings. As discussed by Haarh, the crucial figure in this list is King lHa Tho-tho-ri-gnyan-shal, who is included in the *btsan*-group and then always under the name lHa Tho-tho ri gnyan/snyan-btsan.

	KCHKKHM-1 (668.6-669.2)	**KCHKKHM-2** (89.12-15)	**CHBYMTNYP (A)** (173a3-6)
1.	(1) rGyal-lde long-btsan	(1) [rGyal-po sPrin-btsan]*/[19] Thog-re long-btsan	(1) rGyal-thod re-long-btsan
2.	(2) Khri-de'i btsan-gnam	(2) Khri-btsan-nam	(2) Khri-btsan-nam
3.	(3) Khri-sgra dpung-btsan	(3) Khri-sgra spung-btsan	(3) Khri-sgra dpung btsan
4.	(4) Khri-thog-rje-thog-btsan	(4) Thog-rje-thog-btsan	(4) Khri-thog-rje-thog-btsan
5.	(5) lHa Tho-tho-ri-snyan-shal	x	(5) lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal
[6].	x	x	(6) Khri-gnyan gzung-btsan*

19 * This text counts six bTsan-kings of the intermediate sphere (*bar ka btsan drug*).

	CHBYMTNYP (B) (Tafel 361.2.3-4)	GBCHBY (249.6-250.16)	DCHBY (104.15-105.12)
1.	(1) To-re long btsan	(1+2) rGyal-po sPrin-btsan**[20]/rGyal sto-re-lo-btsan	(1) rGyal-to-to re-long-btsan
2.	(2) Khri-btsan rnam-rnal	(3) Khri-btsan-nam	(2) Khri-btsan-nam
3.	(3) Khri-btsan rgyal-dpung-btsan	(4) Khri-sgra sgrungs-btsan	(3) Khri-sgra bsgrungs-btsan
4.	(4) Thog-rje thog-btsan	(5) Khri-thog-rje thog-btsan	(4) Khri-thog-rje thog-btsan
5.	(5) Tho-tho gnyan-btsan	(6) lHa Tho-tho-ri btsan	(5) lHa Tho-tho-re-snyan-btsan
[6].		(7) Khri-gnyan gzung-btsan***[21]	

	BGR (197a3-6)	NGTMTPH (3a4-5)
1.	(1) rGyal-tho los-btsan	(1) rGyal-po-long btsan
2.	(2) Khri-btsan-nam	(2) Khri-btsan
3.	(3) Khri-sgra yungs btsan	(3) Khri-sgra spungs-btsan
4.	(4) Khri-thog-rje-thog-btsan	(4) Khri-thog-rje thog-btsan
5.	(5) Tho-tho-ri-snyan-btsan	(5) lHa mTho-tho-ri snyan-btsan

The Group of Buddhist Kings of the Pre-historic Line:

This last group of kings carries no name in the Tibetan transmission of the pre-historic kings. In order to complete the survey of the pre-historic line we herewith add a concordance of the remaining four kings. These four kings do not belong to any defined group.

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20 ** This is in fact the last king of the eight lDe-kings, see above.

21 *** This text, as the only one, counts seven bTsan-kings (*tshigs la btsan bdun*), among them also the son of lHa Tho-tho-ri snyan-shal.
Cf. also Uebach, 1987, pp. 57-59; Szerb, 1990, pp. 5-6.

	KCHKKHM-1 (674.6-675.1)	KCHKKHM-2 (97.1-10)	CHBYMTNYP (A) (176a3-176b4)
1.	(1) Khri-snyan bzung-btsan	(1) Khri-gnyan bzung-btsan	(1) Khri-gnyan gzung-btsan*[22]
2.	(2) 'Bro-snyan lde-ru	(2) x	(2) mNyes lde-gu
3.	(3) sTag-gu gzigs	(3) sTag-gu gnyan-gzigs	(3) sTag-ri gnyan-gzigs
4.	(4) gNam-ri long-btsan	(4) gNam-ri srong-btsan	(4) gNam-ri srong-btsan

	CHBYMTNYP (B) (Tafel 361.2.4-5)	GBCHBY (250.15-252.4)	DCHBY (107.1-108.4)
1.	(1) x	(1) Khri-gnyan gzung-btsan	(1) Khri-snya[n] zungs-btsan
2.	(2) 'Brong-gnyan	(2) 'Bro-snyan lde'u	(2) 'Bro-gnyen lde-rulde'u
3.	(3) sTag-gu gnyan-gzigs	(3) sTag-gu gnyan-gzigs	(3) sTag-gu snyan-gzigs
4.	(4) gNam-ri long-btsan	(4) gNam-ri srong-btsan	(4) gNam-ri srong-btsan

	BGR (197a6-197b1)	NGTMTPH (3a5)
1.	(1) Khri-gnyen bzung-btsan	(1) Khri-gnyan gzung-btsan
2.	(2) 'Bro-gnyen lde-ru	(2) 'Brong-gnyen srong-btsan
3.	(3) sTag-ri gnyen-gzigs	(3) sTag-ri gnya'-gzigs
4.	(4) gNam-ri srong-btsan	(4) gNam-ri srong-btsan

409 The testimony in **KCHKKHM-2** (reproduced **HBCHBY** (JA) 9b7-10a5 with a discussion on the legend's authenticity, and the comparatively brief mention in the two works of mKhas-pa lDe'u and lDe'u Jo-sras) may suggest that the account of the Secret gNyan-po still was not well established in the middle of the XIIth century. It provides the fabulous story of the origin of the Secret gNyan-po,

22 * This king actually belongs to the previous section.

ultimately coming from India, where a Magadha king named Ja/Dza lived[23] Once, while this king was reading a book of yore and about his forefathers, notably being inspired by one of his pre-existences, the Dharma-king Aśoka, he wanted to erect a number of *caitya*-s. Long after, a rain of religious books (*glegs bam gyi po ti*) fell from heaven which he then, together with other costly items, placed inside a precious basket (*rin po che'i za ma tog*). Once when this treasury was hanging atop a banner, it was - through the interference of *ḍāka*-s and *ḍākinī*-s - blown and carried by the wind of *jñāna*, and eventually landed on the roof of the Tibetan king's (lHa Tho-tho-ri's) palace. **MBNTH** does not mention anything about books falling on the roof but mentions that the Secret gNyan-po was delivered by hand, being here more in conformity with Nel-pa's version. The present legend with the divine ascend on the roof, Nel-pa Paṇḍita designates as pure hear-say (*g.yom rgyug*) and as a later (mythograhical) interpolation (*lhad bcug*) contrived by the Bon-pos.[24]

Consensus prevails *grosso modo* that the following (four) sūtric texts were found inside the basket:

Kāraṇḍavyūha, cf. Nishioka, 1980, no. 204 = P. 784, Regamey, 1971, cf. **GLR** Chap. VI *supra*.

sPang-skong phyag-[b]rgya-pa, cf. Nishioka 1980, no. 384 = P. 933.

Hṛdaya-Ṣaḍakṣarī (sNying-po Yi-ge drug-ma),

- sometimes also:

Chos dGe-ba bcu'i mdo,

rTen-'brel bcu-gnyis kyi mdo,

A Cintāmaṇi *skos-phor* or a drinking-bowl engraved with a Ekadaśamukha-Cintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī (cf. **HBCHBY** 9b6-7) and a golden (var. crystal, turquoise(-laden or -coloured) one-cubit miniature *caitya* (with four *parisaṇḍa*-s) and a *mudrā'i phyag-rgya* (*sic*!), possibly a precious stone on which the *Yig-drug* was engraved; **PMKTH**: *mu dra'i rten 'brel phyag rgya*).

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23 On this mythical king, a figure of Tibetan creation employed in a similar tale of how a rain of books fell down on a roof, a plot which has been taken over and employed in this story here, cf. Karmay, 1983, p. 200 (n. 29), p. 206 (n. 59)). This mysterious king Dza/Ja also occurs, as shown by Karmay, in a late dynastic text and this may perhaps be conducive to an approximate dating of the gNyan-po gsang-ba narrative. The normal version of the landing of the books on the roof, linking it up with the mythical king Ja/Dza is apparently first documented in the **KCHKKHM** version above and simultaneously this king also occurs in connection with the origin of the first *tantra*-s of the rDzogs-chen tradition as briefly retold in the **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** version of **MNKB** E (A), Chap. 17 and 18; see also Blondeau, 1984, p. 76. Again we are faced with more questions than we can answer. The occurence of the gNyan-po gsang-ba legend being bound up with this legendary king, popular in the rDzogs-chen tradition, may suggest that this legend about the origin of Buddhism in Tibet either was formulated in the late dynastic period (although it is not found in Khri-srong lde-btsan *bKa'-gtsigs* and *bKa'-mchid* of ca. 780 A.D. delineating the origin of Buddhism in Tibet, but see Richardson, 1977(b); and Stein, 1981, pp. 256-258) and then went unaltered through the hands of Atiśa, dNgos-grub and Nyang-ral, the Indian master and the *gter-ston*-s independently responsible for the Vita-compilation of Srong-btsan sgam-po and its initial dissemination. Or are we to assume that the latter here introduced the element with this fabulous king in order to tinge their own rDzogs-chen tradition with the luster of authenticity and importance?

24 Cf. Uebach, 1987, pp. 31-32, 87 and Karmay, *Treasury*, 1972, pp. 75-76.

Appendix Chapter IX

445 The location sBra-stod-tshal is recorded, thus confirming its historicity, in the *rdo-ring* Treaty of 821/822 A.D. in Lhasa, (East Inscription; cf. Richardson, 1985, pp. 116-117; Li & South Coblin, 1987, p. 99): *pho brang lHa sa['i] shar phyogs sBra-stod-tshal*, thus locating it to the east of lHa-sa. Being moreover the region where the birth-place of the Dharmarāja in all likelihood is found, Yar-snon should perhaps be emended to Yar-ston, located, as is known, at the outer eastern confines of the dBus district, cf. e.g. the next note and note 506 *infra*, where rGya-ma, the more common or later name of the king's birth-place, according to some authorities, is found. This is corroborated by the reference in **KCHKKHM-2** 124.11: dBu-ru Brag-stod-tshal, reading this location as Brag-stod-tshal and situating it in dBu-ru, in the Central Horn, where Mal-dro/gro rGya-ma is also located. The *pho brang* registered in the above *rdo-ring* inscription may then perhaps may be identified with the palace where the king was born. Cf. next note.

446 Since the main-temple of Khra-'brug (located in the Yar-klungs Valley) usually is called bKra-shis Byams-snyoms or (also as a relgious community, bKra-shis lha-yul; cf. Ferrari, 1958, p. 50, 124, nn. 237-238) and **KCHKKHM-2** calls Srong-btsan sgam-po's birth-place *pho-brang* Byams-snyoms mi-'gyur (cf. previous note and below), we have cogent albeit still inconclusive reasons to assume (in contrast to the statement in the previous note) a possible linking between the birth-place of this king and this ancient palace, also called Byams-pa mi-'gyur in numerous sources, a palace later renamed and identified with the Khra-'brug temple (cf. e.g. **HBCHBY** (JA) 39a1-2 and note 836 *infra*), but the question remains whether Byams-pa mi-'gyur and Byams-[snyoms] mi-'gyur are one and the same temple or not. lDe'u Jo-sras and mKhas-pa lDe'u, among others, register, cf. Appendix, note 770, a certain Byams-snyoms temple of 'U-ru [g.Yu-ru or better dBu-ru?] erected during the reign of king Ral-pa-can. If this latter temple and the Byams-snyoms mi-'gyur are identical, it would chronologically rule out the latter as the king's birth-place.

A testimony in **KCHKKHM-2** is important to this effect, since it is here adduced that Byams-pa Mi-'gyur-gling was erected by king gNam-ri srong-btsan after the king formerly had sojourned in the palace of Bug-pa-can (in the so-called 'holed' palace) located at Yar-lung Shar-stod. In view of the above, the latter place would hardly be the location of the palace of Byams-pa mi-'gyur.

Returning again to the previous theory, **GZBZNTH** 1.2-3, a text of recent origin and with a modern introduction, maintains: yul rlon [= sTon, i.e. Yar-ston?] zhes pa'i dBu-ru Mal-'gro rGya-ma pho brang Byams-pa Mi-'gyur-gling. Mal-[']gro/dro is an old district and location belonging to dBu-ru, the Central Horn, cf. e.g. **GBCHBY** *op. cit.* 257.15, which during a part of the dynastic period even had a *yul dpon* reigning there. Some later texts and authors thus adduce that Byams-pa Mi-'gyur-gling must be located in rGya-ma of the Mal-gro district, so also according to f. ex. mKhas-btsun bzang-po in his *A Nectar for the*

Ear, p. 189. This attempt to combine rGya-ma in Mal-gro and the above palace seems - in absence of any substantial written evidence - ultimately to be proven, but, as indicated in the previous note, since Yar-snon [= ston?] sBra [= Brag?]-stod-tshal, as one source maintains, is also located in dBu-ru, and rGya-ma also is known as rGya-ma Yar-ston (cf. note 506 *infra*), rGya-ma as the present-day name of the birth-place appears to be a solid guess. Until a more detailed testimony surfaces, the above incidence of homonymy still prevents us from concluding beyond doubt precisely *where* Srong-btsan sgam-po actually was born. To sum up: For the time being the most likely guess is, corroborated by local tradition, that the king was born in rGya-ma, where even a *rGyal-po lha-khang* is to be found housing an image of the king. Against this speaks the fact that Yar-klungs Khra-'brug (alias Byams-pa/snyoms mi-'gyur *pho brang*) in a number of sources is directly associated with the king's birth-place, further corroborated by the fact that Khra-'brug, in all likelihood, is the oldest temple in Tibet and that this temple was considered the personal tutelary, 'essence' or innermost (*yang snying*) temple of Srong-btsan sgam-po. A last hypothesis, attempting to make the two ends meet, may be that the Byams-pa mi-'gyur *pho brang* of 'Khra-'brug was so named after the homonymous *pho brang* of sBra-stod-tshal, where the king was born.

455 A later Buddhist tradition, such as the one conserved in the Vth Dalai Lama, **TSLKHKCH** 18b6, 19a3-6, has established a synoptic triad between three holy mountains in [the vicinity of lHa-sa] and three chief divinities: The lCags-kha-ri (= lCags-pho-ri) is the *bla ri* of Vajrapāṇi and resembles a lion leaping forward into the sky (*seng ge gnam la mchong ba*;[25] cf. also note 765); Bong-ba/bu/bo-ri is the *bla ri* of Mañjughoṣa and resembles a tigress entering a mouse-hole (*stag mo byi khung la 'dzul*); dMar-po-ri is the *bla ri* of Avalokiteśvara and the Red Hill resembles a sleeping elephant stretched out (*glang po che bres la nyal ba*). Cf. also mKhyen-brtse's guide (Ferrari, p. 41) and foremost **KCHKKHM-2** (Appendix, note 726), where in a geomantic-divinatory description originating with princess Kong-jo, the tails of the lion and the tiger (lCags-kha-ri and dMar-po-ri, but acc. to the above it should be the Bong-ba-ri) are connected. Testifying to the antiquity of this topographical depiction and its symbolic import and confirming the reading of **KCHKKHM-2** against **TSLKHKCH** is the reading in **sBa-bzhed**.[26]

This geo- and topographical narrative conserved in **BZH** is in fact part of an alleged geomantic exposition made by the second Kong-jo, contrived by her as a vengeful response to being deprived of her rightful son as delineated *ad* the notes 1154ff. Also confirmed in **MNKB** E (Ca) 110a3. What we therefore here have, appear to be narrative segments which originally describe the activities of two

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25 This epithet or imagery, the lion leaping towards the sky, was apparently a much cherished name in ancient times, cf. e.g. Blondeau, 1985, pp. 119, 149.

26 Stein ed. 78.13-14: *lCags ka ri seng ge dkar mo gnam du 'phyons* [= *mchongs*] *ba 'dra ba*; 78.15-16: *dmar po ri stag byi khung du 'dzul ba 'dra ba*; 79.3-5: *ri stag seng gnyis kyi mjug ma bsnon ba yod pa de bcad nas | bar du ratna 'i mchod rten gyis mnan de ma bcad na btsun pa 'phrul dang blon po rig pa can rgyun ma chad par 'ong ba yin* = **CHBYMTNYP** 465b2-466a3 (more detailed).

distinct figures, the two Chinese consorts.

Already quite early dMar-po-ri became known as Potala, an association linked up with king Srong-btsan sgam-po, being the embodiment of Avalokiteśvara. Hence also the king's residence at dMar-po-ri became a pendant to this divinity's residence on Mt. Potala in Southern India. For the personal residence raised by the king, cf. note 604.

Appendix Chapter X

460 As said, **GLR** is far more detailed and at places first of all at variance with the corresponding narrative in this part of the Vita-cycle of the Dharmarāja Srong-btsan sgam-po than the usual biographies, which all show a marked cognation, with **KCHKKHM-2** and in particular **CHBYMTNYP** preserving the most complete renditions.

Sources:

MNKB E **mDzad-pa'i lo-rgyus**, E (Ca): (*Bod-yig brtsams-pa dang chos bsgyur-ba'i mdzad-pa*) 102a2-102b2; (*Khrims bcas-pa'i mdzad-pa*) 102b6-103b4; **rGyal-po'i mdzad-pa nyi-shu rtsa gcig-pa,** E (Cd): (*Yi-ge dang chos bslabs shing ting-nge-'dzin la mnga'-brnyes par mdzad-pa*) E 186a6-187b1; *dGe-ba bcu'i khrims bcas nas* | *bod chos-khrims la bkod-par mdzad-pa*) E 188a6-189a1.
KCHKKHM-1 Chap. VIII: *lHa spyan-drangs-pa'i le'u*, 680.5-694.5., cf. 681.4-685.4.
KCHKKHM-2 Chap. IX: *sPrul-pa'i dge-slong A-kar-ma-tis yi-dam gyi lha spyan-drangs-pa'i le'u*, 105.1-123.4, cf. 105.1-109.12.
KCHKKHM-3 Chap. IX: *Yi-ge blangs-pa'i le'u*, 406.1-408.5;
CHBYMTNYP 181b2-188a1.

Further sources touching quite briefly or detailed on the same theme: **MBNTH** 30a5-31a5; **GBCHBY** 298.10-15; **DCHBY** 117.10-15; **NGTMTPH** 5a5-6, 7b6-8a1 (Uebach, pp. 72-73, 88-89); **CHBY** 138a3-6 (Szerb, pp. 8-9 with further ref.); **DTHMP** 17b9, 18a1-2; **YLJBCHBY** 53.12-54.1; **GBYTSH** 100a4-104a6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 15a5-19a1; **DTHMPSM** 18b1-19a2.

487 R. A. Miller has repeatedly attempted, considered and reconsidered, to discuss this moot question, cf. 1963, 1976; 1983 with ref. and also lately Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28. Inaba and Miller attempt to construe this passage as referring to one work and their reflections are certainly not without interest, but here at best superfluous, as there can be no doubt that Bla-ma dam-pa here lists a number of titles; so also understood by Tshe-dbang rdo-rje, 1990, pp. 15-16. It moreover seems likely that the versified exposé offered here hails from the **Thon-mi mDo-rdzi'i sgra-mdo** (which Miller does not take for a title of a work, but construes as a clause meaning 'the language *sūtra* arranged by Thon-mi in succint form') or an extract thereof. We may even assume that these verses represent the axiomatic rules (*mdo*, *sūtra*) patterned upon or inspired from the succint *kārikā*-s of the Pāṇinian tradition. But accepting this work as genuine shall raise more questions than it answers. We can, with Inaba (Miller, 1976, pp. 94-95), speculate why Bla-ma dam-pa did not mention the two universally known treatises ascribed to Thon-mi, i.e. the **Sum-cu-pa** and the **rTags kyi 'jug-pa**. An argument may be that Thon-mi actually never

did write them! Quite reverse, another argument may well be, assuming here that they are genuine, that these two treatises simply were *so* well-known that any mention may have been considered superfluous. The question of genuinity is ultimately hinged upon the issue whether or not Thon-mi actually was a historical figure. A problem we cannot address here. It is conspicuous that the **Thon-mi mDo-rdzi'i sgra-mdo** in form and language is far more archaic than these two well-known works. Inaba moreover demonstrates how difficult it is, from internal or external evidence, to attribute this text to the author responsible for these two extant treatises. It is perhaps an important observation to make that dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 16b1, who usually follows or parallels **GLR** closely, only mentions **Thon-mi mDo-rtsi'i sgra-mdo** and **Sum-rtags** among the eight treatises ascribed to him. This could support the assumption advanced by Miller that the list in **GLR** refers to one work only, but since dPa'-bo in his metrical esposition adds *la sogs*, it may as well be regarded as a contraction of the list. dPa'-bo is otherwise silent or refrains from commenting the most interesting passages on the archaic exposition retained by Bla-ma and instead offers a more contemporary survey of Tibetan language.

Finally, we recall that the list of putative works given here include one titled **Ka-smad sum-cur bsgyur**. Now, a faint reference to this treatise may well be found in another highly reliable work, lDe'u Jo-sras' **DCHBY**, where the author, in an utmost brief description of the activities of Thon-mi, writes, *op. cit.* 117.11-12: *rgya'i mkhas pa Li byin la bod phrug Thon mi 'Bring to mi A nus yi ge bslabs nas* | *ka smad sum cur sgrigs*. Of course, the sentence can be construed otherwise, but may as well proffer a reference to the compilation of this lost work.

Tshe-brtan zhabs-drug, 1980, pp. 28-32, citing sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's **g.Ya'-sel**, suggests that the number eight, taking here for granted that he actually did write eight treatises, allegedly by Thon-mi was intended to parallel the number eight in the Indian grammatical tradition, where it should reflect the eight renowned grammatical tradition of India: Indra-vyākaraṇa, Śākāṭāyana-vyākaraṇa, Pāṇini-vyākaraṇa, Samantabhadra-vyākaraṇa, etc. Further, he adduces that a certain Yar-'Brog-pa Rin-chen tog and Zha-lu Lo-tsā-ba (also called Dharmapālabhadra (1441-1526 A.D.) in commentaries to Thon-mi's **Sum-cu-pa** and **rTags-kyi 'jug-pa** maintained that the Tibetan script-inventor was responsible for the composition of a work entitled **sNgags kyi bklags-thabs Mun-pa'i sgron-me** or just **Mun-pa'i sgron-me**, which should be a handbook in reading Sanskrit.

495 The first stanza's four nine-syllabic lines are couched by using the *a*-vowel exclusively throughout. Each of the following four seven-syllabic lines are written using each of the other vowels, i.e. *e*, *i*, *o* and *u* respectively and the last three equally seven-syllabic lines are of a mixed character, identifying the object of worship Srong-btsan sgam-po. Albeit written or composed in a diction which is far from archaic to say the least, its possible historicity is, in my eyes, not undermined by the information that it was initially engraved on a rock at the temple of Dzen-khog sna[ng]-rdo as the embedded gloss informs us. In that case, we may assume that the present ode has been subjected to some form of literal reworking and sophistication, bringing the language more in conformity with classical Tibetan

poetical diction. This script-specimen or first offering was allegedly composed by Thon-mi as a phonetic or linguistic ornament (*sgra rgyan*) intent on fixing the vowels (*dbyangs yig nges pa*) composed upon seeing the countenance of the king (*rgyal por gzigs phud phul ba'i yi ge*). The importance of this unique and [ancient?] piece of poetry, putatively the first piece of writing in Tibetan language, warrants its full rendering here:

a | *zhal ras gsal la ngang mdangs gang ba bzang* |
a | *gdams ngag zab la ma chad tha dad dang* |
a | *las ngan bag chags thams cad bsal mdzad pa* |
a | *'phags pa ma pham yang dag dam pa la* |

e | *bde gshegs bden nges ye shes te* |
i | *ting 'dzin zhi nyid rig cing gzigs* |
o | *nyon mongs tshogs bcom mgon po mchog* |
u | *dug gsum bdud 'dul kun tu thul* |

| *spyan ras gzigs dbang thugs kyi sras* |
| *srong btsan sgam por mtshan gsol ba'i* |
| *chos rgyal khyed la phyag 'tshal lo* |

It is also repeated in **HBCHBY** (JA) 16b6-17a1 and fragmentarily, **LDGR** 31.11ff. (Francke tr., p. 83) = Kaḥ-thog's **MYDTH** 176.3-6; **BSGRSPH** 177.4, etc. Cf. also mKhas-btsun bzang-po, *A Nectar for the Ear*, pp. 194-95; Dung-dkar, 1987, p. 6; Tshe-dbang rdo-rje, 1990, p. 14. Its importance was first brought to our attention by L. Petech through the witness in **La-dvags rgyal-rabs** way back in 1939 in his *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*. However, see note 496 for another written testimony.

500 **KCHKKHM-2** 266.3-15 and 320.11-321.8 offers an interesting list of ministers allegedly active during king Srong-btsan sgam-po: nang-blon and chos-blon sNa-chen-po (cf. note 502); Lo-tstsā-ba chen po Thon-mi Sam bho-ṭa (cf. note 515); 'Gar sTong-btsan yul-bzung (cf. note 516); Chos-blon Nyang dPal-sde Zhang[-snang]; Chos-blon Mong-khri [r]jo-ri gnang-btsan (cf. note 510); Chos-blon Khyung-po Yul-bzung-rtse (cf. note 508); Chos-blon Cog-ro Dar-rgyal mang-po rje-srong[-nam] (cf. note 504); Chos-blon Cog-ro brGyan (cf. note 504); mChims Mang-rje mang-lod (it is said that he was *khas blon* (=[*m*]*khod/s blon*, cf. note 519) of China in the east); dMyags/gNyags dPal Be'u/Be-ku [b]cog (stated to be *khas blon* of Mon rGya-gar in the south); Chos-blon Bod/'Od-lcang gzhungs/gzhugs-ring[s]; Chos-blon Cog-ro brGyan g.Ya'-gong-bza' (cf. note 504); Chos-blon mChims Mang-rje mang-lod (*sic*, twice); Chos-blon 'Bri bSe-ru gung-ston (cf. note 517); Chos-blon dMyags/gNyags Khre'u/Khri'u-bzang/bza' yang-ston (cf. note 518); Chos-blon sBas btsan-bzang dpal-legs (cf. note 507); Chos-blon gNubs gNya' sTong-re gtsug-snon and Chos-blon Lam-sde Khri-bzang lod-btsan (cf. note 509, stated to have been appointed *khas blon* of Drug-gu spar in the

north).

For another (and more historical, no doubt) classification of the legislation and the king's law-codification (which actually took place a few years after the king had passed away, i.e. 654-56 A.D.), cf. the extremely important exposition proffered by mKhas-pa lDe'u **GBCHBY** 263ff.; **DCHBY** 113.8ff. (citing e.g. the nebulous **Bod kyi Thang-yig chen-po**) and **HBCHBY** (JA) 21a5ff., repeated in Chab-spel (ed.), 1989, pp. 39ff.

Appendix Chapter XI

533 The legend is found congruously contained and transmitted in all the major writings which usually constitute the basic or parallel sources for Bla-ma dam-pa:

Sources:

MNKB E (Ca) **rNam-thar mdzad-pa**: *sKu-gsung-thugs kyi rten byon-pa'i mdzad-pa*, 103b4-110a3 (detailed); E (Cd) (*lHa Thugs-rje chen-po rang-byung spyan-drangs-pa'i le'u*, 189a1-191b6 (abbr.); *sKu rang-byung gsum gyis 'jigs-pa'i sdug-bsngal las thar-par mdzad-pa'i le'u*, 191b6-193a2 (abbr.);
KCHKKHM-1 Chap. VIII: *lHa spyan drangs-pa'i le'u*, 680.5-694.5; esp. 685.4-694.5;
KCHKKHM-2 Chap. IX: *Yi-dam gyi lha spyan drangs-pa'i le'u*, 105.1-123.4, esp. 109.11-123.4;
KCHKKHM-3 Chap. VIII: *Tsan-dan gyi sku rang-byung spyan-drangs-pa'i le'u*, 399.1-406.1;
CHBYMTNYP 188a1-208b3;
MBNTH 31b5-41b1;

Further sources: **HBCHBY** (JA) 23b2-25b1; **DTHZHG** 23.6-22;

The above versions are, as said, markedly congruous, with **KCHKKHM-2** and **CHBYMTNYP** being slightly more detailed.

The second legend, somehow intermingled with the former as the *bhikṣu* Akaramatiśīla is also here the progenitor, unfolds the story about the 'Four Autogenous Brother (or Noble) Idols' (*'Phags pa* (or *Jo bo*) *mched bzhi*), originally being rays of light issued from the self-originated Mahākārunika Avalokiteśvara, wherefore they are also called the Five brothers (*mched lnga*) of Thugs-rje chen-po. Various versions of this cherished origin myth are known from Tibetan history and literature, counting from three to five idols. Its popularity can partly be ascribed to the fact that some of these idols symbolize different forms of Avalokiteśvara, the national tutelary protector of Tibet and as some of these four idols described here are known to exist to this very day.

Aside from Nyang-ral's **CHBYMTNYP** 208b3-211b3, the legend is also retained in dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 24b4-25b1. Further brief references: **rNam-thar rgyas-pa** (paraphrased Eimer), pp. 301-2; Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan's **bKa'-gdams chos-'byung**, 20a2-3; **DTHZHG** 23.19-22; **TSLKHKCH** 19b2-5; Tsong-kha-pa **rNam-thar**, 12a-13a (R. Kaschewsky, pp. 175-177); Bla-ma bTsan-po (in the Nepal section of **'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad**, see Wylie, 1970) fol. 4a, and p. 14 note 20. Cf. also Khri-drung Blo-bzang thub-bstan, 1988, pp. 102-106.

Appendix Chapter XII

557 The sources, moreover, are found in all the texts already encountered in the previous chapters;

Sources:

MNKB E (Ca): *rGyal-po gnyis zhal mjal-pa'i mdzad-pa*, 109b4-117a6 and *Bal-po-bza' Khri-btsun dmar-po-ri bzhengs-pa'i mdzad-pa*, 117a6-118a6; E (Cd) *lHa-mo Khro-gnyer-ma'i sprul-pa lha-gcig Khri-btsun khab tu bzhes-pa'i mdzad-pa*, 193b3-196a6 (abbr.);
KCHKKHM-1 Chap. IX: *lHa-gcig Khri-btsun spyan drangs-pa*, 694.5-717.3;
KCHKKHM-2 Chap. X: *lHa-cig Khri-btsun spyan drangs-pa*, 124.1-146.18;
KCHKKHM-3 Chap. X: *lHa-cig Khri-btsun spyan drangs-pa'i le'u*, 408.6-423.3;
CHBYMTNYP 211b4-224a1;

Post-**GLR**: **HBCHBY** 25b3-28a4; **DTHZHG** 24.8-29.14; **GZBZNTH** 4.19-12.20;

Interestingly enough, **KCHKKHM-3** 423.2-3 maintains that the entire scene gleaned from the present chapter is to be found drawn/painted/written on the walls of a Klu-khang located to the west of lHa-sa [here = Ra-sa 'phrul-snang] (*tshul de lta bu ni lha sa'i nub phyogs klu khang gi logs na bris nas bdog pas der gzigs.* dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 28a4, maintains that only the erection of (the Brag-lha bkra-shis; cf. note 604, but see also note 886 *infra*) or the palace of dMar-po-ri) was drawn as frescoes on the western wall of the *klu-khang* inside Ra-sa ['Phrul-snang] (*pho brang rtsigs tshul 'di ra sa'i klu khang gyi nub logs la bris nas yod*).

The most detailed versions are found in **KCHKKHM-2**, **CHBYMTNYP** and **GLR**, where our text in many respects displays some independent traits, which most probably suggest that one prime source or proto-version of this Vita-cyclus is still lacking.

The question whether the Nepalese princess did exist and a marriage between the Tibetan and Nepalese royal houses did take place is still a conundrum. It may well be that the whole edifice - aside from the mythographical narrative presented here - was a sort of apologetical concoction contrived later to generate a symmetrical triad centered around Tibet, cf. the Introduction. For a translation of *rGya-bza' Bal-'bza'*, cf. also C.B. Josayma, 1991, LTWA, Dharamsala.

560 The option for Narendradeva is possibly supported by **MNKB**. The testimony in Nyang-ral, on the other hand, that he was the son of Guṇa Kāmahā Hośa khri-pa would point in the direction of the nebulous puppet-king Guṇakāmadeva I, enthroned by Aṃśuvarman, cf. Petech, 1961, pp. 230-31 (reprint *Selected Papers*, 1988, pp. 155-159) and also Vitali, 1990, p. 72. **GLR**, on the other hand, introduces a king named De-ba-lha which may reflect Devaladeva (no date), a king, as noted by Petech, surprisingly enough found recorded in that very same

period as mentioned in the XIVth century chronicle *Gopāla-vaṃśāvalī*. Unfortunately, the Tibetans are silent on their sources for the origin of these names.

In sum, this muddle has led to the assumption that her historicity remains shaky and should be viewed with a fair measure of scepticism. The massive Nepalese or Newari influence in Tibet in this period, ca. 630-640 A.D. perhaps even earlier, evidenced foremost in the architecture and artistic craftmanship of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang (cf. Chap. XIV-XV), the temple of the Nepalese consort, is on the other side outside the compass of dispute. It moreover offers the best indirect arguments for her historicity.

Turning to the name of the princess, the Tibetan texts here unanimously render her name as Khri-btsun, the 'Throne-queen', with the personal name Bhṛkuṭī or Khro-gnyer-can-ma, a name of a well-known gestalt of Tārā. Where the historically well-founded Chinese princess Kong-jo most probably was not intended for Srong-btsan sgam-po but for his son (cf. note 562), it may have been another matter with the Nepalese ditto.

The name of the city proffers no problem. Here the testimony in **KCHKKHM-2+3** is particularly interesting, as the two names Yaṃbu and Yaṅgala from the XIth century in fact constitute the most ubiquitous place names employed in Nepal for Kathmandu. Since long these names have been considered synonymous with reference to Kathmandu, but originally they referred to two distinct urban settlements: Kolīgrāma or Yaṃbu and Dakṣiṇakolīgrāma or Yaṅgala. For a parallel discussion on Khri-btsun, her father and the possible marriage, cf. Tucci, 1962; Regmi, 1969, p. 186; Slusser, 1982, pp. 32-33; Joshi, 1985, pp. 42-59; Vitali, 1990, pp. 71-72.

596 The conduct suitable for a Nepalese princess, the prospective queen, is detailed as follows, i.e. **MNKB** E (Ca) 115b2-116a2:

| *khyod kyi bsam rgyud spyod pa 'di ltar mdzod* |
| *lta ba nam mkha' bas kyang yangs par mdzod* |
| *spyod pa dal 'byor bas kyang dal bar mdzod* |
| *gzengs ni rgyal bas kyang mtho bar mdzod* |
| *'dzum mdangs padma bas kyang mdzes par mdzod* |
| *lus tshags dar mdud pas kyang dam par mdzod* |
| *rgyud ni rgya dar bas kyang 'jam par mdzod* |
| *gle* [= *bla*] *'o dar dkar bas kyang gsal bar mdzod* |
| *tshags ni sman rkyal bas kyang bzang bar mdzod* |
| *sog brun bung ba bas kyang mkhas par mdzod* |
| *gnyen sems gar sbyin lta bur zin par mdzod* |
| *shong yangs rgya mtsho'i gting bas zab par mdzod* |
| *theg pa sa gzhi bas kyang che bar mdzod* |
| *la gor bar snang glog bzhin 'khyug par mdzod* |
| *lag spyad padma bas kyang gtsang bar mdzod* |
| *grogs la bran mo bzhin du gus par mdzod* |
| *dman pa rnams la bu bzhin byams par mdzod* |

| *bzang po rnams ni jo bo bzhin du 'khur* |
| *sems can rnams la ma bzhin brtse bar gyis* |
| *dge ba rnams la rlung bzhin brtson par bya* |
| *sdig ba rnams ni dug bzhin spang bar bya* |
| *dad pa dam pa'i chos la che bar mdzod* |
| *gle* [= *bla*] *'o shi ba'i kha bzhin nyung bar mdzod* |
| *kha zas sman dang 'dra bar tshod zin mdzod* |
| *rtsi sman sog ltar gzhan la phan par mdzod* |
| *nyi zla bzhin du gsal la dangs par mdzod* |
| *de ltar spyod lam chos lugs dge bar 'gyur* |

Appendix Chapter XIII

608 The sources, prime as well as parallel, are the same as in the previous parts of the biographical narrative, viz.:

Sources:

MṆKB E (Ca) *rGya-mo Kong-jo Bod du spyan drangs-pa dang | blon-pos 'phrul 'gran-pa'i mdzad-pa*, 118a6-132a3; E (Cd) *lHa-gcig Kong-jo spyan-drangs nas khab tu bzhes-pa'i mdzad-pa'i le'u*, 196a6-197b1 (abbr.);
KCHKKHM-1 Chap. X: *rGya-mo Ong-chung spyan drangs-pa'i le'u*, 717.3-752.4;
KCHKKHM-2 Chap. XI: *Bod-blon mGar rig-pa-can gyis gtso byas-pa'i bod kyi gnye-bo brgyas lha-cig Ong-chong spyan drangs-pa'i le'u*, 147.1-210.18;
KCHKKHM-3 Chap. XI: *lHa-cig Kong-co gdan drangs-pa'i le'u*, 423.3-435.4; Chap. XII: *Sa-spyad* [= *dpyad*] *kyi le'u*, 435.4-442.6;
CHBYMTNYP 224a1-250b4;
MBNTH 49b-55a5.

Further sources: **HBCHBY** 28a4-33b1; **DTHZHG** 29.15-39.13; **GZBZNTH** 13.1-47.13; Tibetan Reader No. V, mThong-thos dga'-smon, Darjeeling, 1937, Chap. 3, pp. 23-44 (reproducing part of **GLR** Chap. 13). Cf. also Jacques Bacot's translation of this chapter from **Ma-ṇi bka'-'bum**, in *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, III, pp. 1-60. The narrative is also found in the numerous reworked versions of the Vita that mostly are based upon **MṆKB**. Cf. also most recently the translation of *rGya-'bza' Bal-bza'* by C.B. Josayma, 1991, LTWA, Dharamsala.

As already seen in the previous sections of the huge Vita-narrative, the present section on the invitation and marriage of the Chinese princess is fairly uniformly transmitted in the various renditions, where **GLR**, **KCHKKHM-2** and **CHBYMTNYP** display a most remarkable textual conformity, with the latter two texts being the most detailed, but where **GLR**, again, evinces a few independent traits.

626 The present *Brautwerbung* story, as said displaying a number of narrative motif-elements known from other narrative traditions as typologically demonstrated by Heissig, is in its original Tibetan version denoted a contest in the skill of wits (*rig pa rtsal 'gran pa*; cf. e.g. **KCHKKHM-2**, 169.9-10). The description in the various versions is fairly congruous, albeit some are far more detailed than others, so **GLR** (almost verbatim followed by **GZBZNTH**), **KCHKKHM-2** and (partly) **CHBYMTNYP** exhibit predictably a marked thematic and verbal correspondence, whereas **MṆKB** (in the present **MṆKB**-version at our disposal, at least) and **KCHKKHM-1** displays a very condensed variant of this story of the bridal contest.

Sources:

MṆKB E (Ca) 119a4-120b5; **KCHKKHM-1** 719.1-725.2; **KCHKKHM-2** 161.7-170.13; **KCHKKHM-3** 424.4-428.2; **CHBYMTNYP** 229a1-233b1; **MBNTH** 51a3-56b6; Post-**GLR**: **HBCHBY** (JA) 28b4-29a3; **GZBZNTH** 18.11-27.20; Brief references: **DTHZHG** 32.15-33.23;

A brief concordance of the individual tests*:

Sigla: **1**. The turquoise-test. **2**. The mutton-skin-test. **3**. The beer-drinking-test. **4**. The mare-colt-test. **5**. The hen-chicken-test. **6**. The wood-test. **7**. The nocturnal pathfinder-test. **8**. The bride-identification-test.

TEST	**MṆKB**	**KCHKKHM-1+3**	**KCHKKHM-2**	**CHBYMTNYP**	**GZBZNTH**
1.	1	2/3	1	1	1
2.	5	1	7	5	2
3.	4	5	2/3	6	3
4.	6	6	4	2/3	4
5.	2/3	4	5	7	5
6.	7	7	6	8	6
7.	8	8	8		7
8.					8

*Note that the bold number in the left margin indicates the succession of the tests as presented in **GLR** (and as such not necessarily displaying neither the possible original succession nor the actual number of tests!) and the number under each text indicates the relative succession of the tests in the relevant text. Numbers written f.ex. 2/3 indicate that the test in the text in question is presented as a mixture of test 2 and 3. **MBNTH**, not listed above, for instance has the sequence 2/3, 1, 6, 7, 8, thus following **KCHKKHM-1+3**.

664 For instance to quote *in extenso* **MṆKB**:

| *de ltar kha ba can gi mi rnams bsdus ba'i phyir* |
| *khyod kyi sems dang spyod lam 'di ltar mdzod* |
| *lta ba mtho zhing spyod pa zhi bar mdzod* |
| *theg stobs che zhing khong yangs che bar mdzod* |
| *snga dro langs pa snga la dgongs mo nyal 'phyi mdzod* |
| *bka' blo bde zhing mdzes legs 'jam par mdzod* |
| *lus tshags dam zhing lus sgo bsrungs bar mdzod* |
| *la gor che zhing lag spyad gtsang bar mdzod* |
| *sog brun mkhas shing tshags kyang bzang bar mdzod* |
| *gzengs ni mtho zhing 'dzum dang ldan par mdzod* |

| *brtse sems che zhing 'khor la byams par mdzod* |
| *mchor sems ma mdzad khyo ga'i dad ma che* |
| *khyo la gus shing bu la rtsi bar gyis* |
| *chang dad chung zhing khyim mdzes grong ma rgyu* |
| *mtho la zhabs tog dma' la byams pa mdzod* |
| *thad kar mthun bya rgan la zhe sa bya* |
| *kun la byams shing bden par smra bar bya* |
| *'gro la snying rje sgom zhing ngan long sbyin pas bskyang* |
| *slong la sbyin bya ngan byed lan mi bya* |
| *bu tsha yig tshang bslab cing dge ba dag la sbyar* |
| *dkon mchog dbu dbangs bstod cing dad dang gus pa bskyed* |
| *chos 'khor gtsug lag btsugs shing sa mdor dge gnas tshugs* |
| *sangs rgyas sku gzugs bzhengs shing dam chos gzhung yang bris* |
| *thos bsam sgom pa bya zhing dam chos nang du spyad* |
| *dge 'dun bsnyen bkur bya zhing sdom pa gtsang mar bsrungs* |
| *dam chos dus dran byas la di ring nyid nas 'bad* |
| *chos la long yod mi bsam tshe 'dir chags mi bya* |
| *skyabs chen lha ru bzung la dkon mchog skyabs 'gro bya* |
| *las su rgyu 'bras bsams la sdig spong dge la 'bad* |
| *'khor ba'i nyes dmigs bsams la nges 'byung blo brtan bya* |
| *'khor ba'i nyon mongs spang zhing de yi gnyen po brten* |
| *byams dang snying rje bsams la byang chub sems kyang bskyed* |
| *byang chub spyod pa spyad cing theg chen lam dgod bya* |
| *de ltar byas na bkra shis bde legs 'gyur* |

717 The deviation from the version embedded in **GLR** compels us to render it here, following in this case **KCHKKHM-2**:

| *kye ma btsun mo khri btsun nyon* |
| *de ltar yin no khyod bden no* |
| *khyod ni che rgyu[d] btsun rgyu[d] de* |
| *khyod la gnyan par ngas blta yis* |
| *khyod kyis gnyan par shes par gyis* |
| *sprul pa'i rgyal mo mi mo dman* |
| *byang chub sems dpa'i rā dzi te* |
| *khyod la gus par ngas bdud kyis* |
| *nyen bral gang gi rigs la yod* |
| *nad kyis ma gzir su zhig yod* |
| *'phongs pa gang gis mthong ma gyur* |
| *'byor ba rtag pa su zhig yod* |
| *sa steng nor rnyed su mi grags* |
| *bgegs dang bral ba su zhig yin* |
| *rtag tu rgyal sa su yis zin* |
| *su zhig khyim thab gyis ma smad* |
| *rtag tu rgyal po'i yid du 'ong* |

gshin rje'i yul du gang ma gyur
skyes nas 'byung du ma gyur pa
skyes bu 'bad bsam mthar phyin su
chen chun 'gran pa su zhig yod
khyod ni che rgyu btsun rgyu de
khyod la gnyan par ngas blta yin
khyod kyis chen mar shes par bgyis
'gran pa'i 'gran sems med mod kyang
khyod kyis 'gran no zhes smras pas
them ba snga rgal chen ma khyod
che rgyu[d] btsun rgyu[d] khyod yin pas
nor rdzongs lag ris khyod che bas
zhabs tog nga rgyal khyod che bas
zhe sdang phrag dog khyod che bas
lha khang rgya mtsho'i steng du bzhengs
nga ni khad snyam [= mnyam] sa la bzhengs
chen mas dka' shos byed pas na
khyod la de skad bskul bar bya
'gran pa'i 'gran do de rnams la
rang la rang phan byed pa la
'gran rgyu de las ngas ma mthong

Appendix Chapter XIV

724 The sources are naturally identical with the ones employed in the other parts of the Vita, in fact some of the chapters and narrative sections overlap one another, as it will be clear from the appended notes to this chapter.

Sources:

MNKB E (Ca) *Ru-bzhi dang mtha'-'dul yang-'dul gyi lha-khang rnams btsigs-pa'i mdzad-pa*, 132a3-137b2; *Thugs-dam gyi lha-khang bzhengs shing khrims mnan-pa'i mdzad-pa*, 133b2-139b4; E (Cd) *Kong-jos sa-dpyad bstan-pa'i mdzad-pa'i le'u*, 197b1-199a1 (abbr.); *Sa-dgra srin-mo lta-bu'i yan-lag mnan-pa'i phyir gtsug-lag-khang mdzad-pa'i le'u*, 199a1-199b4 (abbr.); *Khrims bcas-pa'i le'u*, 204a1-205b1;
KCHKKHM-1 Chap. XI: *Sa-spyad* [= *dpyad*] *byas-pa'i le'u*, 752.4-757.4; Chap. XII: *lHa-khang rtsigs-pa'i le'u*, 757.4-790.5;
KCHKKHM-2 Chap. XI: *Bod-blon mGar rig-pa-can gyis gtso byas-pa'i bod kyi gnye-bo brgyas lHa-cig Ong-cong spyan drangs-pa'i le'u*, 142.1-210.18; Chap. XII: *lHa-cig Ong-cong gis sa-dpyad rin-chen spungs-pa mdzad-pa'i le'u*, 211.1-216.4; Chap. XIV: *Jo-bo Thugs-rje chen-po bcu-gcig-zhal bzhengs-pas rang-byon du byung-ba dang l kha-ba-can gyi 'dre-srin btul-ba'i le'u*, 217.1-229.13.
KCHKKHM-3 Chap. XII: *Sa-spyad* [= *dpyad*] *gyi le'u*, 435.4-442.6; Chap. XIII: *lHa-khang rtsigs-pa'i le'u*, 442.7-457.3; Chap. XIV: *Rab-gnas byas-pa'i le'u*, 457.3-479.6.
CHBYMTNYP 250b4-292a3;
MBNTH 54b6ff.

Pre-**GLR**: **GBCHBY** 277.3-298.10; Post-**GLR** sources: **HBCHBY** 32b4ff.; **DTHZHG** 37.14ff.; **TSLKHKCH** 3b4ff.;

The narratives embodied in **MNKB** (in part), **KCHKKHM-2**, **CHBYMTNYP** and **GLR** contain, customarily, the most detailed versions. As it will emerge from the appended notes, **GLR** occasionally evinces an episodic and narrative sequence which is somewhat in contradiction with the other versions, a state of affair that perhaps reflects editorial/scribal (rather than authorial) carelessness in the process of compiling **GLR**. In fact, collating the various narrative elements of the entire story, it transpires that some disorder and confusion prevails in question of the proper narrative sequence, albeit it as a whole is fairly uniformly transmitted in the respective versions.

Not infrequently, **GLR** exhibits some unique traits and data. For instance, Bla-ma dam-pa in this chapter often presents a concrete geographical identification of a number of the geomantic and toponymical sites delineated in the section on the divination contrived by princess/queen Kong-jo. All other earlier versions prove not infrequently to be silent on that matter. This would either suggest that Bla-ma dam-pa's version is a later recocted rendition (which a matter of fact it naturally is) of the Srong-btsan sgam-po Vita-cycle where the author has made an attempt

to identify and specify a number of these puzzling geomantic and topographical configurations. Or, equally plausible, Bla-ma dam-pa's interesting identifications may simply reflect the use of a hitherto unknown (currently non-extant) version of the Vita-cycle which did contain these linkings. **MNKB** (in the somewhat abbreviated version employed here, at least), **KCHKKHM-1** and **KCHKKHM-3** all contain brief variants of the Vita-cycle, where the latter version nevertheless occasionally demonstrates a striking correspondance with the version embodied in Nyang-ral's **CHBYMTNYP**.

726 Of equal interest is the testimony in **PMKTH** (Chap. 62: 376.1-383.18; cf. Appendix, note 790) associating this (or a similar) metonym with a description of bSam-yas (tendered by Padmasambhava) during the purificatory rites of this *vihāra* at the time of the reign of king Khri-srong lde'u-btsan. It remains to be settled what the connection is between the use of this metonym in relation to the descriptions of the two most famed temples of Tibet during the dynastic period: The Jo-khang and the bSam-yas. But since this metonym is not to be found in the oldest Padma-Vitas such as **KTHZGM**, one would suspect that O-rgyan gling-pa is responsible for introducing it in **PMKTH**, possibly being inspired by the present Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang story. For this metonym more generally, cf. note 34 *supra*, and foremost the discussion and synopsis in Aris, 1979, pp. 8-33; Gyatso, 1987; A. W. Macdonald, 1984, pp. 132-134. It was first briefly detailed by Hummel in a number of papers, 1962-64. This depiction of a prostrate figure finds an analogy in the Kathmandu Valley where a statue of a sleeping Viṣnu is found named *klu gan rkyal*, cf. A.W. Macdonald, 1983, p. 245. Not only Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang but, as said, also bSam-yas was subjected to a geomantic-divinatory investigation (*sa dpyad*, *sa btsal*, *sa brtags*) conducted by Padmasambhava (usually Śāntarakṣita is mentioned, cf. e.g. **CHBY** 141a4-5) prior to its erection, cf. **BZH** (Chin. ed. 37.5-38.6); **PMKTH** (Chap. 56, 346.1-347.16). This topographical pattern is cherished in later literature. For a similar geo- or topographical exposition (*sa bkra*, *ri bkra*) *in casu* of the district of Myang-stod, cf. **Myang chos-'byung** (Chin. ed., 1983, 4.18-7.19, 12.13-13.12, 78.23-80.6).

The mythological and symbolic import of this popular geomantic metonym makes it worthwhile to render here *in extenso* (taken from **KCHKKHM-2**) the most relevant portions culled from this narrrative. It shall supply us with the background of this system as it is found delineated in the most detailed version. It will be clear from the main narrative that Kong-jo in fact committed three - with mutually overlapping components - successive geomantic-divinatory prognostications (the two first alone, the last together with the king): the first (*A*), as seen below, was more of a general nature slowly encircling Tibet in its description, the second (*B*) was of a more specific nature, made upon the order or request of Khri-btsun and focussing mainly upon the lacustrine site of 'O-thang and the lHa-sa area, while the last (*C*), being even more specific and detailed (*sa dpyad zhib mor mdzad pa*, **KCHKKHM-2** 233.17), focusses upon the actual Ru-gnon, mTha'-'dul and Yang-'dul-temple schemes (cf. note 770 *infra*). The most detailed verions are found embedded in

KCHKKHM-2 (*A*) 200.17-203.15, (*B*) 212.8-215.11 and (*C*) 233.14-235.15 (and

at places almost similarly worded, yet slightly differently detailed - in fact at times also confounding narrative sections - in
MNKB (*A*) E (Ca) 129b4-130b2, (Cd) 197a2-b1; (*B*) E (Ca) 132b2-134a1, E (Cd) 197b1-199a1; (*C*) E (Ca) 137a2-5, E (Cd) 199a1-200a4 (based upon which Aris, 1979, pp. 12-15 made a very useful albeit brief paraphrase) and by Nyang-ral in his
CHBYMTNYP (*A*) 247a2-248a1, (*B*) 251b1-253a3, and (*C*) 260a5-263a2) the latter two sources at places being highly congruous). Further reminiscences are found in **MBNTH** 55a5ff; **GBCHBY** 277.3ff.; **HBCHBY** 32b4ff.:

KCHKKHM-2 *A*: *...spor thang khra mo bting ste gtsug lag gi rtsis mdzad pa'i tshe | sa dpyad rin chen spungs pa mdzad nas | spyir lho 'dzam bu gling 'di'i sa 'dug lugs kyi dbang du byas na | rgya gar rdo rje gdan gyi byang phyogs na ri'i rgyal po 'bigs byed kyi shar nub tu bcad pa na | glang po che sa srungs kyi rgyal khams me tog gi gling 'dra ba yod | de'i byang ngos na ri'i rgyal po gangs can zhes bya ba | kha ba can gyi ri shel dkar gyi mchod rten 'dra bas shar nub tu bcad pa'i byang phyogs na | bod kha ba can gyi rgyal khams srin mo gan rkyal du sgyel ba 'dra ba yod | de'i tsho'i lho phyogs na seng deng tsan dan gyi ris shar nub tu bcad pa'i kho ngos na | rgya gar gyi rgyal khams gling dgu nor bu rin po che'i gling 'dra ba yod | de'i lho phyogs dze ta'i chu bo chen po mdzes ldan gyi shar nub tu bcad pa'i lho ngos na srin po'i rgyal khams mtsho la me tog padma kha phye ba skyes pa 'dra ba yod | bod kha ba can gyi shar na rgya nag gi yul khams yod | nub na sum pa dang | bal yul | zhang zhung gi yul khams yod | byang na li dang | hor dang | me nyag gi yul khams yod | bod kha ba can gyi dbus dbu ru shod kyi mthil na srin mo'i snying kha na 'o[n] thang gi mtsho yod pas 'di srin mo'i snying khrag yin par shes | rgyal po'i pho brang srin mo'i snying khar shes | ri bogs chad gsum 'dug pa 'di snying ka'i nu ma srin mo'i srog rtsar shes | phyogs bzhi na ri rus sbal gi gzugs 'dra ba re 'dug pa ni srin mo'i kha ru shes | dmar po ri dang lcags kha ri gnyis seng ge mjug ma sbrel ba 'dra ba 'di srin mo'i gnod sems su shes | ri bogs chad gnyis 'dug pa 'di srin mo'i snying gi rus pa yin pas sems can gyi srog za ba yin par mkhyen | de ni dmar lcags gnyis yin no || ri de gnyis rgyal po srong btsan sgam po jo bo thugs rje chen po'i sku dngos de dang | bal bza' khri btsun sgrol ma dkar mo khro gnyer can kyi sku dngos yin | de gnyis kyi pho brang srin yul lang ka pu ri'i grong khyer 'dra ba des gnon dgos par rgyal pos mkhyen nas mnan yod pa yin no |*

| de'i phyogs bzhi na ri sdig pa'i gzugs 'dra ba bzhi yod pa de srin mo'i 'khor yin par mkhyen | ri sna thams cad dbus su zug pa de ni lha sar mi spyod pa ngan pa jag pa la sogs pas sa gcig tu gang bar shes | sa gzhi 'di'i phyogs bzhi'i ri'i rgyab na | shar phyogs na padma spungs pa 'dra ba'i ri yod | lho na rin chen spungs pa 'dra ba'i ri yod | nub na mchod rten brtsegs pa 'dra ba'i ri yod | byang na man dzi'i steng na dung phor bzhag pa 'dra ba'i ri yod | de ni sa phyogs 'dir dad pa can mang du 'ong bar shes | mi chen po bsod nams can mang po dang | sa la gnas pa'i byang chub sems dpa' mang po dang | byang chub sems dpa' thod rgal ba re re dus dus su yong bar mkhyen | phyogs bzhi'i mi rnams longs spyod thams cad ni 'dir 'ong bar mkhyen | mtsho'i steng du lha khang brtsigs na bod 'dir rang bzhin gyis yon tan 'byung zhing rgyas par shes | sa gzhi padma 'dab brgyad lta bur shes | logs bzhi la bkra shis rtags brgyad | gnam la 'khor lo rtsibs brgyad

rnams su shes ‖ de rnams lha sar yon tan 'byung ba'i rten 'brel yin ‖ de rnams la gnod pa'i dgra lnga yod ‖ de rnams bzlog pa'i thabs lnga dgos par 'dug ‖ ra mo che na sa bdag klu'i pho brang 'jigs gzugs yod par gzigs nas de lha cig ong cong gis nga'i gser gyi lha shākya mu nes gnon dgos par mkhyen nas ‖ lha'i phyogs bzhir gser ldan gyi ka ba bzhi btsugs ‖ de la dar dkar gyi yol ba bres ‖ za 'og gi gur phub nas bzhag gyad stobs chen lha dga' klu dga' gnyis lha'i sku srung la bzhag ... ‖

B: ...ong jos spor thang khra bo bting nas sa dpyad legs par ltas te sa bshad byas pas ‖ ngas kha sang nas khyed tsho la bshad de zhe sdug byed par go da sa'i dpyad 'di la byed pa brgya rtsa brgyad ‖ brtag pa dgu bcu tham pa ‖ nor la bdun cu don gnyis ‖ sa'i dgra ngos zin pa ‖ de bzlog pa'i thabs dgos pas ‖ de dag thams cad bsdu na skye bo mang po 'du bas bdag rgyal po'i pho brang gi sa dang gcig 'phags pa'i dge bdun mang po 'du ba gtsug lag khang gi sa dang gnyis ‖ drang srong 'byung ba'i gnas 'brog dgon pa'i sa dang gsum ‖ re zhig bde bar spyod pa skye bo phal ba'i sa dang bzhi ‖ cung zhig gnas pa bas mtha'i sa gtan la dbab pa dang lnga'o ‖ da res 'di'i dbang du byas na yon tan brgyad dang ldan pa rgyal po'i sa gtan la 'bebs dgos ‖ de'i mgo 'don pa la skyon bzlog dgos ‖ de yang lha sa'i phyogs bzhi'i ri rgyab na ‖ shar na ri padma dpungs (= spungs) lho na rin po che 'dra ba yod ‖ nub na ri mchod rten rtsegs pa 'dra ba 'dug byang na padma kha phye ba 'dra ba 'dug pas sa phyogs der ston pa rgyal ba shākya thub pa'i sku gzugs sku gdung ring bsrel la mchod pa rgyas shing yun ring du 'byung ba'i rtags yin ‖ de'i nang khongs na bkra shis rtags brgyad yod de ‖ byang 'phan dkar gyi ri la dbu la gdugs lta bu 'dra ba'i ri yod ‖ shar gyi gdos pa'i brag la spyan la nya 'dra ba'i ri yod ‖ lho'i ldong btsan ri la gsung 'bud dung 'dra ba yod ‖ rdzong btsan ri la ljags la padmo'i lo 'dab 'dra ba yod ‖ grib rdzong gi brag la mgul la bum pa 'dra ba'i ri yod ‖ sgo phu na thugs dpal be'u 'dra ba yod ‖ nub byang phu na sku lus rgyal mtshan 'dra ba yod ‖ stod lung mda' na phyag zhabs 'khor lo 'dra ba rnams yod do ‖ sa la padma 'dab brgyad 'dra ba yod ‖ gnam la 'khor lo rtsib brgyad yod pa de ni sa phyogs 'dir yon tan thams cad 'byung ba'i rtags yin ‖ gzhan yang gter kha rang byung bzhi ni ‖ dog sde ra ga'i brag la rin po che bzangs yod ‖ dog te sgo phu na lcags yod ‖ la dong gi ri la dngul yod ‖ lcags kha ri la gser yod ‖ 'o thang gi mtsho 'di la shar na stag skya bo yod ‖ lho na 'brug sngon po yod ‖ nub na bya dmar mo 'dra ba'i ri yod ‖ byang na rus sbal nag po 'dra ba yod ‖ de bzhi ni gtsug lag khang gi lha bzhi tshang ba yin ‖ de tsho'i thad ka na sa dgra re re zug yod pas ‖ de tsho bzlog pa'i thabs shes dgos pa yin no ‖ bod kyi yul 'di srin mo gan rkyal du sgyel ba 'dra ‖ lha sa'i mthil 'di srin mo'i snying kha 'dra ba ‖ 'o thang gi mtsho 'di srin mo'i snying khrag 'dra bar mkhyen ‖ dmar po ri dang lcags kha ri gnyis stag dang seng[g]e gnyis mjug ma sbrel ba 'dra ba 'di srin mo'i gnod sems yin par mkhyen ‖ ra mo che klu'i pho brang du mkhyen ‖ brag lha na ma mo'i nyal khang yod ‖ grib phu nas nyang ran gyi bar la klu btsan gyi rgyu srang yod ‖ dkar chung zla ba tshal na 'dre dang the'u rang gi 'dun ma byed pa'i sa yod ‖ shar na chu srin langs pa 'dra ba'i sa dgra yod ‖ ngan lam gron pa ri yod ‖ lho na sdig pa nag po gzan la rub pa 'dra ba dkar chung yug ma'i ri la sa dgra yod ‖ nub na shun gyi brag te'u rtse la bdud nag po bya ra byed pa 'dra ba'i sa dgra yod ‖ byang na nyang bran dang dor te'u bar gyi ri la glang po che g.yul du zhugs pa 'dra ba'i sa dgra yod ‖ sa'i yon tan brgyad

ni | sa la padma 'dab brgyad | gnam la 'khor lo rtsibs brgyad | log[s] la bkra shis rtags brgyad yod do || dang por sa'i bcos byed | 'dre'i mun khang shig btsan gyi rgyu srang du mchod rten dkar po brtsigs | nub byang mtshams lcags kha ri la ma mo'i nyal sa yod pas de la brag lha mgon po bzhengs | klu'i 'jigs gzugs kyi pho brang jo bos mnan nas yod | shar bye ma lung stong na srin mo nag mo 'doms bzed pa 'dra ba yod | de la dbang phyug chen po'i lingga tshugs | gzhan yang chu srin la dung kha ston | sdig pa la bya khyung ston | bdud nag po bya ra byed pa la bar chu'i khar mchod rten dmar po rtsigs | glang po che la seng ge ston |

C: de ltar brtsigs pa 'dre srin rnams kyis bshig ste zhig pas brtsigs tu ma btub par | yang rgyal po chen po srong btsan sgam po dang | rgya mo ong cong gnyis bka' gros nas sa dpyad zhib mor mdzad pas | bod yul kha ba can gyi sa gzhi 'di srin mo gan rkyal du sgyel ba 'dra ba'i mgo dang | dpung mgo gnyis gru mo gnyis dpyi rus dang | pus mo gnyis dang | rkang mgo gnyis dang | yan lag gi tshigs bzhi'i me btsas mnan dgos par shes nas | ru bzhi'i gtsug lag khang bzhengs dgos par mkhyen nas | rgyal po chen pos sprul pa'i las mi dang bzo bo mang po mdzad nas | dpung mgo g.yas pa gnon pa la dbu ru ka tshal ni dge bsnyen nyi shu rtsa gcig gi dkyil 'khor du bzhengs so || dpung mgo g.yon pa gnon pa la | g.yu ru na khra 'brug ni gza' chen po brgyad kyi dkyil 'khor du bzhengs so || dpyi g.yas gnon pa la g.yas ru gtsang 'brang ni rgyal chen rigs bzhi'i dkyil 'khor du bzhengs so || dpyi g.yon gnon pa la | g.yon ru na grum pa rgyal gyi lha khang ni | dges rdor dpal 'bar dbyangs grub pa'i dkyil 'khor du bzhengs so || de bzhi ni ru bzhi'i gtsug lag khang ngo |

| bar tshigs gnon par bya ba'i phyir mtha' 'dul gyi gtsug lag khang bzhengs su gsol te | shar lho na gru mo g.yas pa la sgong bu bur chud ni mgon po nag po'i dkyil 'khor du bzhengs so || lho nub tu gru mo g.yon pa la lho brag mkhon mthing ni | rigs lnga'i sangs rgyas kyi dkyil 'khor du bzhengs su gsol | pus mo g.yas pa la byang tshal phyi dbang chen gyi lha khang ni rin po che'i dkyil 'khor du bzhengs so || pus mo g.yon pa la lho nub tu mon bum thang skyes chu'i lha khang ni padma dbang gi dkyil 'khor du bzhengs so |

| yang brtsigs pas ma btub par | nying lag gnon par bya ba'i phyir lag mthil g.yas pa la shar mdo khams kyi klong thang sgrol ma'i lha khang ni bdud 'dul ba'i dkyil 'khor du bzhengs so || lag mthil g.yon pa la bal chad ka brag ni rnam thos sras kyi dkyil 'khor du bzhengs so || nub byang du rkang ba g.yas pa la spra dun rtse ni | gtsug lag dgu'i dkyil 'khor du bzhengs so || lho nub tu byams pa sprin gyi lha khang ni sa'i lha mo'i dkyil 'khor du bzhengs so || srin mo'i sbubs [= dbugs] gnon pa la tshangs pa rlung gnon gyi lha khang bzhengs bya ba la sogs pa rgyal po chen po'i bka' chems rnams btsun mo rnams kyis mdzad pas [= pa'i] bka' chems dar dkar gsal ba dang | blon po bcu drug gis mdzad pa'i bka' chems zla ba 'dod 'jo la sogs par rgyas par gsal lo | rgyal po'i bka' chems 'di'i nang du yi ge mangs kyis dogs nas yang dag par gsal zhing rgyas par ma bris so |

Translation:

A: ...While [Princess] Ong-jo [= Kong-jo] spread out the striped scroll [of] trigrams and made [her] *gtsug lag* calculation, she performed the geomantic probe, [denoted/or equal to?] 'A Jewel Mound' (*rin chen spungs pa*),[1] [to wit:] With

respect to the terrestrial disposition of this [continent of] Jambudvīpa in general, [we may say that behind] the eastern and western [direction] which are being dividing (*bcad*) by the king of mountains, Mt. Vindhyā ('Bigs byed) [located to] the north of Vajrāsana [i.e. Bodhgayā] in India, [we] find the kingdom of Glang-po-che Sa-srungs, resembling a continent of flowers. [Similarly] to the north from [this kingdom] the king of mountains denoted Himavat (Gangs-can) is found resembling a white *caitya*, a [chain of] snow-clad crystal-mountain[s] and to the north of [this chain of mountains] dividing the eastern and western direction, [we] find the kingdom of Tibet, the Snow-clad [country] (Kha-ba-can) resembling a prostrate demoness. In the southern direction from these [sites], being divided southwards by the mountains of Tsan-dan and Khadiraka (Seng-ldeng ['dzin]; or by the mountains filled with the Catechu tree (*acacia catechu*) and the sandal tree (*sirium myrtifolium*)), the Indian kingdom, [also called] Gling-dgu is found resembling a continent of precious jewels. In the southern direction, one finds to the south of the large river of Dze-ta [i.e. Jeta], [named] mDzes-ldan (*Carumant), dividing the eastern and western direction, the kingdom of the *rākṣasa*-s resembling a disclosing lotus in a lake. To the east of the Snow-clad kingdom of Tibet, one finds the realm of China. To the south, one finds the countries of Sum-pa, Nepal (Bal-yul) and Zhang-zhung. In the north, one finds the countries of Khotan (Li-[yul]], Hor and Me-nyag.

In the central [part] of the Snow-clad kingdom of Tibet, in the centre of the [district] dBu-ru-shod, the lake of 'On-thang [= 'O-thang] is located being the heart of the [supine] *rākṣasī*-demoness, and [the lake] is therefore known as the heart-blood of the demoness. The palace of the king [of the *klu*-spirits][2] is [further] known to be the [very] heart of the demoness. The three parts of hillocks (or spurs; *ri bogs chad gsum*)[3] towering [around lHa-sa] are [respectively] known to be the nipples of [her] breast and the vein of the life [force] of the demoness. In the four directions [around lHa-sa] [four] mountains are found, each resembling the form of a tortoise [etc.]. These are known as the mouth of the demoness. dMar-po-ri and lCags-kha-ri, the two, resemble the tail[s] of a lion [and a tiger; cf. below] tied together. [They] should be known as the vicious disposition (*gnod sems*) of the demoness. The[se] two parts of hillocks (*ri bogs chad gnyis*; cf. above) [towering on the plain of lHa-sa][4], are [moreover viewed as] the heart-bones of the demoness, recognized to devour the life of the sentient beings [living there]. These are the [mountains of] dMar[-po-ri and] lCags[-kha-ri]. These two mountains are [actually] the very body of king Srong-btsan sgam-po, the [embodiment of Avalokiteśvara,] the Lord Mahākāruṇika and of the Nepalese princess Khri-btsun, the [embodiment of] Śyāmā Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī. The palaces of these two resemble the

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1 Cf. also *ibid.* 216.3. One may wonder whether this is not a title of a Chinese divinatory manual, as we also during the dynastic period know of a medical work titled **Rin-chen spungs-pa**, cf. Beckwith, 1979, p. 305.

2 **MṆKB** E (Ca) 129b5.

3 So also **CHBYMTNYP**, but **MṆKB** E (Ca) 129b5: *ri ngos chad* [= *cha*?] *gsum*, the three slopes; *ri bog* = *bog ri*, i.e. *ba gam*, turret, cf. Emmerick, 1967, p. 141. **MṆKB** E (Cd) 197b5: *ri mgo chad gnyis*.

4 Cf. **CHBYMTNYP** 247a5.

city of Laṅgkapuri, the country of the *rākṣaṣa*-s and the king [should] recognize that [they] must to be suppressed by the [statue of Śākyamuni] wherefore [they] are [actually going to be] suppressed.

In the four directions [around lHa-sa] four mountains are found appearing in the garb of malevolence, being the retinue (*'khor*) of the demoness. All these summits (*ri sna*) pointed in [the direction of] the centre, whereby it was recognized that here in lHa-sa [all] the wicked deportments of the [Tibetan] people such as brigandage etc. were piled up in [this] one [place]; on the rear side of the mountains [towering] in the four directions, in the eastern direction the mountain resembing a heap of lotuses is found; in the southern direction the mountain resembling a mound of jewels is found; in the western direction the mountain is found resembling an erected *caitya*; in the northern direction the mountain which resembles a skull-bowl placed upon a tripod is located; this was known to be a [conjunction] that many pious people would [eventually] gather at this place and [it was further] recognized to mean that many meritious magnanimous beings, many *bodhisattva*-s residing on the earth [or on the [ten] *bhūmi*-s], and that each and every *thod rgal ba* Bodhisattva[5] would from time to time make his appearance [there]. And [it was further] recognized [as an indicator] that [all] the material wealth of the people [living] in the four directions would [eventually] arrive in this [very] place. If a temple were to be raised upon the lake [of 'O-thang], it was reckoned that good qualities all by itself would loom and spread here in Tibet. It was reckoned that the site [of lHa-sa] resembles the eight-leaved lotus, the sides [of the plain i.e. the surrounding mountains resemble] the eight [Buddhist] auspicious tokens, and in space the eight-spoked wheel [would be found]. These [signs] are the auspices for the manifestations of prosperous attributes [boding happiness] in lHa-sa. [However,] five foes exist that [may] harm these [prospects, Kong-jo recognized,] and five means were required to obstruct these: At Ra-mo-che, [Kong-jo] perceived the presence of the frightening palace of the [king of the] *nāga*-s, the local spirit (*sa bdag*). Princess Kong-jo recognized that this had to be suppressed by her own golden [receptacle, the statue of] Shākyamuni. Therefore four pillars were to be erected on the four sides of the statue [where it had stranded], and a brocade tent be set up [above the idol] being drawn over by a piece of white silk. The two strong champions lHa-dga' and Klu-dga' were placed as guardian of the statue....

B: ...Ong-jo [= Kong-jo] laid out the striped scroll of trigrams and while observing thoroughly the geomantic [configurations] [she] gave the [following] geographical description: "What I explained you previously (i.e. above)[6] [I] understand caused [you some] misery! [Sorry!] Now in this geomantic probe one hundred and eight [sites] have to be made;[7] [further], ninety probes be conduced;[8]

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5 Cf. the introduction.

6 *kha sang*, yesterday, but **MṆKB**: some weeks ago (*kha sing*); **CHBYMTNYP**: last year (*kha ning*).

7 Instead of *byed pa*, read with **MṆKB**, **CHBYMTNYP** and **GBCHBY**: *dbye ba*, division, i.e. in fact three hundred and sixty [geomantic] divisions; one hundred and thirteen according to **KCHKKHM-1** 753.4-5.

8 Nineteen according to **KCHKKHM-1**.

seventy-two geomantic errors [to be recognized] and [ninety] geomantic identifications (*ngos zin pa*) made. Since the means[9] of obstructing the [geomantic] errors must be made, when [one attempts] to sum all these up, [the following four/five items will be found indispensable]:

1. [The establishment (*gtan la dbab pa*)] of a site for a palace to [our] king, a place where many individuals convene.
2. [The establishment] of a site of a *gtsug lag khang*, a place where many [members of] the noble clergy gather.
3. [The establisment] of a site for a monastery in the soltitude, a site where many *ṛṣi*-s [were to] appear.
4. [The establishment] of a site for the common people, [a place where] they can indulge in happiness temporarily.
5. The establishment of a site of ultimate [happiness], [where one can sojourn] more than just for a while.[10]

Now, in question of this [conjunction] it is necessary to establish the site of the king,[11] [which will have to be] endowed with eight favourable attributes. It was [also] necessary to eliminate the perils [threatening] the successful (*mgo 'don pa*) [establishment] of this [site]. Further, on the rear side of the mountains [towering] in the four directions around lHa-sa: In the east, the mountain is found resembling a heap of lotuses; in the south the mountain is found which resembles [a mound of] precious jewels; in the west the mountain stands looking like a *caitya* piled up; in the north [the mountain] rises looking like a disclosing lotus. This is an omen that in these regions veneration for the relics and the bodily form of Buddha Śākya-muni will increase and durate for a long time. Amidst these [one finds] [the mountains] endowed with the eight auspicious emblems: The mountain of 'Phan-dkar in the north is the mountain looking like an umbrella being the head; the rock of gDos in the east is the mountain resembling a fish being the eyes; the mountain of lDong-btsan in the south is the mountain having a form like a conch giving sound; the mountain of rDzong-btsan is the mountain looking like the leaves of a lotus representing the tongue; the rock of Grib-rdzong is the mountain resembling a vase being the neck; in sGo-phu [the mountain is found that] resembles the *śrīvatsa*-emblem as breast; in Byang [= Brang]-phu in the west one finds [the mountain] resembling a victory banner being the body; in sTod-lung-mda' [the mountain is found] resembling a wheel being the hands and feet. On earth the eight-leaved lotus, in the sky the eight-spoked wheel. It is all a portent [predicting] the occurence of all prosperous qualities in this area. Further, four natural troves are found: At the rock of Ra-ga of Dog-sde precious copper-ores are found; at sGo-phu of Dog-te iron-ores are found; in the mountain of La-dong silver is found and on lCags-kha-ri gold-ores are found. To the east of the 'O-thang lake [the mountain resembling] the gray tiger is found; to the south [the river flows?],[12] this

9 **MNKB, CHBYMTNYP, GBCHBY**: Effect or result.

10 Item 5 lacking from other versions.

11 **MNKB**: the place of the common people.

12 Cf. note 767.

is the blue dragon; to the west the mountain resembling the red rooster is found; to the north [the mountain] resembling the black tortoise is found. These four [animal-configured mountains] are the four gods of the [prospective Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang] *gtsug lag khang* complete. Directly before these [mountains] each 'terrestrial antagonist' had set up [his residence] and so [one] had to know the means of how to eliminate them. The country of Tibet resembles a *rākṣasī*-demoness lying on [her] back, the heart of lHa-sa resembles the heart of the demoness and the lake of 'O-thang was reckoned to be the heart-blood of her. dMar-po-ri and lCags-kha-ri, the two, resembling the tails of a lion and a tiger[13] being tied together, are recognized to be the vicious character of the demoness. Ra-mo-che is recognized as the palace of the *nāga*-spirit. In Brag-lha the sleeping-place of the *ma-mo*-spirits is located. Between Grib-phu and Nyang-ran the oft-frequented path of the *klu-btsan* runs. In dKar-chung Zla [= Gla]-ba-tshal, the meeting-place of the *'dre* and and *the'u-rang*-spirits is found. In the east, the 'terrestrial antagonist' resembling a water-demon standing up is found, this is the mountain of Ngan-lam gron-pa. In the south, the 'terrestrial antagonist' resembling the black scorpion pouncing on [its pray] is found, it is the mountain of dKar-chung Yug-ma'i ri. In the west, the 'terrestrial antagonist' resembling a black *bdud*-demon on the guard is found, it is the summit of Shun gyi brag te'u. In the north, the 'terrestrial antagonist' resembling an elefant in battle is found, this is the central mountain between Nyang-bran and Dor-te'u. The eight auspicious qualities of the soil: On the earth the eight-leaved lotus, in the sky the eight-spoked wheel and along the [mountain-]sides the eight auspicious [Buddhist] emblems. Initially, the terrestrial renovation (*sa'i bcos byed*) [must] be conducted: Destroy the dungeon of the *'dre*-spirit! Raise a white *caitya* [as antidote] against the oft-frequented path of the *btsan*-spirits. Between the western and northern direction of lCags-kha-ri the sleeping-place of the *ma-mo*-spirits is found. As [antidote] erect the [idol of] Brag-lha mgon-po. The terrifying palace of the *nāga*-s [underneath the Ra-mo-che] will [be] suppressed by the Jo-bo [Shākyamuni] statue. In Bye-ma-lung-stong[14] to the east the ['terrestrial antagonist'] resembling a *rākṣasī*-demon baring her genitals is found. [Affront her by] erecting a phallos of Maheśvara! Further, affront the water-demon with a conch, [af]front the scorpion with a *garuḍa*-bird. Against the *bdud*-demon on the guard raise a red *caitya*. [Af]front the elephant with a lion.

C: Unable to built [further] since [everything] which had been built like that [by day] were [tracelessly] destroyed and erased by the [native] *'dre srin* [spirits] [overnight], the great king Srong-btsan sgam-po and the Chinese Ong-cong [= Kong-jo] therefore counseled and made a detailed geomantic probe: [It] was recognized that this territory of the Snow-clad Tibet, configured as a prostrate *rākṣasī*-demoness, were to be suppressed by means of pivotal foci (*me btsa'*) of [her] four limbs [such as] the head, the two shoulders, the two hips, the elbows and the two knee-joints, the two hands and feet. Therefore it was reckoned to be necessary to erect the Ru-[gnon-]bzhi temples. To suppress the right shoulder, the

13 Cf. also **BZH** (Stein ed. 78.13-14, 78.15-16, 79.3-5) and note 455.

14 Or rather read Upper (*stod*) Bye-ma-lung.

Ka-tshal [temple] was erected in dBu-ru, [raised] in the form of the *maṇḍala* of the twenty-one lay-devotees (*dge bsnyen*, *upāsaka*). To suppress the left shoulder, the Khra-'brug [temple] was erected in g.Yu-ru, [raised] in the form of the *maṇḍala* of the eight great planets. In order to suppress the right hip, the [temple of] gTsang-'brang was erected in g.Yas-ru, [raised] in the form of the *maṇḍala* of the Four Great [Guardian] Kings of the [four] Directions. To suppress the left hip, the temple of the Grum-pa rGyal in g.Yon-ru was erected, [raised] in the form of the *maṇḍala* of the dGes rdo-r[je] (or Hevajra), the Glorious [All-]fulfilling Voice (? dPal-'bar dbyangs-grub). These four are the temples of the Four Horns.

In order to suppress the [intermediate] joints, the [four] temples of mTha'-'dul were requested to be erected: In the south-eastern [direction], [in order to] suppress the right elbow, the Bur-chud [temple] in sGon-bu [= Kong-po] was erected, [raised] in the form of the *maṇḍala* of the mGon-po nag-po [i.e. Mahākāla]. In order to suppress the left elbow, in the south-western [direction] the [temple of] mKhon-mthil [in] the lHo-brag [district] was erected, [raised] in the form of the *maṇḍala* of the Buddhas of the Five Families (*pañcakula*). In order to suppress the right knee, the temple of Byang-tshal Phyi-dbang-chen was erected, [raised] in the form of the *maṇḍala* of the Jewel (*rin po che*; the Ratna-Family?). In order to suppress the left knee, the temple of sKyes-chu in Bum-thang was erected, [raised] in the form of the *maṇḍala* of Padma-dbang [i.e. The Lotus or Padma-Family].

Should one still be unable to erect [the main-temple, then] in order to suppress the minor limbs, i.e. the right palm of the hand, the temple of the Klong-thang sGrol-ma of mDo-khams [located in] the eastern [direction should] be erected, [raised] in the form of the *maṇḍala* of bDud-'dul [i.e. the Karman-Family?]. In order to suppress the left palm of the hand, [the temple of] Ka-brag [in/and] Bal-chad [? see note 770, subnote 16 *infra*] was erected, [raised] in the form of the *maṇḍala* of Vaiśravaṇa. In order to suppress the right foot, in the north-western [direction the temple of] sPra-dun-rtse was erected, [raised] in the form of the *maṇḍala* of the nine *gtsug-lag* [the Astrological *maṇḍala* of the *sme-ba-dgu*?]. [In order to suppress the left foot?] in the south-western [direction] the temple of Byams-pa sPrin was erected, [raised] in the form of the *maṇḍala* of the [*vana*]*devī*. In order to suppress the respiration (*sbubs* = *dbugs*; or retain *sbubs*, inner cavity = womb?) of the *rākṣasī*, the temple of the Tshangs-pa Rlung-gnon was erected etc. [all further details on these temple-erections] can be seen detailed in the testaments of the great king [Srong-btsan sgam-po] such as **bKa'-chems Dar-dkar gsal-ba** compiled by the queens, the **bKa'-chems Zla-ba 'dod-'jo** compiled by the sixteen ministers etc. In the present bKa'-chems [i.e. **KCHKKHM**], fearing [the present exposition should] become too verbose, [we] have kept [the narrative] lucid and refrained from any lengthy [account].

It is also worth noting that Nyang-ral maintains, *op. cit.* **CHBYMTNYP** 290b1-6, that in the wake of the successful geomantic-divinatory calculation contrived by the Chinese princess Kong-jo, it was decided to invite, on a more permanent basis, a Chinese court-diviner (*bla rtsis*) to the Tibetan court and in fact the Chinese emperor, this text confirms, acceded to this request wherefore a Chinese court-astrologer named Ru-rgya g.Yu-gzher btsan-pa was attached to the

Tibetan king who ensured that this Chinese tradition spread in Tibet.

Needless to say, the above geomantic-divinatory exposé is mythological in nature and in particular the numerous Buddhist elements point to a later date of compilation, perhaps even simultaneously with the final compilation of the Srong-btsan sgam-po Vita, i.e. at the beginning of the *phyi-dar* period. However, that this exposition draws on older material which in numerous ways would point to a date of origin in the dynastic period itself we should likewise assume to be beyond doubt. See here the reflections *ad* note 790 *infra*.

729 That the name of the site should be written Gla-ba-tshal is in fact most convincingly demonstrated by the present narrative itself (cf. e.g. the notes 790 and 792 *infra*), but in particular **KCHKKHM-2** 220.4-221.5, where the hardy wood-logs orginating from the *shing gla ba* growing in the lHo-phyogs Gla-ba'i nags tshal at Lhasa were taken and employed during the construction of the wooden foundation of Ra-sa 'phrul-snang raised upon the filled-in lake of 'O-thang. Further, lDe'u Jo-sras, among others, assures us, **DCHBY**, *op. cit.* 125.10-11, in his description of the building of bSam-yas, of the utility of the *rgya shing gla ba*, the Chinese (?) type of the *gla ba* tree as building material for erecting a Chinese-styled *bar khang* (i.e. second storey) in this *vihāra*, cf. note 1254 *infra* for details. Cf. also note 496 *supra* and the next note. It is apparently a place of documented historicity also mentioned in **BZH** (Stein ed., 25.6; Chin. ed. 31.12-13): [Brag-dmar] Zla/Gla-ba'i tshal-nags. We shall here assume that this refers to the same location (and not to another *gla ba*-Grove), although Brag-[d]mar district is located along the gTsang-po river, the area where bSam-yas[15] is found, cf. below. The place dKar-chung Gla-ba-tshal can moreover be precisely located, (cf. also the notes 790, 805) as rGyal-sde dKar-chung lies along the south bank of sKyid-chu, about two miles outside lHa-sa, close to the present-day village of Ra-ma-sgang; cf. Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond*.

770 The following pre-**GLR** sources which contain this scheme hardly make the picture of its transmission in Tibetan historiographical literature already gained by inspecting Aris' survey more transparent, although a reasonable consensus may be derived from the schemes. In default of the *locus classicus* (cf. below, not **MNKB** as assumed by Aris, *op. cit.*, p. 8ff.) for these schemes, the presentation rendered below shall in no way solve the problem as to how the proto-scheme (if any) ever looked like. It rather furnishes us with a *corpus comparationis* primarily intended to supplement Aris' lists.

More importantly, **KCHKKHM-2**, *op. cit.* 235.9-15 (cf. Appendix, note 726 *supra*), **KCHKKHM-3**, *op. cit.* 454.3-4 and **CHBYMTNYP** *op. cit.* 262b6-263a1

15 Similarly, bSam-yas was also located close to a tamarisk grove at Brag-dmar, cf. e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 3.26, 24.8-9, Chin. ed. 4.9, 30.10) [Brag-dmar] 'Om-bu'i tshal, and **PMKTH** (Chap. 56, 347.7-8), bSam-yas 'Om-bu-tshal, Brag-dmar 'Om-bu-tshal.

inform us, all possibly drawing this information from a common source, that this scheme can be found detailed (and thus for the first time described, which can only mean its *locus classicus*) in the following bKa'-chems' related to King (Srong-btsan sgam-po): the **bKa'-chems Dar-dkar gsal-ba** [also called **Dar-dkar gsal-ba'i me-long**] composed/compiled by the queens and the **bKa'-chems Zla-ba 'dod-'jo** composed/compiled by the sixteen ministers.[16] These testaments, the above texts inform us, should be consulted for further details. I shall not hesitate to suggest that these bKa'-chems versions, is some basic form, did originate in the (late?) dynastic period, or if they were first *re*worked at the beginning of the *phyi-dar* period, then, as already suggested in note 726 above and note 790 below, they arguably draw upon older material. Although no reference to this scheme or the entire geomantic exposé delineated in this chapter so far has been found in the usual reliable material dating from the dynastic period (Dunhuang, *rdo-ring*-s etc.), the **BZH**, usually considered a source of high authority (although different interpolated versions do exist of this source), does share some faint references to a topograhical depiction in common with e.g. **KCHKKHM-2**[17] and the same text (Stein ed. 2.9-10; Chin. ed. 2.16-17) does confirm the existence and thus import of Chinese geomantic-divinational manuals in Tibet during the period of king Srong-btsan sgam-po. It is remarkable that almost all larger historiographical sources of some note produced in Tibet, many of which we credit with a large portion of credibility, contain these lists.

A number of texts mentions that one hundred and eight temples (some texts even adduce that a set of temples with this holy number was built during different kings!) were erected in all, but as e.g. **DCHBY** adduces, cf. below, only a minor part of these one hundred and eight temples were actually erected during the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po (in fact most probably only a very few number: the twelve from this scheme?), the rest, i.e. the main part, were erected during the subsequent kings. The figure one hundred and eight temples of the mTha'-'dul Yang-'dul scheme is found in **Pad-ma bKa'-thang**[18] and in numerous other sources.

As can be gauged from Aris' survey, the hitherto oldest transmission of the scheme as found embodied in **MNKB** and **KCHKKHM** is more or less faithfully followed by later sources such as **CHBY**, **KTHDNG**, **GBYTSH**, etc., while the distorted (a 'distortion' which mainly consists in the headings of the groups being misplaced; cf. the notes 770-773) and 'expanded' version in **GLR** is slavishly followed by authorities such as **HBCHBY**, **DTHZHG** and **PSJZ** etc. In fact, as can be seen from Aris' table 4, p. 31, a fair consensus behind the names of the temples is clearly present regarding all sources. Disregarding therefore minor variants in terms of the succession and the introduction of a few stray temple-names in the lists, the expansion of Aris' list of ten sources with the following supplementary list of eight new early sources shall not basically alter this impression. It is noteworthy that the extended list already introduced in **GLR** is

16 For these sources deplorably no more extant, cf. the Introduction, note 38.

17 Cf. the notes 455 and 726 above for a brief geomantic probe of bSam-yas possibly patterned upon the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang pendant.

18 **PMKTH**, *op. cit.* Chap. 55, 343.11-13; Chap. 85, 506.9-11; Chap. 91, 552.3-556.13; Chap. 92, 558.15ff.

supplementary list of eight new early sources shall not basically alter this impression. It is noteworthy that the extended list already introduced in **GLR** is also found - with greater details - in **CHBYMTNYP**, **GBCHBY** and **DCHBY** and partly by Nel-pa, whereas the testimonies in the **KCHKKHM** versions and **MBNTH** are much more in conformity with the 'shorter' version represented by **MṄKB**. As already observed by Uebach, *op. cit.* p. 33, it is conspicuous that Nyang-ral in **CHBYMTNYP** records the extended' list, being here the earliest witness for this version, whereas we find the normal or short version retained in **MṄKB**, a corpus for which he was in part also responsible. But so he might also have been for **MBNTH** which is closer to **MṄKB**. It is naturally impossible to establish the relative chronology between the 'short' and the 'extended' version, although one would tend to assume that the elaborated one postdates the shorter version. However, seen in a geomantic-divinatory and cosmographical context as it is presented in this chapter, I shall not hesitate to assume that the shorter version developing out of the extended scheme with all its excrescencies.

x = deest

	NAME OF TEMPLE	LOCATION	LIMB

KCHKKHM-1 762.4-766.4:

RU BZHI: In order to suppress the four limbs (*yan lag*):

[1]	Ka-rtsal	dBu-ru	right shoulder
[2]	Khra-'brug	g.Yu-ru	left shoulder
[3]	gTsang-lag	[gTsang-lag?]	right hip
[4]	Grom-pa Kyang	Ru-lag	left hip

MTHA'-'DUL BZHI: In order to suppress the four minor limbs (*nying lag*):

[1]	Ba-chud	Shar bKong	right elbow
[2]	Khom-'thing	lHo[r]-'brag	left elbow
[3]	Pra-dum-rtse	Nub	right knee
[4]	Pal-tsang	Byang	left knee

MTHA'-YANG-'DUL: In order to suppress the twenty fingers (*sor mo nyi*[*sh*]*u* = the twenty minor joints of hands and feet = the hand and feet):

[1]	Glong-thang sGron	Shar Khams	hand
[2]	sKyes-chu Bum-thang	lHo	x
[3]	Byams-sprin	Nub Mang-yul	x
[4]	Tshar Phyir-thang	Byang	x

KCHKKHM-2 234.4-235.9:

RU BZHI: In order to suppress the [demoness'] joints of the limbs (*yan lag gi tshigs*) by way of [moxibustional] foci (*me btsa'*):

[1]	Ka-tshal	dBu-ru	right shoulder
[2]	Khra-'brug	g.Yu-ru	left shoulder
[3]	gTsang-'brang	g.Yas-ru	right hip
[4]	Grum-pa rGyal	g.Yon-ru	left hip

MTHA'-'DUL BZHI: In order to suppress the intermediate joints (*bar tshigs*):

[1]	Bur-chud	Shar-lho	right elbow sGong-bu
[2]	mKhon-mthing	lHo-nub	left elbow lHo-brag
[3]	Tshal-phyi dBang-chen	Byang	right knee
[4]	Bum-thang	lHo-nub Mon	left knee

YANG-MTHA'-'DUL: In order to suppress the joints of the minor limbs (*nying lag*):

[1]	Klong-thang sGrol-ma	Shar mDo-Khams	right palm
[2]	Ka-brag	Bal-chad[19]	left palm
[3]	sPra-dung-rtse	Nub-byang	right foot

19 Bal-chad, compare also dPal-chad in **KCHKKHM-3**, **CHBYMTNYP** and **GBCHBY**. It is definitely a temple, cf. **KTHDNG** (KHA) (Chap. XVIII, sect. 32, 202.24-203.10): rGyang-ro dPal-chad lha-khang (mentioned among other temples from this list). rGyang-ro is a region and a Valley also known as Nying-ro rGyang-ro being situated close to the Nyang-chu river, cf. Tucci, 1932-41, (IV), 1, pp. 49, 53, 56, 62-63 and Uebach, 1987, p. 132-33, n. 755. However, the identity is still not certain, while the form dPal-chad (cf. **KCHKKHM-3** below: dPal-chad Klu-bdud; **GBCHBY**: mTshal-byir dPal-char Klu-gnon) is located to the north and a Tshal-byi (Ch. Sa-pi) located on the northern border of Tibet is registered, cf. Beckwith, 1987, p. 130, n. 131. Wherever its location, its (and thus the present temple-scheme's) historicity is, in my eyes, greatly enhanced by the information that not only wall-paintings accompanying the relevant texts and depicting the Indian genealogy and related topics as enumerated in **KCHKKHM** are found executed in the temple or chapel of Byang dPal-chad (*Byang dPal chad lha khang na yang rgyud ris dang yi ger bris nas yod*), but also, even more significant, the same walls allegedly held frescoes depicting in great details the first twenty-eight pre-historic king of the Tibetan lineage gNya'-khri btsan-po; cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 84.2-7 and also Appendix, note 370, subnote 3.

Thus Ka-brag and dPal-chad are different temples. The Ka-brag temple, as yet unidentified, is located in the province of 'Dre/Tre and it constitutes a major variant in a number of the sources found below. Aside from the present source, it is also recorded in **KCHKKHM-3**, **CHBYMTNYP**, **MBNTH**, **GBCHBY** and **NGTMTPH**, in addition to later versions in **CHBY**, **GBYTSH** and by Padma dKar-po, as listed by Aris, p. 31.

[4]	Byams-pa sPrin	lHo-nub	left foot

Adding: In order to suppress the demoness' breath (?*sbubs* = *dbugs*; or retain *sbubs*, inner cavity = womb?), the Tshangs-pa Rlung-gnon temple was erected. Cf. note 726 *supra*.

KCHKKHM-3 453.4-5:

RU BZHI:

[1]	Khra-'brug	g.Yu-rung	left shoulder
[2]	bKa'-rtsal	dBu-ru	right shoulder
[3]	rTsang-'brang	g.Yas-ru	right hip
[4]	Brom-pa rGyang	Ru-lag	left hip

MTHA'-'DUL BZHI: In order to suppress the intermediate joints:

[1]	mKho-'thing	lHo	left elbow
[2]	Bu-chung	Kong	right elbow
[3]	Ka-brag	'Dre	right knee
[4]	Pra-dun-tshe	Byang	left knee

[*No heading*]: In order to suppress the minor limbs:

[1]	Glong-thang sGrol-ma	'Khams	left palm
[2]	dPal-chad Klu-'dul	Byang	right palm
[3]	Byams-pa sPrin	Mang-yul	right foot
[4]	sKyer-chu	Mon Bum-thang	left foot

CHBYMTNYP 260a5-261a2:

RU BZHI:

[1]	Khra-'brug	g.Yung-drung [= g.Yu-ru]	left shoulder
[2]	Ka-tshal	Par [= dBu]-ru	right shoulder
[3]	gTsang-'phrang	x	right hip
[4]	Grom-pa rGyang	Ru-lag	left hip

MTHA'-'DUL: In order to suppress the intermediate joints:

[1]	Khong-'thing	lHo-brag	left elbow

[2]	Bu-chu Thar-legs	sKong-po	right elbow
[3]	Ka-brag	'Dre	right knee
[4]	Phra-dum-rtse	x	left knee

[*No heading*]: In order to suppress the minor limbs:

[1]	Glong-thang sGron-me	Khams	left palm
[2]	Tsha-sPe dPal-tshad Klu-non	Bya[ng]	right palm
[3]	Byams-sprin	Mang-yul	right foot
[4]	sKyer-chu	Mon	left foot

In addition **CHBYMTNYP** *op. cit.* 261a2-262a5, adds a lengthy list, i.e. the 'expanded' list of temples which partly enumerates a number of the above temples, such as counting eighteen temples taming the border and beyond etc., many of which correspond to the names kept in **GLR** and **NGTMTPH**, **GBCHBY** and **DCHBY** below.

MBNTH 60b6-61b1:

RU BZHI'I GTSUG-LAG-KHANG:

[1]	Ka-tshal	right shoulder
[2]	Khra-'brug	left shoulder
[3]	rTsang-'brang	right hip
[4]	Grom-pa rGyang	left hip

MTHA'-'DUL GYI GTSUG-LAG-KHANG: In order to suppress the four limbs:

[1]	[Bu-]Chu	rKong-po	right elbow
[2]	Khom-thing	lHo	left elbow
[3]	rKa-khrag		right knee
[4]	Bra-dum-rtse		left knee

MTHA' YANG-'DUL GYI GTSUG-LAG-KHANG: In order to suppress the minor limbs:

[1]	mTshal gyi Rlung-non	Byang	right hand
[2]	Glong-thang sGron-ma	Khams-gsum	left hand
[3]	Byams-pa sPrin gyi lha-khang		right foot

[4] sKyer-chu Bum-thang		left foot

GBCHBY 284.20-285.15:

RU-BZHI:

[1] Khra-'brug	g.Yon-ru	left shoulder
[2] bKa'-stsal	dBu-ru	right shoulder
[3] rTsang-'gram	g.Yas-ru	right hip
[4] Grom-pa rGyang	g.Yon-ru	left hip

The text adds the branch-temples, respectively: bKra-shis dge-'phel, Mi-'gyur dge-ba'i gtsug-lag, Byang-chub dge-gnas, rNam-dag khrims kyi lha-khang.

MTHA'-'DUL:

[1] mKho-mthing	lHo-brag	left elbow
[2] Bu-chu	Kong-po	right elbow
[3] Ka-brag	Tre	left knee
[4] sPra-bdun-rtse		right knee

MTHA' YANG-'DUL:

[1] Slong-thang sGron-me	Khams	left palm
[2] mTshal Byir dPal-char Klu-gnon*	Byang	right palm
[3] Byang-sPrin [du, *sic*] Yid-'ong dGe-rgyas	Mang-yul	right foot
[4] sKyer-chur	Mon Bum-thang	left foot

* The text adds Byang Tshang-pa rlung-gnon lha-khang.

mKhas-pa lDe'u further adds, like his confrere lDe'u Jo-sras below, an expanded list with other temples, *op. cit.* 285.16ff. not infrequently containing already listed items.

YANG-'DUL BRGYAD:

[1] Kva-chu Thogs-med	rGya-go[r]	x
[2] Klong-thang dPal-'byung	mDo-khams	x
[3] Ke-ru	'A-zhva	x

	dPal-'byung		
[4]	Sha Indra	Li-yul	x
[5]	dBang-chen brtsegs-pa	Mang-yul	x
[6]	Bu-chu[20]	Kong-po	x
[7]	sKyer-chu dPal-bo rgyas-pa	sPa-gro	x
[8]	?		

[*YANG-'DUL BRGYAD*]:

[1]	rDo-rje 'Gyur-med		x
[2]	dKa'-chu	Myang	x
[3]	Bum-rtse-lung	lHo	x
[4]	Sha-rma	rMa	x
[5]	Byang-sPrin	Nub, Mang-yul	x
[6]	Myang sPrin		
[7]	sPra-bdun-rtse	Byang	x
[8]	gShen-gsal		x

In the above list nos. 1, 3, 5, 7 should constitute Yang-'dul temples, whereas nos. 2, 4, 6, 8 are denoted affiliated (*'phyong btags pa*) branch temples. mKhas-pa lDe'u, as part of a very 'extended' version which in length surpasses other sources, adds further temples, the temples of the *ru mtshams*, such as Lig-tig brGya-rtsa-brgyad kyi lha-khang, Kong-chu'i lha-khang, Kho-mthing and Pad-ma g.Yung-drung gi lha-khang. Among further eighteen Yang-'dul gyi yang-'dul temples: Gling-chu, sKam-chung and Ko-chu, the three, erected in order to suppress the sun, moon and lunar constellation in the eastern direction. Bum-thang [and] Klong-rtse, the two, were erected in order to propitiate the *me lha drang srong*. The temples dGe-re, dGyer-chu and Hor-chu, the three, erected in order to support the *gnod sbyin mo*; cf. also **DCHBY** 116.17-1]. Along the border of Tibet and Bal-yul, Shang lha-khang and Hab-shang lha-khang were erected. Further: Gangs-bar lha-khang, sPra-dun-rtse temple, Nub-ri'i lha-khang, Khyung-lung dNgul-dkar temple, Khri-bse temple in Mang-yul, Glang-po temple in Li-yul, Yongs-rdzogs Rab-dga'. As mKhas-pa lDe'u adduces, *op. cit.* 296.13-298.9, the king (i.e. Srong-btsan sgam-po) had forty-two temples built, the rest were to be erected by his [royal] grandsons [i.e. kings] and congenial subjects of the posterity as a sort of repayment (between the ruler and the populace; *rje skyin 'bangs sobs*). This list tallies to a large extent with a list of temples and religious centres raised by the queens, *kalyāṇamitra*-s and ministers and which is also found in non-extant works such as **dPag-bsam ljon-shing** (cf. note 437 *supra*) and by Nel-pa.[21] Among the grandsons, rJe Khri-lde gtsug-brtan rose mGrin-bzang in Brag-dmar, Nam-ral in

20 The text adds, like lDe'u Jo-sras below, *g.Yung-drung brtsegs-pa* which then may be a metonym.

21 Cf. Uebach, 1987, pp. 35-36, 110-119, q.v. for corresponding details.

'Ching [= mChims]-phu, Ka-chu, and mKhar-phug in dBu-ru, Gling gi khri-rtse in mDo-khams smad, the five.[22] Khri-lde srong-btsan rose [a temple of] rDo-rje-dbyings gyi dkyil-'khor at dKar-chung, mNga'-bdag Ral-pa-can rose g.Yu'i lha khang dGu-thog in 'On-ljang (i.e. 'On-shang-rdo, i.e. dPe-med bKra-shis dge-'phel temple, cf. note 1445) and the Rab-stong temple in mDo-smad. His brother gTsang-ma rose the Bud mKhar khram-sna temple in Mon; Khri-srong lde-btsan rose, aside from dBu-rtse Rigs-gsum and its *gling-phran bcu-gnyis* [bSam-yas], the Dag-byed khrus-khang-gling, Tshang-rmang Ke-ru-gling, Klu-sgrub mThu-rtsal-gling, g.Yag Sha-sta 'og-gling, in all seventeen chapels (*gling*, lit. insulae or continents). This made sixty-eight (*re brgyad*) temples. The mother of the grandson-kings: 'Ong-cong rose the Dam-pa'i lha-khang; Tshe-spong bza' rose the Khams-gsum Zangs-khang; 'Bro-bza' Byang-chub rose the dGe-rgyas Bye-ma-gling; Tshe-spong-bza' btsan-mo rose the 'Phan gyi[s] lCang-ngu and Pho-yong-bza' rgyal-mo rose the Bu-tshal gser-khang. This made now seventy-two temples. The ordinary people: [Minister] Bran-ka rose the dGe-tshal, Myang Hra-te-rtse rose the 'Phang-thang, Myang-mchog btsun-bla-ma rose the Za-'ug temple, Myang Sha-mi-go-cha rose the rGya-tshal temple, Myang Ting-nge-'dzin rose the Va'i [= Zha'i] lha-khang [and] the 'Brog temple; Myang Ma-ha-yan rose the Glog gi lha-khang; Myang Shri Ra-sal-skyong rose the rGyun-mi-chad temple; Myang De-bzhin gshegs-pa rose the Kha-rag rtsa-med yul-bye temple. Further: the sMon-gro sTag-tshal temple, the sTod-lung-lhan and sNa-rtse temples, the Lo Byams-pa mdung temple, the mKhar-stod gNam-ru-gong temple, the 'Gur-mo'i lha-khang, the mDo-tshul lha-khang, the 'Od-mchog mdzes temple, the Brag-sna temple, the Dva'i lha-khang, the Ban-pa'i lha-khang, the Drang-chung temple, the Bya-zug temple, the lHo-phu chus-khyer gyi lha-khang, the mKhan-dmar-steng temple, the sGo-bzhi'i bang-so'i lha-khang and the Ra-lpags sdong temple. So all in all one hundred and seven temples, missing one single of the one hundred and eight temples scheduled to be raised, were erected by the grandsons, father and mother [i.e. king and queen] and by prominent subjects and thus brought to completion. The last, the one hundred and eighth temple, the text, *op. cit.* 363.3-4, informs us, a temple named the 'Gur-mo lha-khang was erected by Myang-ro rTsibs kyi khrab-sgo-can.[23]

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22 Cf. also **BZH** (Stein ed. 2.13ff.); **CHBY** 139a5, Szerb, pp. 15-16; **CHBYMTNYP** 292a6ff.

23 Cf. also **CHBYMTNYP** 453a2-3; **DCHBY** 135.3-4.

Another version uniformly transmitted in **MNKB** E (Cd) 205b5, **KCHKKHM-1** 790.4-5; **KCHKKHM-2** 268.12-14; **KCHKKHM-3** 467.5-6; **CHBYMTNYP** 272b2; **MBNTH** 75a2-3; **YLJBCHBY** 53.5-7; **HBCHBY** (JA) 44b7-45a1 maintains that one hundred and eight temples actually were erected during [or by] Srong-btsan sgam-po [and that he also erected one hundred and eight *thugs-dam* temples in China] and the texts list a Yongs-rdzogs Rab-dga'i (or Rab-sgang) lha-khang, i.e. the Yongs-rdzogs temple in the Rab-sgang [district] as the last temple.

DCHBY 115.15-116.3:

RU BZHI: the four limbs:

[1] Khra-'brug	[g.Yon-]ru	x
[2] gTsang-'phrad	g.Yas-ru	x
[3] bKa'-tshal	dBu-ru	x
[4] Khrom-pa	Ru-lag rGyang	x

MTHA'-'DUL BRGYAD: In order to suppress the minor limbs:

[1] Kā-chu Thogs-med	rGya-sgo[r]	x
[2] Glong-thang sGron-ma	mDo-Khams	x
[3] Ke-ru gZi-mdangs	'A-zha	x
[4] Du-ba-dag In-tra	Li-yul	x
[5] Byang sPrin Yid-'ong dGe-rgyas	Mang-yul	x
[6] Rab-snang dBang-chen rgyas-pa	Kha-che	x
[7] Bo-chu Thar-legs[24]	Kong-yul	x
[8] sKyer-chu dPal-Be'u rgyas-pa	dPal-gro	x

In the above list only nos. 2, 5, 7 and 8 should be considered as mTha'-'dul temples, the other temples are denoted affiliated (*'phyongs, mchongs*) temples, cf. below. In addition, **DCHBY** *op. cit.* 116.3-117.5, like **GBCHBY**, offers an 'extended' list too, and enumerates a number of temples, partly overlapping some of the temples in the above list and continues by maintaining that one hundred and eight temples were built in all (compare **GBCHBY**), among others:

24 The text adds here *g.Yung rung brtsegs pa* which could be the name of [yet] another temple. So also by mKhas-pa lDe'u, cf. above. Or it may indicate that the temple in question was erected in a Bon-fashion.

YANG-'DUL BRGYAD: In order to suppress the ten finger-joints (*sor mo*):

[1] rDo-rje Mi-'gyur	x	x
[2] Kā-chu	Myang Khams	x
[3] sKyer-chu	lHo, dPa'-gro	x
[4] sMan Sha-na-sma	x	x
[5] Byang sPrin	Nub, Mang-yul	x
[6] sTang sPrin	x	x
[7] sPra-dun-rtse	Byang	x
[8] gNyen-gsal	x	x

In the above list, nos. 1, 3, 5, 7 are Yang-'dul temples, the others nos. 2, 4, 6 and 8 are denoted affiliated or attached branch temples (*'phyong* [or *mchong*] *gis btags pa bzhi*) to the [main?] temples.

In addition, pursuing an unusual description which partly parallels **GBCHBY**, cf. above, **DCHBY** adds a few other temples among the forty-two temples (out of the initially planned one hundred and eight temples to be raised by the king, the rest was erected later).[25]

lDe'u Jo-sras enumerates, *inter alia*, also eighteen Yang-'dul temples, such as: Gling-chung, Kam-chung and Ke-chung raised in order to suppress the sun, moon, and the lunar constellation. Next, sGe-ri, sKyer-chung and sDe-chung, Shang lha-khang, Hab-shang lha-khang, Gangs-bar lha-khang, 'Pra-dum gyi lha khang, Nub-ri'i lha-khang, Khyung-lung dngul-khang, Mang-yul Khri-dpe'i lha-khang, Li-yul Glang-po'i gtsug-lag-khang.

Similar to **GBCHBY** and Nel-pa (cf. above), **DCHBY**, *op. cit.* 131.21-132.20; 136.2-5, mentions the establishment of a number of religious institutions, of which one was located to the east in Kong-po, at the Bo-chu dGa'-ldan (= mTha'-'dul, no. 7 above). Further, the text mentions four great Yang'-dul temples (being somewhat in contradiction with the above scheme):

1. The rDo-rje'i gtsug-lag-khang, raised in order to tame (or convert?)/suppress the Chinese in the east (*shar phyogs rgya 'dul ba*).

2. The Bum-thang rTsi-lung gi gtsug-lag-khang, raised in order to tame or suppress the Mon-area in the south.[26]

3. The Pra-dung-rtse dPal-rgyas kyi gtsug-lag-khang, raised in order to suppress the mouth of the nāga Ma-dros-pa in the western dirction.

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25 This corroborates also the statement in **GBCHBY** (see above) and, prior to this text, the **BGR** 199b3 and bSod-nams rtse-mo in his **Chos la 'jug-pa'i sgo** (written 1167 A.D.), where it is mentioned that not only Srong-btsan sgam-po but also later kings *each* erected one hundred and eight temples (cf. Szerb, 1990, p. 12). What is meant obviously is that one hundred and eight temples (cf. **GBCHBY** above) were erected *in all*. This Buddhist figure: One hundred and eight is a *phyi-dar* invention. So also in **HBCHBY** (JA) 44b7-45a1.

26 Note here the mention of rTsi-lung, not sKyer-chu; for this old temple, here being associated with the other temples built by Srong-btsan sgam-po, cf. Aris, 1979, pp. 6-7, 37-9, 54-5; **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. XVIII, sect. 30, 202.7-14.

4. The sPro-rtsi lha-khang, raised in order to tame Ke-le [*sic*] in the north.

NGTMTPH 8a3-9a2:

RU BZHI: In order to suppress the limbs:

[1] Grom-pa rGyang rNam-dag sGrib-med	x	right hand
[2] Khra-'brug Byams-pa Mi-'gyur[27]	x	left hand
[3] Ka-rtsal	x	right foot
[4] gTsang-'brang[28]	x	left foot

MTHA'-'DUL BZHI:

[1] Ga-chu	Shar	x
[2] Thang-shing mDud-pa-can	lHo	x
[3] sPrin-chen	Nub, Mang-yul	x
[4] Pre-'dun-rtse	Byang	x

YANG-'DUL BZHI:

[1] Glong-thang sGrol-ma	Khams	x
[2] Bum-thang	x	x
[3] sGye-ri	x	x
[4] sKyer-chu[29]	x	x

790 We must probably assume that the proto-type of the story contained most of the variant narrative elements found in the various versions.

The information contained in the relevant passages,[30] which all refer to the

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27 Cf. the notes 446 and 836.

28 Nel-pa mentions under each temple also its affiliated temple and its meditation-cave. Cf. Uebach, 1987.

29 The description by Nel-pa is here somewhat unclear and compounded, and the reconstruction of the list of the Yang-'dul temples may be construed otherwise, cf. Uebach, 1987, pp. 91-93.

30 **MNKB** E (Ca) 135a3: *khri btsun gyis glong* [= *klong*] *rdol rgyul 'da' la sogs pa zur phug rkyang nul tshal gyi klu la chos skyong du bcol* | *chu skar chung gi lbu ba gdong la bsgyur nas* | *de*

same narrative incidence, proves for various historical and literary historical reasons to be of major importance, wherefore we shall deal with them at greater length.

As is seen, **MṄKB** E (Ca), **KCHKKHM-3**, **CHBYMTNYP** and **HBCHBY** on the one hand all contain a cognate version whereas the fragmentary narrative versions found in **MṄKB** E (Cd), **KCHKKHM-2** and **MBNTH**, on the other hand, all draw from another common version.

Without attempting to proffer an exact translation of the above passages, or even attempt to construe a plausible proto-version, one thing nevertheless leaps to the fore. All the fragments relate about the threat of some flood or inundation (either coming from some subterranean water or wells etc., the true home of the *klu*-s) underneath lHa-sa and 'O-thang or running from the nearby sKyid-chu river being caused by some local *klu*-spirits endangering the edifice of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang. The Nepalese princess is here depicted resp. propitiating, resp. being successful in turning these local phreatic *klu*-creatures into Defenders of the Dharma (*dharmapāla*); in any case, the watery menace is thereby reduced to such an extent, most of these passages tell us, that the water assumed the form of foam and bubbles, harmless to anyone.[31]

More than anything, the place-names and phrases contained in the above passages, however distorted they seem, can be clarified thanks, mainly, to an utmost important narrative and a literary and mythological tradition embodied in the Padmasambhava Vita-cycles. The above episode finds in substance a remarkable parallel in his biography. In essence, it refers to the submission of the

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nas.....;

MṄKB E (Cd) 199a3-4: *lha gcig gis mal gro'i klu rnams la zhu phul nas | chu lho ngos su bsgyur | yang rgyal po la zhus pas | gla ba'i tshal chod la phub gsungs nas | mtsho phub pas shing gis dkyil du ma sleb nas | rgyal po la zhus pas rgyal pos lha la dris pa dang | 'od kyi dra ba dra phyed mtsho la babs so...*;

KCHKKHM-2 220.1-4: *bal mos mal gro'i klu la gtor ma phul nas gsol ba btab pas 'od zer de lho ngos su 'gyur || 'od zer de lho ngos su 'gyur ba las kyi chu phyed dkar chung sbu ba gdong du gyur to...*;

KCHKKHM-3 445.4-5: *khri btsun gyis nag po blo [= klong] rdol dang zur phur skyang bu mtshan la gyi [sic] klu la chos skyong bcol | chu skyar chu sgya ba'i steng du sgyur nas | chu shing bu bas phub bas dkyil du shing gis ma slebs...*;

CHBYMTNYP 254b3-5: *khri btsun gyis glong brdol dang | rgyun 'dul la sogs pa zul phug dbus rkyang bu tshal gyi klu de rnams la chos skyong bcol | chu dkar chung sbu ba sdong la bsgyur nas mtsho shing gla bas phigs [= phub] pas | dkyil du shing gis ma slebs.*

MBNTH 60a2-3: *khri btsun gyis ma [= mal] gro'i klu rnams la chos skyong zhus te | chu dbu ba stong du bskyur bas 'o thang gud du chad |...*;

HBCHBY (JA) 36a7-b1: *klu nag po klong rdol dang rgyun brdal dang zur phung rkyang tshal gyi klu la las bcol ste skyi chu lho ngos dkar chung lbu ba gdong du bsgyur bas mtsho gung du lus | mtsho nang gi phyogs bzhir rdo spe [= dpe] byas gla ba'i shing gis phub pas dbus su ma sleb nas...*;

31 I assume here that *lbu ba gdong* is *not* a geographical name, which, to be true, is quite plausible, i.e. sBo/lBu-ba-gdong similar to what another place-name such as dGa'-ba-gdong, also close to lHa-sa (cf. e.g. Ferrari, p. 167) and other place-names containing the element *gdong* (cf. e.g. note 809) may suggest.

most powerful and influencial *nāgarāja* called Mal-gro gZi-can nag-po.[32]

The Padmasambhava Vita-tradition has retained an almost similar-worded account of the oath-binding (*dam la btags*) and the submission (*'dul ba*) of this *klu'i rgyal po* and his acolytes as well as a description of the subsequent assistance (*grogs byed pa*) proffered by them in erecting and protecting the bSam-yas *vihāra*.[33]

The first narrated episode offers a lengthy description of what in one version is called the purification (*'byongs pa*) of the bSam-yas site, where (Padmasambhava) states that the barbarous country of Tibet is a *'dre yi yul*, replete with these creatures, and that in order to tame them (and the Tibetan people), the country of Tibet which resembles a *glo bo srin mo gan rkyal*,[34] a nine-storeyed *gtsug lag khang* should be raised upon its heart. The head of the *srin-mo* needs a black stone ([*r*]*de'u* to suppress it) and one hundred and eight *caitya*-s were to be erected to suppress the *srin-mo*'s limbs. Most relevant for our present needs, the description continues by stating that in the district or Valley of Mal-gro, the *nāgarāja* called Mal-gro gZi-can resides, who rules over the entire Tibetan realm (*bod khams dbang byed pa*) and in order to overcome or pacify this creature, Padmasambhava displayed the rite of *dam skongs dong sprug 'dus pa'i bshags pa*, and by depositing *klu gter* and a *klu rten* at Mal-gro, the *digvijaya*-magician was able to acquire the *srog chu* and the *nāgarāja* was suppressed. Thereby any acquatic threat against bSam-yas in the future was abolished. In fact, by oath-binding this pivotal *klu rigs gyur pa rnams kyi rje*, the path was paved for the erection of bSam-yas. Among the Nāgarāja's acolytes not only a Zul-phug rKyang-bu-tshal gyi *klu* was listed but also a *klu'i ded dpon* [nag-po] Klong-rdol [= Klu-rdol = *Mātanga] etc. The *klu'i rgyal po* of Zul-phug rKyang-bu-tshal, the other narrated episode reveals, is instrumental in supplying the king, Khri-srong lde'u-btsan, with wood and riches for the construction of his bSam-yas *gtsug-lag-khang*.[35]

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32 The black Nāgarāja Tapasvi/Manasvī. Also called Se-'phang nag-po or Srog-dkar dkar-po. He is a gestalt with human body, one text tells, having nine snakes as head, a black body, the lower part being coiled like a snake and is commonly regarded as *klu rigs gyur pa pa rnams kyi rje*. He resides in the Valley, in Ba-lam Grom-pa brag-phug and Grom-pa mtsho in Mal-gro. Cf. also note 1197 *infra*. For a *dhāraṇī*-s on this figure cf. also the Tibetan Canon: TTPE Nos. 333, 691.

33 The two sets of narrative passages are: Nyang-ral's **KTHZGM** Chap. 10, 48.5-12 resp. Chap. 11, 52.16-54.5; Chap. 20, 119.15-123.5; O-rgyan gling-pa's **KTHDNG** (KA) Chap. 18, 56.9-60.19, Chap. 24, 81.9-82.8 resp. Chap. 24, 77.1-22, 82.4-8 (cf. also Blondeau, 1971, pp. 88-91, 115); **KTHDNG** (CA) Chap. 17, 485.12-486.8 resp. Chap. 28, 519.5-19; and his **PMKTH** Chap. 62, 377.3-16 resp. Chap. 60, 367.5-6; Chap. 62, 380.5-14 (cf. also Toussaint, pp. 248, 258); Nyang-ral again in his huge **CHBYMTNYP** *op. cit.* 314b1-317a5, finally combines the two related sets of stories. Cf. also briefly **MBNTH** 98b3-6; **CHBY** 141a3 and also Tāranātha's **Yid-ches gsum-ldan** (Chin. ed. 264.9-265.15); **GBYTSH** 129b1.

34 Resembling thus the present 'Phrul-snang-story, cf. note 726.

35 This narrative element with wood is also important in the Srong-btsan sgam-po Vita. In the present bSam-yas narrative, the *klu*-s in question living along the *mtsho chen* Mal-gro'i 'gram, the great lake/ocean of Mal-gro [*sic*], threw huge quantities into the gTsang-po river whereafter the area around bSam-yas became completely forested, thus providing enough material for the coming construction. Cf. **BZH** (Stein ed. 23.14-24.1, Chin. ed. 29.17-22).

Zul-phug rKyang-bu-tshal[36] is an ancient place-name of documented historicity. Usually it is associated with the district of Mal-gro/Kong-yul[37] and is already mentioned in the the *Annals* of Dun-huang. The entry for the years 713 and 715[38] e.g. mentions that a summer-meeting took place at Zu-spug gi rKyang-bu-tshal. Equally interesting is the testimony in **sBa-bzhed** (Stein ed. 23.14-24.1; Chin. ed. 29.17-30.7) which corroborates the above narration embedded in the Padma-Vita. It is told how [Mal-gro] gZi-can, the most powerful Nāgarāja, after his submission, made his appearance in Zur-phug [s]Kyang-bu-tshal,[39] where he proclaimed: "Upon earth, king Khri-srong lde-btsan is mighty, but in the underworld [below Tibet], I am the king!",[40] whereupon he offered the king fourteen mule-loads of gold as donation for erecting bSam-yas. The place also housed a royal *pho brang*, **sBa-bzhed** (Stein ed. 27.10-28.9, Chin. ed. 34.6-35.10) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 89b7-90a1, further assures us, where in a certain pig-year (arguably 759 A.D.), a crucial Bon-Buddhist Debate took place.[41]

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36 Numerous scribal varieties of this toponym are found: Zur-phug, Zur-phur, Zur-phung/phud etc. and sKyang-chung-tshal, Klung-rgyu-tshal, rKyang-nul-tshal/mtshan etc. Zul-phug, or the Zul-cave, *might* plausibly be the best reading, while the *var. lect.* Zur-phug etc. may just be toponymical adaptations inspired by the type of *klu* reigning there: He is described as *khye'u chung zur phud can*. **PMKTH** moreover specifies that Zur-phug [of] rKyang-bu-tshal is a cave which houses spirits of the *bdud-gza'* and *dam-sri* types. Behind the distorted phrase rGyun-brdal/'dul etc. found in the above Srong-Vita passages, we may further assume the Nāgarāja Klu-rdol or rGyu-'dal, i.e. *Mātanga.

37 The district of Mal-gro, a district and a valley north-east of lHa-sa, lying further upstream the southern bank of sKyid-chu river, is closely related to the activities of Srong-btsan sgam-po, since e.g. the Ka-tshal *vihāra* was erected there and since the king himself allegedly was born there (cf. notes 444-446 *supra*). For a connection between Mal-gro and the *klu*-s, cf. also Ferrari, pp. 109-110; Essen & Thingo, 1991, p. 92. But Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** *op. cit.* 314b1-2, surprisingly reads lHa-sa rKyang-phu'i *klu*, the *klu*-spirit inhabiting the rKyang-phu (rivulet?) in lHa-sa (cf. Nakane, *Map of Lhasa*, rKyang-phu running into sKyid-chu river from north and lying due west from lHa-sa). This would then arguably make the adjacent(?) rKyang-bu-tshal identical with the lHa-sa rKyang-thang (**DTHNGP**, Roerich, p. 498: lHa-sa rKyang-thang; the 'Wild Ass Meadow' abutting Nor-bu gling-ka park to the west of lHa-sa, cf. also Waddell, 1905, pp. 328-29, 355).

There is no reason to assume that Zul/Zur-phug s/rKyang-bu-tshal should be located in the vicinity of the lHa-sa area. It is definitely to be located in the Mal-gro district. Mal-gro as district is already recorded in the Dunhuang documents being read as Mal-tro. The gZi-can *klu* is not infrequently associated with Ma-dros (cf. e.g. Kapstein, 1990, p. 514), but this clearly reflects a simple scribal error while Mal-gro is often falsely rendered Ma-dro such as in the Nyang-ral's **CHBYMTNYP**, inspiring some later authors to construe this as Ma-dros, i.e. Anavatapta = *mtsho* Ma-pham, Manasarovar. Cf. similarly, Wylie, 1962, pp. 4-6, 56-59, 121-123.

38 Cf. *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs a l'histoire du Tibet*, p. 21; Nel-pa even states, **NGTMTPH**, 11a3, that later a temple was erected there locating rKyang-bu-tshal in rKang[= rKong]-yul; cf. Uebach, p. 104-05, n. 480.

39 *Var. lect.* Zur-phud Klung-rgyu-tshal. These numerous variant readings might suggest that this narrative episode early sunk into oblivion.

40 **BZH** (Stein ed. *op. cit.* 23.14-16; Chin. ed. 29.19-20) = **MBNTH** 98b3-5 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 86b4-5; Tāranātha, **Yid-ches gsum-ldan**, (Chin. ed. 264.11-13).

41 Corroborated by the *Annals* (pp. 57-58, 64-65), entry for the years 758 and 761 A.D. where king Khri-srong lde-btsan spent the summers in his residencial palace of Zu-phug. Cf. Appendix, note 1186.

Noteworthy also is the reference to dKar-chung/sKar-chung[42] in the above Srong-btsan sgam-po Vita-passages. It is identical with sKar-c[h]ung, otherwise known for its famous *rdo-ring* inscription,[43] and is located some two miles south-west of lHa-sa along the bank of sKyid-chu. Thereby we also have an identification of the location of Gla-ba-tshal (cf. note 729) since *nub phyogs dkar chung gla ba tshal* is found rendered several times.

We may thus assume that somewhere in the Lhasa vicinity and the neighbouring district Mal-gro, water from some subterranean wells (connecting the lake of 'O-thang and the sKyid-chu river? and each housing distinct *klu*-spirits) runs, and that the propitiation and pacification of the *sa bdag* and *klu*-spirits were intended to render any potential acquatic hazard harmless.[44]

What we most probably have here (in connection with the Padmasambhava-Vita) is thus a clear parallel to the fragmentary narrative found in the Srong-btsan sgam-po-Vita. This is moreover, to my knowledge, the only direct rapport between the two Vitas, aside from the exposition on the Six-syllabic formula (cf. note 273). But how did this narrative element so well-known from the Padma-Vita turn up in the Srong-Vita? The tiny reminiscence in **GLR** of the narrative of a watery threat towards the erection of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang unfolds a story about the submission of a powerful *nāgarāja* and his associates ruling over the area, without which the

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42 sKar-c[h]ung is apparently the best reading (so also according to **BZH** (Stein ed. 69.15-16), since this form is found rendered in an inscription, nevertheless the editors in Lhasa calls it rGyal-sde dKar-chung; cf. *Bod kyi rdo-ring dang dril-bu'i kha-byang*, p. 106; orthographical confusion between prefixed-superfixed d/s due to homophony has long prevailed in Tibetan, cf. Schuh, 1973, pp. 18-19.

43 Cf. e.g. Richardson, 1985, pp. 72-81.

44 It will be recalled that the present Jo-khang temple houses a so-called Chapel of the 'O-thang-mtsho (cf. Taring, *Index to the Lhasa Cathedral*, p. 16, no. 86), a room which contains a well with water coming from the subterranean 'O-thang lake. Moreover, not far from Lhasa a lake called Chu-mgo is found (for photo, cf. Hummel) which is connected with the water running underneath Lhasa and Jo-khang. Up to 1950 A.D. groups of monks used to settle down close to the lake in order, at appropriate times, to pray that water from the lake would not overflow its bank and thus threaten Lhasa. It may further have some relation to the *klu* allegedly living in the waters of the lakelet located behind the northern escarpment (*rdzong rgyab*) of the Potala Palace (which, to be true, came into being when the present Potala Palace was erected in the seventeenth cent.) and upon which a tiny *klu khang* has been erected housing the *klu* ruling the waters underneath the City of Lhasa, cf. Sørensen, 1990, pp. 278-79; Waddell, 1905, pp. 367-368; Richardson, 1993, pp. 86-87. Although we have not found any literary evidence for these particular traditions, it may very well have some bearing on the present narrative episode or may have developed from it. More pertinent to our discussion is the diluvial threat of flooding Lhasa which forced king Srong-btsan sgam-po to conceal treasuries and advices, foremost in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, hidden there for the future Tibetan population to meet the expenses (*cha rkyen*) of the inner and outer repair and restauration of Lhasa when or if the watery menace should strike. This is not only alluded to in **GLR**, cf. Chap. XVII *ad* note 1023ff. *infra*, but specifically detailed by dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 152b4. In fact, a large part of the districts sKyid-stod/sKyid-smad, along sKyid-chu river from Mal-gro until present-day Lhasa, a key area of great importance during the early dynastic period, may have been regarded as the land of the *klu*. That a watery menace caused by the water-residing *klu*-s and related spirits and its abolition occupied an important role during the dynastic period is moreover repeatedly documented in **BZH** and in the numerous Padmasambhava-Vitas.

erection of bSam-yas would come to nill. In the Srong-btsan sgam-po-Vita-s, we are informed that Khri-btsun, the Nepalese princess, succeeded in turning the local *klu*-s into Defenders of Dharma, a forerunner of what precisely was the main-task of Padmasambhava. Would this imply that this part of the Srong-Vita was influenced by the Padma-Vita, or *vice versa*?

A possible clue, however faint, that may account for the occurence of these parallel episodes in the Srong-Vita and Padma-Vita or for this strange case of borrowing, is to be traced in **BZH** where, in a lengthy passage describing the search for holy water, it is told how Padmasambhava in his investigation turned the barren sand and banks of Nam-shod, in the vicinity of bSam-yas, into groves and forests, in the wake of which, he also turned Brag-dmar Zla-ba-tshal into a forest and secured water in the Nāga-pools etc.[45] Could we assume that the occurence of Brag-dmar Gla-ba-tshal and lHa-sa Gla-ba-tshal (cf. notes 729, 792) have caused a confusion, where Brag-dmar Gla-ba-tshal in reality should be read as Brag-dmar 'Om-bu-tshal as this site adjacent to bSam-yas is documented repeatedly in e.g. **BZH**?

Whatever, it is worth paying attention, at least, to what O-rgyan gling-pa informs us, (**KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. 18, 161.114-162.8), namely that the *lha sa'i lo rgyus kyi yig ris* (= *yi ge shog dril*) etc. was found and later hidden again by Padmasambhava in the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang temple. The *lha sa'i lo rgyus kyi yig*, i.e. the story about (the erection of) lHa-sa ('Phrul-snang) is nothing but the **KCHKKHM**.[46] The crucial question, as always, remains: what kind of biographical documents were at hand for Vita-biographers such as Nyang-ral, a central figure in the transmission of these Vita-s, when compiling his works.

831 This explanation is elaborated by dPa'-bo in **HBCHBY** (JA) 44b2-4: Until the foundation of the Ra-sa temple [of Khri-btsun, i.e. Jo-khang] had been laid, Kong-jo had no power to raise [her own] temple, wherefore she only raised the [bare] pillars [upholding the edifice of her future temple]....Later (under the same queen Kong-jo? or the second Kong-jo? cf. below), [it was properly] built with brick-work and as its Chinese roof was variegated like a Chinese tiger, it became known as Ra-mo-che, the temple [resembling or representing] the Chinese Tiger. Cf. similarly **CHBYMTNYP** 272a1-2, **KCHKKHM-2** 270.2-9, where it e.g. is told that the golden statue of Shākya-muni at Ra-mo-che first had its face and front looking towards the west in the direction of the king's summit-fortress (*rtse mkhar*) (located on dMar-po-ri), but later its front turned towards the east (i.e. China). In fact, as the narrative here goes, Ra-mo-che was actually erected precisely at the location where the statue initially stranded (i.e. on the plain of Ra-mo-che) and

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45 *Op. cit.* Stein ed. 24.8-25.8, Chin. ed. 30.8-31.15.
According to Bon sources it is related that Tibet at one point became full of water. This is recorded to be the reason why the regions between Lhasa and bSam-yas are full of sand. Cf. Karmay, 1972, p. 93.

46 Cf. e.g. **KCHKKHM-2** 314.3-4. Cf. also dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) *op. cit.* 149a6-7. Cf. also the Introduction to this book, note 24.

four pillars were erected around the statue, which were then covered with planks and rafters. Until a proper house was raised, the statue was covered by a large silk curtain. Cf. also note 711 *supra*.

True, samples of the propensity or fondness among Tibetans to provide etymologically clarifying tales to any incidence of historical and even ahistorical importance are well documented and we cannot, of course, exclude that rGya-stag, this etymological gloss which is foremost documented in **MNKB**, is not just another post-dynastic fabrication, but as it may emerge from the present chapter, where we have seen to what extent the imagery of sacred animals and related divinatory elements played for the naming of temples and sites, such an etymology should not surprise us. We only need to look at the name Ra-mo-che which in itself merely means the 'Great She-goat' (with a word-play on the prominent sacred role purportedly played by the goats of Ra-sa when erecting Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang). More important and perhaps an indication of the name's antiquity, **BZH** also has rGya[l]-stag Ra-mo-che (e.g. Stein ed. 3.9; Chin. ed. 3.21); this application occasionally also emerges when Ra-mo-che is described.[47]

Of major significance, moreover, is the statement in Nyang-ral's **MBNTH** 82a1-2, where it is stated that (the original?) Ra-mo-che, besides having a Chinese roof (*rgya phibs*), was equipped with a Chinese entrance gate, had wall-paintings or murals (*rgyud ris*) depicting the holy Wu-tai-shan (*ri'i rtse mo lnga*) and finally that Chinese [calligraphic] characters were to be found written on the arched pinnacles (= *lcog*) of the roof. In conformity with a later unanimous tradition, we may with some reason thus conclude that the original Ra-mo-che temple in concept and in artistic-cultural expression (being raised by Chinese artists and craftsmen) was Chinese in contrast to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang which basically was Nepalese-Newari in concept and expression.

Decidedly more problematic is the question whether the bride of Srong-btsan sgam-po actually did erect Ra-mo-che or not. Richardson questions the ascription and erection of this temple to Kong-jo, the first Chinese queen, and instead assigns it to the second Chinese queen, i.e. Gyim-shing Kong-jo or Jincheng Gongzhu, Khri-lde gtsug-btsan's consort, who first arrived in lHa-sa in 710 and who died 739 A.D.[48] For this assumption Richardson[49] quotes **Li-yul chos kyi lo-rgyus**, but the

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47 **KCHKKHM-1** 789.6-790.1-2; **KCHKKHM-3** 467.2-4; **CHBYMTNYP** 271b6-272a3; **MBNTH** 74b4-6; **GBCHBY** 276.18, 292.9-10 (saying e.g. that the Ra-mo-che temple was three-storeyed); **HBCHBY** (JA) 41b1-2; **TSLKHKCH** 9b3, 17a5, 17b1; cf. Chab-spel, 1989(b), p. 195.

48 However, see the discussion Appendix, note 1137.

49 Cf. 1985, p. 26. The source upon which Richardson finds support for his assumption is the reliable source titled **Li-yul chos kyi lo-rgyus** (Emmerick, 1967, pp. 84-85 (52-60)), where a small narrative episode is unfolded which relates about the destruction of Buddhism in Khotan and the subsequent journey of Khotanese monks to Tibet. There a princess named Kong-jo resides, the bride of a Tibetan *lha btsan po*, and she is responsible for erecting a *gtsug lag khang ched po*. She shelters the monks and provided the livelihood for them. For twelve full years, laity and clergy could practice Buddhism, but then she contracted small-pox and died. This latter information *could* certainly speak in favour of identifying this Kong-jo with the second Chinese queen and *could eo ipso* entail that the *gtsug lag khang* be identified Ra-mo-che, even though Ra-mo-che nowhere else is designated a *gtsug lag khang*. Cf. also **Li-yul dGra-bcom-bas lung-bstan-pa** conserved in the bsTan-'gyur. As demonstrated in Appendix, note 920 *infra*, later Vita-mythographers and Tibetan

information given there is not unproblematic. A later? tradition identifies the Tibetan *lha btsan po* mentioned in this Khotan-story with Srong-btsan sgam-po, cf. note 920 *infra*. And this may very well be the truth. In support of Richardson's view counts the fact that the second Kong-jo actively supported and gave shelter to Khotanese monks as told in the Li-yul story. Against the assumption of Richardson is the information e.g. traced in **BZH** (and in fact an unanimous Tibetan tradition) where Ra-mo-che unmistakably is ascribed to the first Kong-jo, i.e. Wencheng Gongzhu. A possible solution to the conundrum may arguably be alluded to by dPa'-bo above, as he maintains that the foundation of Ra-mo-che was laid by Wencheng Gongzhu (probably around 641-43 A.D.), but that it was perhaps first fully built or completed during the second Kong-jo or later (as was quite often the case with other temples and grand plans in the dynastic period, cf. e.g. **DCHBY** 117.6-7). That this latter conjecture is contradicted by the present Vita in this chapter, inasmuch as it is maintained that the temples of Ra-sa and Ra-mo-che were completed simultaneously during Srong-btsan sgam-po, shall neither surprise us or nor disprove our assumption, since the traditional Vita is highly idealized and in its final form, at least, largely an apologetic fabrication.

836 The same bKa'-chems text, *op. cit.* 260.18-19, maintains that during king Srong-btsan sgam-po's time, *nāgavidhi* (*klu chog*) ritual texts were allegedly buried at Khra-'brug. So also **MNKB** E (Cd) 209a1-2; **CHBYMTNYP** 379a5; **KTHZGM** (Chap. 21, 131.9-10), **PMKTH** (Chap. 91, 553.6-7, 555.9-10), representing the Vita-cycle of Padmasambhava, mention e.g. that *zab gter* and *rdzas gter* were buried there later. For a fuller survey over the inner construction and treasuries, see the lengthy and interesting exposition in the fourteenth cent. **KTHDNG** (KHA) Chap. XVIII (9. sect.), 162.9-165.11. Cf. also Ferrari, p. 50, n. 237. For an etymological explanation of its name, Khra-'brug, cf. **KCHKKHM-2** 297.4-299.6 and **HBCHBY** (JA) 38a5-39a3 associating it with the story of the taming of a local *klu*.

866 As indicated in the above passages, this narrative element with the disguised beggar is in the traditional Vita of the king mostly rendered as the second and third element out of three reasons, convincing arguments or signs (*gtan tshigs, khungs dang yid ches, rtags, rgyu mtshan*) given as to why the king, Srong-btsan sgam-po, was to be considered as an embodiment of Avalokiteśvara. These points are usually proclaimed by minister Thon-mi:

1. At the point when the king was born in the Byams-pa mi-'gyur palace (= Khra-'brug, cf. notes 446 and 836 *supra*), his head was already that of Amitābha.

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historians have combined the above information with the period of king Srong-btsan sgam-po and thus with the first Kong-jo. Ascribed to the second Kong-jo in later literature is not Ra-mo-che, but a certain rGya'i dam-pa, modelled upon Indian pattern, cf. Nel-pa's **NGTMTPH** 12a7 (Uebach, pp. 108-109).

2. At the time he erected the Khra-'brug temple, he paid his respect to a [disguised] *bhikṣu* who was sitting in front of a five-pointed *caitya*) and

3. The wonder and miracle-working accruing from the encounter between these two saints. The version in **MṆKB** WAṂ differs somewhat in content, as does **GLR**.

In most of the versions this narrative element is further linked up with the story of two monks from Li-yul, cf. note 920, so also **GLR**, note 1073 where the arguments differ from those given above.

Appendix Chapter XV

874 All these sources uniformly confirm that the north-western wall-paintings in Jo-khang with the *lde'u*-motifs (and also with *g.yung-drung bon*-motifs),[1] as a pedagogic device, allegedly sought to enhance the understanding among the future Tibetan populace of the *yuktidharma* (*rigs pa'i chos*), the teaching of logic, whereas the many depicted fables and animal-tales (*sgrung rgyud*, i.e. *spre'u sgrung*, such as the tale of the Monkey-Champion (*spre'u gyad*) Bha-la-ma[n]-da [= Hanūmān[t]] and various *bya'i sgrung* such as parrot-fables etc.) aimed at enhancing the understanding of *āgamadharma* (*lun gi chos*) among the people and visitors.[2] The inspiration behind and the introduction of these motifs and in

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1 At some length **KCHKKHM-2** explains that depictions of space-going *bon sha ba* (*bon* deers) etc. were executed along the pillar with a capital shaped like leaves (*ka ba shing lo can*). Further, there were paintings with voluble *bon ya 'dam pa'i sha ba*, flying birds, horse-racing, paintings depicting miracles being performed by Bon-po-s (*bon gyi rdzu 'phrul*) and depictions of Bon ston-pa gShen-rab mi-bo (who, the Buddhist redactor of **KCHKKHM-2** informs us, was to be considered an incarnation of Thugs-rje chen-po Avalokiteśvara). It will be recalled that the soaring deer is one of the twelve kinds of knowledge listed in Cause or rGyu-Bon. According to Bon-creed, one is capable of flying to the palace of the *btsan*, if one offers them deer-effigies made of barley-flour, cf. for details, Karmay, 1972, pp. 31-32.

Rather than presuming here an attempt on the side of the Vita-compiler/discoverer(s) to reconcile Buddhist and Bon doctrines, or at least acknowledge Bon-influence and presence in the architecture of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, the allusion to Bon-motifs should rather to conceived as a reminiscence of the existence in dynastic times of the substantial influence of Bon. From the notes 818 and 827-28 above we are informed that Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang was also constructed to please the Bon-po-s, who in the days of Srong-btsan sgam-po still played a decisive role not only at court but also among the people.

dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 44a1-2, informs us moreover that Bon writings were concealed below the pillars with the aim that the original writings one day should serve as *be'u bum* in case the restoration of the frescoes should prove necessary.

2 Almost similar words in **MNKB** E (Ca) 140a3-4, (Cd) 207b1-4, 208a2-4, (cf. also Blondeau, 1984, p. 86, n. 40) and **GBYTSH** 119b5-120b4, where we are informed that in order to improve the understanding among children and ordinary people for the Buddhist *āgama* and *yukti* and for Dharma in general, not only depictions of monkey-tales, Vetala-tales (such as e.g. the story (and drama-play) of the *bram ze mo* gZugs kyi nyi-ma etc.), but also *lde'u*-motifs (and Bon-motifs, Bon *lha ldem* etc.) were executed on the square *re'u mig* along the pillars and beams (*ka gdung*) on the upper floor (*steng khang*) of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang.

A question which cannot be satisfactorily answered here is the above reference to depictions of the tale (*sgrung*) denoted *Bram-ze gZugs kyi nyi-ma*. In some passages of e.g. **MNKB** above it is written *gZungs kyi snye-ma*. And, incidentally, in Ratna gling-pa's (1403-1478 A.D.) glosses to the transmission of the King's Will, he lists a certain *Bram-ze gZungs kyi snye-ma'i mdo* [*sic*], purportedly being a part of the *Sūtra*-section of **MNKB** and moreover a **sūtra** allegedly translated by Thon-mi, cf. his **gTer-'byung chen-mo** (KHA) 53.5-6 (= 27a5-6). The reference in this unusual gloss by Ratna gling-pa seems to be untraced in the list of twenty-one **sūtra**-s and **tantra**-s [= *dhāraṇī*-s] commonly attributed to the Avalokiteśvara-cult and listed in **Lo-rgyus chen-mo** (**MNKB** E (A), Chap. XXXV), of which a number allegedly was translated by Thon-mi, cf. note 490. Beyond that, the only clue to this enigmatic statement is the popular Tibetan Indian-inspired drama-play gZugs kyi snye-ma/nyi-ma (*Rūpamañjarī/sūrya), cf. e.g. Bacot, 1957. The identity of this tale and drama-play's Indian *Vorlage* (if it not just a question of simple inspiration, setting the tale in

particular of the above Hanūmān are to be sought in Nepal. That these walls were the works of the Newari craftsmen active during the construction of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang should be considered a fact. As already indicated by Vitali and substantiated by the literary sources employed here, the overall concept of and model for the construction of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang was Newari-Nepalese in origin. (Cf. notes 829 and 831 *supra*). The crucial question is: When were these murals executed? Here we shall opt that these (now deplorably lost) wall-paintings with the motifs *lde'u*, *sgrung* and *bon* pertain to the earliest stratum of frescoes installed in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang. The most significant discovery in this respect would then be that the myth anent the origin of the Tibetan race (cf. note 329 *supra*) from the union of a monkey (foremost inspired by the Hanūmān gestalt) and a rock-demoness possibly already had its roots in the seventh century. Another question is then when and how the ape-gestalt as motif was transfigured into the Avalokita-cult. This is hinged upon the overall question when this divinity came to be regarded as the national tutelary guardian of Tibet. This most likely already took shape in the later part of the dynastic period, as discussed in the introduction to this book, albeit first universally established at the inception of the *phyi-dar* period.

As the sources confirm, during the time of Srong-btsan sgam-po these topics or literary forms were the chosen means to educate and teach the common people (*skye bo kun, bod 'bangs*).[3] The parallel passages in **MṆKB** above do not refer to the wall-paintings, but state that the teachings of these topics were intended for the sake of ordinary people and sick persons. Here clearly, these literary components are depicted to be 'inferior' to the Buddhist teaching, and the Buddhist redactors of **MṆKB** even conclude that all Bon teachings (later?) were converted? to Dharma (*bon ṭhams cad chos la btsud*).

This Buddhist interpretative veneer of the usability of the murals and frescoes (i.e. the allusion to *āgama* and *yuktidharma*), as indicated above, may well be of

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an Indian cultural ambience, as often is the case in Tibetan *Erzählgut*), its relative age and dissemination in Tibet are still relatively unknown, not to talk about its relation to the king's Vita. If an early, now lost, translation by Thon-mi of this tale or an early reminiscence of the tale could be documented, it would indirectly corroborate the age of these murals. It should be recalled that Nyang-ral, **CHBYMTNYP** 184b5-185a2 chronicles that Thon-mi, aside from the usual bulk of smaller **sūtra**-s pertaining mainly to the Avalokita-cult, also translated many *lha chos dang mi chos kyi gdams pa*.

3 A note should here be given to the twenty-chaptered collection or cycle of Indian-inspired Tibetan stories and tales conserved in the *Bu-chos* section of **bKa'-gdams glegs-bam** and entitled **Be'u-bum sngon-po** compiled by Dol-pa dMar-zhur-pa Rog Shes-rab rgya-mtsho (1059-1131 A.D.). It enjoys great popularity in the bKa'-gdams-pa school of Atiśa and was not infrequently commented upon. Although this collection, which mainly consisted of non-religious tales and edifying parables, was embedded into the bKa'-gdams-pa literature no doubt while some of the stories also served as a sort of *jātaka* in the biographical narrative of 'Brom-ston (1004-1064 A.D.), the cycle itself shows no direct thematic affiliation with the topical triad (*bon lde'u sgrung*) illustrated on the pillars in Jo-khang. It does allow us to assume that *sgrung* as literary genre was prevalent in the milieu from which the Vita-compiler(s) emerged and that we cannot exlude that some of the murals depicting these partly Indian, partly autochthonous tales and fables were actually executed in the XIth and XIIth century during restoration-work using extant *be'u-bum* modelbooks as *Vorlage*. Cf. also note 892. In fact, this already took place during the reign of Ral-pa-can, where the king had *be'u-bum*-based murals in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang executed and restored. Cf. note 1448.

a significantly later origin, say first added by the group of people around Atiśa in the XIth century when the text was 'found', but the very wall-paintings themselves (in some basic form at least) with these topics, being so massively referred to in the above sources, must be brought further back in time. These *sgrung*, *lde'u* and *bon*-illustrative murals etc. therefore most probably must be regarded to pertain to the earliest stratum of the structure of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang.

Appendix Chapter XVI

920 Now, in the **Li-yul chos kyi lo-rgyus** (*loc. cit.*, pp. 84-85 (49-62)),[1] there is a reference to a Tibetan king devoted to Buddhism and while the Saddharma was described to have been annihilated in Li-yul, Khotanese monks set out for Tibet where they are supported by Kong-jo, the queen of the Tibetan king. As we had occasion to discuss elsewhere (cf. note 831 *supra* + Appendix), this king and queen may in fact refer to king Khri-lde gtsug-btsan (rl. 712-754 A.D.) and his Chinese queen Gyim-sheng Kong-jo (cf. however Appendix, note 1137), who we know from other sources actively supported Khotanese monks in Tibet (cf. also Vitali, 1990, for the early contact between Tibet and Khotan). Nevertheless, the present Li-yul story being linked up with king Srong-btsan sgam-po as the embodiment of Avalokiteśvara, is employed by the above Vita-mythographers as well as by all subsequent historians in Tibet from the XIth cent. and onwards (such as Bu-ston, ref. above) as an argument (and as such, incidentally, the reason why the story is attached to the Vita-passages discussing king Srong-btsan sgam-po's divine origin, cf. note 866 *supra*), or a proof (obviously the oldest 'historical' or most authoritative testimony existing according to the Tibetans) why Srong-btsan sgam-po should be regarded as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara. The problem is only that in the **Li-yul chos kyi lo-rgyus** there is no information conducive to identifying the king with Srong-btsan sgam-po. If we thus can assume some sort of equation between the non-extant **Li-yul lung-bstan chen-mo** (allegedly embodying or hinting at the narrative of the Li-yul monks) and **Li-yul chos kyi lo-rgyus** (containg the above brief non-specific data), an equation which is far from certain, then it means that the entire Tibetan tradition has been mistaken in using the *ex eventu* prophecies embodied in these Li-yul-narratives to identify the king with Srong-btsan sgam-po and thereby with Avalokiteśvara. Until new data or the **Li-yul lung-bstan chen-mo** itself one day surface and thus substantiate the claim that Srong-btsan sgam-po was considered an embodiment of Avalokiteśvara, we must adduce that this ascription in the main is a post-dynastic apologetic fabrication, at least in its most elaborate fashion as evidenced in the bulky Vita-cycles dealt with in the present work. Cf. the Introduction.

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1 The same story, more detailed, also found in the **Li-yul gyi dGra-bcom-bas lung-bstan-pa** conserved in the bsTan-'gyur, cf. Uray, *Old Tibetan Sources*, pp. 288-289 and foremost the valuable reflections in Vitali, 1990, pp. 6-11.

Appendix Chapter XVII

961 Another title for the text, as it can be adduced from the source itself, is **dGongs-pa Gab-pa mngon-phyung**, i.e. 'Revelation of the Hidden [Nature] of the Intent [of the Buddha/the King]'. It is usually embodied in **MNKB** WAM (G).[1]

The initial part of the section **[Ma-'ongs] Gab-pa mngon-phyung** or 'The Revelation of the Hidden [for] the Future' (WAM (G) 11a5-47a6) is denoted *Gyur-shog smon-lam* (**MNKB** WAM (G) 11a5-12a3, repeated by **HBCHBY** (JA) 49a3-7) or 'The Prayers for the Fulfillment' i.e. that the king's writings will be beneficial for the sentient beings of [Tibet] in the future after [they] had been concealed in precious troves.[2] After this introduction follows the actual **Gab-pa mngon-phyung** which is faithfully retained in **GLR** here.

The religious content expounded in this cycle, as with other parts in this text tradition, displays a rich syncretic license in its choice of doctrinal and philosophical standpoints.[3]

In particular, in this section the doctrine of the fourfold division: view, meditation, action and fruit[ion] (*lta sgom spyod 'bras bzhi*) is promulgated. But also the well-known Trikāya-system is found as well as the [Chinese] doctrine and the quietistic ideal of non-activity (*byar med = bya bar med*, Ch. *wu-wei*), a principle centered around the theory of non-conceptualization (*rnam par mi rtog pa, avikalpa*).[4] The literary diction and the religious garb in which the present exposition is clothed shall point to its ultimate denominational origin. Here we find expressions and idioms for the Ultimate Nature (of mind) employed such as awareness and cognition (*rig pa, shes pa*) being *rang rig* and *rang shes*, and the conceptualization [of mind] being [ultimately] *rang grol*,[5] etc., all variant expressions for the primordial pure and unaffected state of mind. The entire section of **Gab-pa mngon-phyung**, as well as other sections of the **MNKB** WAM, are brimming with a language and diction that carry the unmistakable imprint of the

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1 It is defined as a *zhal gdams* and a *man ngag*, cf. **MNKB** E dKar-chag, 10a3, 11b1 and the Vth Dalai Lama's **gSan-yig**, III 150.3 (= 75b3), hence its incorporation in the section F of **MNKB**, of which section G merely is a subsection.

2 I. e. *bka' chos rnams rin po che'i gter du bzhugs nas ma 'ongs pa'i 'gro ba la phan par gyur shog gi smon lam btab pa.*

3 Cf. also briefly Kapstein, 1992, pp. 90-91.

4 The theory and doctrine of non-action is a key thesis in the rDzogs-chen tradition, which itself is called the 'vehicle of non-activity' (*bya ba med pa'i theg pa*). Cf. most conveniently, Karmay, 1988, pp. 115-116. O-rgyan gling-pa's **KTHDNG** (CA), Chap. XI, XII and XIII, has similarly conserved an exposition of crucial rDzogs-chen themes. These sections display in diction and doctrine a close correspondence to the present **Gab-pa mngon-phyug** section.

5 Illustrative of the rDzogs-chen anchorage are expressions such as *gcer mthong*, i.e. (the ultimate nature of mind) being 'seen/manifested nakedly', but also stray idioms such as *ji bzhin pa, rang sar dag, rang brdol* etc. which all carry *specific* connotations within this school's nomenclatura reflecting variously the ultimate ontological and cognitive status of Reality. The **Gab-pa mngon-phyung** cycle deserves to be subjected to a separate study to assess its position in relation to other writings from this school.

rNying-ma and the rDzogs-chen/Cig-car-pa tradition. The title **Gab-pa mngon-phyung** also points to the latter tradition.[6] Its language is occasionally quite archaic and unfeigned and would suggest not only a relative antiquity, but it would also point to the uninterpolated state of the text-segment. In fact, one may well consider the present exposition a unique piece of original rDzogs-chen literature which was doubtlessly embedded into the **MṆKB** Vita-cycle by the gTer-ston-s responsible for its compilation. Speculations about its inclusion into **MṆKB** suggest that it was probably considered helpful in tinging the rDzogs-chen doctrine and tradition with an added touch of authenticity and repute by being directly associating with the celebrated founder of Buddhism in Tibet.

It is otherwise conjectural to speculate about the origin of **Gab-pa mngon-phyung**. It was allegedly traced or extracted by rJe-btsun Shākya bzang-po and then handed over to lHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum (cf. note 1041). For these figures we have no certain dates, aside from the fact that they flourished in the XIIth century. As recorded by dPa'-bo and gZhon-nu-dpal (cf. note 1023 below), dGe-ba 'bum must have been a contemporary of the mad ascetic Zhig-po bDud-rtsi, a key figure in the dissemination of rDzogs-chen precepts in Tibet and a personal disciple of Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer. We can observe that the **Gab-pa mngon-phyung**, along with precepts, an exposition on its meditative procedure (*man ngag sgom sdebs su bshad pa*) are chronicled to have been conferred upon rTa-ston Jo-yes (1163-1230 A.D.) by Zhig-po bDud-rtsi (1149-1199 A.D.), between the years 1190-1199 A.D. Zhig-po bDud-rtsi, on his side, had listened to and received teaching from this text, along with other rDzogs-chen precepts, from dBus-pa sTon-shāk (? - 1164-65), when he was sixteen years of age in 1164-65 A.D.[7] A good guess therefore is that the text was recovered (i.e. was composed or compiled?) no later than 1150-60 A.D., but conceivably before. At this point it cannot be far from the period when it was included into **MṆKB**.

The present chapter finally contains, as a second part, the legendary narrative anent the 'ritual apotheosis' or the secret departure of the king and his two principal consorts by being united or absorbed into the heart of the king's self-originated *iṣṭadevatā*, the autogenous Eleven-headed Ekādaśamukha (cf. note 801). Being the king's last act, it is usually also closing the Vita of the king, and although it should properly have be appended the biographical part of the Vita-cycle (i.e. E (Ca) and (Cd) of **MṆKB**, it has been treated as a sort of appendix to this cycle.[8]

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6 Cf. e.g. **bSam-gtan mig-sgron**: ...*rgyal ba'i dgongs pa mngon du phyung ba*... (*op. cit.* Karmay, 1988, p. 112).

7 Cf. **DTHNGP** (I, 165.17-166.12, 170.13-180.1, 180.13-188.10, Roerich, pp. 129-30, 133-141, 142-148); cf. also **HBCHBY** (JA) 148b6-149a1.

Is is tempting albeit not conclusive to identify dBus-ston or dBus-pa sTon-pa Shākya with rJe-btsun Shākya bzang-po/'od, the original founder of the cycle in Jo-khang. The former was a personal disciple of Zhang-ston bKra-shis rdo-rje (1097-1167 A.D.), famed foremost for his recovery of the *Bi-ma sNying-thig*, also known as the *gSang-ba sNying-thig* cycle in 1117 A.D. Cf. however Intro., note 39 above.

8 Cf. **MṆKB** E dKar-chag, 10a3-4.

1023 The following text-segment, which with good reason may boast to originate from the same religious milieu as the preceding **Gab-pa mngon-phyung** cycle,[9] contains an original, arguably very old (judged from topos and diction employed) narrative which offers a somewhat cryptic and symbolic description as to how lHa-sa (here 'Phrul-snang) is seen or depicted to undergo different topographical and physical changes. The key in this description is water, the element which has always been considered - real or imaginary - to be the foremost foe threatening to destroy lHa-sa. We have already noted the paramount importance played by water in the erection of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang, cf. e.g. the notes 728, 790 *supra*. Confronted with diluvial threats of inundation and flooding from the gTsang-po river (making no distinction here between this main river and sKyid-chu while this tributary here should be considered an extention of gTsang-po), the lHa-sa site is here consecutively configured so as to *resemble* four aquatic animals. Suchlike minatory animalic analogies we have already witnessed in connection with the geomantic or topographical configuration of Tibet offered by Kong-jo in her divinatory probes (cf. esp. the notes 726, 770 *supra*), albeit there mainly restricted to demon-configured mountains. The importance of building embankments (*chu rags*) and barricades to protect lHa-sa from watery menaces should evidently be taken serious, as such constructions constituted an important part, aside from running restorations (*zhig gso*), in rendering service to Jo-khang, especially in the *phyi-dar* period.

dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 149b7ff. (esp. 150b5ff.) has retained a highly informative parallel description, doubtless originating from the same literary or epic milieu as the present piece and both possibly being culled from a common original source. It delineates the elemental threats facing respectively lHa-sa (water) and bSam-yas (fire). In the description relevant to the lHa-sa site, i.e. the *gtsug lag khang*, it is detailed how the Lhasa temple had been erected along the bank of the gTsang-po river, wherefore the people of posterity were urged to construct embankments. The water of this river (*gtsang chab*) is depicted to be the cause for the destruction (*'jig rkyen*) of the temple, where a number of fiendish-oriented Nāgarāja-s had taken up abode. By inviting and propitiating these hypogeal *genii loci*, by erecting Buddhist sanctuaries to affront them, by building different embankments, altering and damming up parts of the gTsang-po river-arms etc. the Nāgarāja-s would eventually be barred from causing any inundation. The lHa-sa site is here similarly characterized by undergoing an animal-configured development. The narrative conserved by dPa'-bo, which may be conceived as a sort of commentary to the versified *ex eventu*-prophecies or advices given by the king here in **GLR**, supplies us with detailed information on the physical alteration of each stage particular in relation to the gTsang-po river. The understanding of the laconic description in the present piece in **GLR** is greatly enhanced through the parallel narrative proffered by dPa'-bo.

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9 It is worth noting that all the XIIth century religious figures involved in the transmission of **Gab-pa mngon-phyung** without exception were simultaneously active in rendering grand-scale service to Jo-khang. This service involved in particular the building of dykes and water-barricades. For ref. cf. Appendix, note 952 (subnote 9), note 961 (subnote 7). Cf. also the Introduction, note 30. Even Atiśa is recorded to have provided the means for undertaking such a *punya*-rewarding task.

Attempting to identify the original source for these descriptions, dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 150a1 and the Vth Dalai Lama, **gSan-yig**, III, 150b4-5 (= 75b4-5), respectively cites and refers to a lHo-brag *mKho-thing gi gter ma* traced or extracted (*spyan drangs*), the Vth Dalai Lama adds, by one Bla-ma mNga'-bdag chen-po (= Nyi-ma 'od-zer?)[10] in this temple from a statue of Amitābha, the topic of which is a versified exposition delineating the condition and circumstances behind an envisaged threat and destruction of the lHa-sa and bSam-yas temples respectively (*lha sa bsam yas gnyis kyi 'jig rkyen*) and the means of its avertion (*bzlog thabs*) in connection with prophecies articulated by Padmasambhava. The apotropaic means to avoid these natural threats are, similar to the topographical-divinatory probe offered by Kong-jo in order to suppress the terrestrial foes of Tibet (cf. **GLR** Chap. XIV), the erection of various Buddhist emblems and sanctuaries.

As indicated above, the present description may well have originated or been composed in the XIIth century milieu of rDzogs-chen gTer-ston-s, while a number of them, as said, were very active erecting embarkments outside and restoring the statues inside the lHa-sa temples, in deference, incidentally, to the prophecies found in the cycles recovered by themselves. Beyond these notes given here, this interesting topic deserves a separate study.

1036 The **Yer-pa'i dkar-chag**, currently not accessible, appears at one point to have been part of **MṆKB**'s Instruction-cycle.[11] According to dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 106a3, 138b7-139a5, we are *inter alia* informed that this most important source was recovered by the XIIth century master Bla-ma Zangs-ri-ba, while he was engaged in the restoration of the Yer-pa site. Different versions are recorded to have existed, an earlier (*snga ma*) and a later (*phyi ma*). The content of the latter, in contrast, appears in part to deal with lHa-lung and his legacy (cf. note 1538). As to the former, which in content resembles the present versified prophetic narrative dealing with the king's instruction to his posterity, it has nothing to do with the short **MṆKB** *dkar chag* as purported by Kapstein, 1992, pp. 164-165.

1046 The issues relative to the dating of Srong-btsan sgam-po have always stimulated great controversies. One reason is that Tibetan sources generally are in discord (due, not infrequently, to simple carelessness in quotations and calculations) what concerns the dates and figures of their kings:

MṆKB E (Cd) 209a6-b1: Age eighty-four, he passed away on the twelfth day of the first spring month (no year indicated); WAṂ (G) 17a5-6: On the full-moon day of the first spring-month (no year), but 18b1-2: The king reached the age of

10 In the same temple in lHo-brag, bZhod-ston and Nyang-ral discovered other texts, cf. Blondeau, 1984, pp. 90-91, 106-107.

11 So according to an interlinear gloss in **MṆKB** E (dKar-chag) 10a4.

eighty-four, on the tenth day of the third month in the wood-female-tiger year, i.e. 654 A.D., which places his birth in 571 A.D. (*sic*); **KCHKKHM-2** 289.18-290.1: Age eighty-five, he passed away in the year wood-female-ox year, i.e. in 665 A.D., on the full-moon day in the first month of spring (which places his birth in 582 A.D. (*sic*); **KCHKKHM-3** 478.3: Age eighty-four and passed away in 'Phan-yul Za-mo-'or; **CHBYMTNYP** 290a3-5: Age eighty-four and he passed away in Za-mo-ra of Li-yul (*sic*, not 'Phan-yul) and in Ra-sa'i gtsug-lag-khang (i.e. his two 'ways' of passing away); **MBNTH** 81a5: Age eighty-four, he passed away in 'Phan-yul Za-mo-dar (no date); **BGR** 198a3-4 and **NGTMTPH** 5b5 (Uebach, pp. 76-77): Born in a fire-ox year (557/617 A.D.), he ruled for sixty-nine years, attained the age of eighty-two (i.e. thus died 638/698 A.D.) and passed away in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang *and* 'Phan-yul Zal-mo sgang; **DCHBY** 117.20-118.1: He ruled for sixty-nine years, attained the age of eighty-four and passed away in 'Phan-yul Zab-mo'i tshal; **DTHMP** 17a4: Age eighty-two he passed away in an earth-female-bird year, which corresponds with 649 A.D. and places his birth in 568 A.D., a calculation fitting neatly with **GLR** above and in part obviously also taken from **rGya'i deb-ther**; **GBYTSH** 121a1-2: Age eighty-two he passed away in a earth-male-dog year, i.e. 557/617-638/698 A.D.; so also **HBCHBY** (JA) 53b7-54a1 and **DTHZHG** 46.16, following **BGR** and Nel-pa above. Kah-thog, **DSYML** 57.5-59.3 discusses at greater length the king's dates and, combining data from **BGR** and **GLR** obviously, he opts for 557-650 A.D., but is then compelled to maintain that the king reached the age of ninety-four.

As demonstrated most recently by Uebach, *op. cit.* pp. 29-30, the chronological data culled from the Dunhuang *Annals* and Chinese sources and the data embedded in later Tibetan historiographical material rarely dovetail.

The only trustworthy(?) anchorage concerning his birth appears to be that he was born in an ox year and that he received the reins of power aged thirteen. His death poses no problem. He died in 649 A.D. (cf. most recently and appositely, Yamaguchi, 1984, pp. 410-412). The majority of modern researchers tend to place the king's birth in 617 A.D., wherefore he reached majority in 629 to take over power. He married (according to later tradition five/six consorts), notably the Chinese princess in 641 A.D., cf. the 821/822 A.D. Treaty Inscription (East Face l. 21-25);[12] it will be noted that Srong-btsan sgam-po is called *myes* = *mes po*, grandfather (or 'old father') upon his death in 649-650 A.D. according to the Dunhuang *Annals*).[13]

Now, in an attempt to encircle his dates, a number of unknown quantities still cause frustration. We do not know when his father gNam-ri srong-btsan (i.e. gNam-ri slon-brtsan) passed away, and hence when his son ascended the throne.

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12 It is to be assumed that she was intended for his son Gung-srong gung-btsan, rl. 641-646 A.D., or that this marriage coincided with Srong-btsan sgam-po's retirement from the throne in favour of his son, after whose death the old king resumed, for a second term, the throne.

13 Although this is not conclusive, while *mes* as a supplementary epithet for this king is found recorded, cf. **GBCHBY** 302.1. Here it clearly means ancestor and not grandfather. This may also be the case with the entry in the Dunhuang *Annals*, which may have been finally compiled in the IXth or Xth century, at which point Srong-btsan sgam-po acknowledgedly could have been regarded as true ancestor of the dynasty.

Nor do we know exactly the age reached by Srong-btsan sgam-po. The ox year opens up for 557, 569, 581, 593, 605 and even 617 A.D. Opting for 617 A.D. would in my eyes render his putative status as grandfather and his death in 649 A.D. at an age of thirty-two most unlikely, not to speak of his far-reaching fame as a grand ruler and statesman, having by then under his sway most of Central Asia. Admitting even a certain measure of precocity, given the notorious idealization of juvenescence and martial vigourousness in the tribal warrior-state of Tibet, the span of time required for this appears too narrow. This favours the years 593 and 605 A.D. for alternative birth years, which appear more in conformity with recent studies.[14] One point, which in my eyes has been given too little weight, is the almost unanimous voice in Tibetan historiography that he became an octogenarian before he passed away. This, to be true, could equally well be a post-dynastic fabrication construed in order to assign to the king, himself regarded as a Buddha, an age similar to the historic Buddha. Maugre the fact that the data chronicled in later Tibetan literature generally should be taken *cum grano salis* and a high age in early war-infested and plague-ridden Tibet possibly may sound anything else than credible, the information, tenaciously recorded already in the earliest post-dynastic sources, may nevertheless reflect historical facts. It would leave enough room for the king to reach most of the grand-scaled objectives ascribed to him, rightly or wrongly, by posterity. As a viable hypothesis we shall therefore suggest 569-649 A.D. This is also undergirded by **DTHNGP** (I, 78.15-17, Roerich, p. 53).

14 Cf. Beckwith, 1987, pp. 11-20, where it is suggested, supported by some vague Chinese references and initial contacts between the two countries, that gNam-ri srong-btsan died in 617-618 A.D. upon which the son mounted the throne. Yamaguchi, 1984, p. 415, suggests 581-649 A.D., accepting the information, altogether not infeasible, proffered by some sources that the king reached the age of sixty-nine.

Appendix Chapter XVIII

1094 The alleged Chinese military invasion of Lhasa in order to abduct or forcibly take back the Jo-bo Shākya idol initially brought to Tibet by the Chinese consort is bereft of any foundation as already shown by Richardson, 1971(b), "The Growth of a Legend", where Richardson has attempted to unravel the legend. As is often the case, the picture of the legend's transmission is more complex, also more than the one proposed by Richardson. In the light of new sources which have surfaced in recent years, partly inaccessible at the time of Richardson's writing, the picture can now be revised accordingly, avoiding, hopefully, merely to proffer a réchauffé of previous research.

One text which Richardson might have consulted and which may serve as a meaningful *point d'appui* for (at least a part of) the genesis of this legend is **MṆKB**. It must be recalled what Richardson, *op. cit.* p. 174, noticed and what very likely constitutes the underlying motive, no doubt, for introducing this 'story' (also as a narrative element in the Vita-cycle of Srong-btsan sgam-po, albeit only briefly). Clearly a need was at hand at some early point in the *phyi-dar* period after the resurgence of Buddhism, to provide an explanation as to why the two statues had changed place of site.[1]

In **KCHKKHM** and **MṆKB**, the earliest *literary* testimony of this shift, this event is anticipated by making the Chinese Kong-jo tersely prophesy that at some point[2] a Chinese army would emerge in Tibet, wherefore in beforehand the two statues should change site. [Her own] Jo-bo Shākya-muni's [future] hiding-place [in a door in Jo-khang] should be covered with bricks. No king, period or further specific episode are attached to this terse proclamation by Kong-jo conserved in **MṆKB**, which in this Vita is delivered by her as a part of her testamentary prophetical manifesto (*bka' chems*; cf. the notes 1060 and 1069 *supra*) prior to her ritual absorption into the self-originated Eleven-headed tutelary image (cf. note 1065).[3] More important is perhaps the witness in the cognate and even older **KCHKKHM-2** where the background is further elucidated. In Kong-jo's testamentary advice to the Tibetan people, she orders the leading ministers (sNa-chen, Thon-mi, mGar and their descendants) to carry through the change of site, while she predicts that later a Chinese army would occur which may threaten to

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1 It shall only lead to further speculation to attempt to explain *why*, or *if* at all, the images actually did exchange site in the first place. Without sufficient proof that the Nepalese consort actually was a historic figure, which, however, now has become a fair possibility in the light of the considerable and undeniable Nepalese/Newari presence and influence during the early phase of Srong-btsan sgam-po's empire-building and foremost tangible in the sphere of architecture, culture and religion (cf. e.g. Chap. XIV and XV *supra*), it thus remains pure conjecture to try to guess the background for this transfer.

2 *sang nang par lan cig*, here = once upon a time.

3 Thus, it appears, the story was either fostered in the milieu around the Srong-btsan sgam-po Vita-compilers or, at least, an oral narrative anent this historcal episode was adopted by them and thereby connected with the Vita of Srong-btsan sgam-po.

take away her image by force.[4]

This set of versions probably constituted the narrative backcloth for the Tibetan historians. These have not only attempted to read the above information and story into a historical setting, but in particular supplied the story with some narrative embellishments and accretions as already shown by Richardson. Where Bu-ston, **CHBY** 139a3-4 (Szerb, pp. 14-15) rather neutrally repeats the information offered by the above Vita-versions, already Kun-dga' rdo-rje, some twenty or thirty years later, (**DTHMP** 9a5-6), and presumably by employing the Tibetan translation of the Tibetan section of Tangshu,[5] had attempted to identify the date and episode by stating that it refers to a Chinese invasion of Lhasa in an iron-male-horse year which can only correspond to 670 A.D., mentioned in this no more extant source. True enough, in this year a Chinese army launched a campaign against Tibet[6] in response to earlier Tibetan offensives against Chinese-held territories in the western Tarim Basin. The Chinese offensive, under General Xie Rengui,[7] was roundly defeated by the Tibetan General mGar Khri-'bring and thus never reached Lhasa. The alleged capture of Lhasa by the Chinese army has evidently been based upon the misconception, first introduced in the **rGya'i deb-ther,** that because the Chinese army operated along the Luo-suo (i.e. Ra-sa, Lhasa)

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4 A detailed account is given as to how the Jo-bo Shākya first was carried around in different directions of Lhasa. Before it reached Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and was installed (*glo 'bur*-wise) in the door-frame in a chapel (northern or southern, the texts disagree) on the ground-floor with a painted image of Mañjughoṣa covering the plastered door, the statue was brought from Ra-mo-che *via* either the rock of Phag-sna-gdong (cf. note 708 *supra* and note 15 further below) being carried along by water *or* carried on a waggon pulled by human beings. On its way, some of the versions tell, it stranded for a while in the lake of Klu-phug in Lhasa remaining knee-high in the water before it continued its short journey to Ra-sa. Aside from offering the above details, **KCHKKHM-3**, **CHBYMTNYP** and **MBNTH** (so also in part in **GLR**), drawing upon a common source, add that the reason for the invasion was the rumours that had reached the ears of the Chinese informing them that the Tibetan king was dead, the *dbon sras* (i.e. Mang-srong mang-btsan) was tender in age and that Kong-jo too had passed away. Herewith, for the first time, is the period for the alleged invasion also indicated. **MBNTH** has an unusual outgrowth of the story, telling that the Chinese invading troops (no king named) entered Lhasa as travelling merchants, attacked and destroyed the mKhar-rtse *pho-brang* of dMar-po-ri (and this also accounts for the enigmatic *khri rtse* (Richardson, p. 176) in later accounts of the episode, which is the seat (*khri*) of mKhar-rtse, the king's summit citadel and *pho brang* on dMar-po-ri, cf. note 604). Visiting Ra-mo-che, the merchant-garbed soldiers could not find the Jo-bo and doubting that the one exhibited (i.e. Jo-bo Mi-bskyod rdo-rje?) was the authentic one, they asked an old Chinese who confirmed that the one exhibited was lacking some *nimitta* and *lakṣaṇa*s, wherefore they left it behind (cf. also Vitali, 1990, p. 86, n. 71). Cf. further below for a possible confusion with other narrative segments of this story.

5 **rGya'i deb-ther**, cf. notes 133 and 135 *supra* and note 1458.

So also by Bla-ma dam-pa in **GLR**, cf. note 1468. As shown in the above notes, Kun-dga' rdo-rje was apparently the first to employ this translation of the Tibetan part of **Tangshu** dating, most convincingly, from 1325 A.D.

6 Cf. Richardson, 1971(b), pp. 172-73; Bushell, 1887, p. 448; Pelliot, 1961, pp. 7, 86; and in particular Beckwith, 1987, pp. 33-36.

7 **DTHMP**: Sye bZhin-gu; **GBYTSH**: dPya bZhin-gu'i.

He was Great Protecting General of the Right and he was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Ra-sa *dao* (i.e. the Road to Lhasa) Expeditionary Army.

Route (*dao*), it actually also got there.[8] The author of **GLR** too, again some twenty years later (cf. the notes 1178-1179 and subnote 16 below), via **DTHMP** and **rGya'i deb-ther**, has evidently pursued the same line of argumentation and now adds that this Chinese ghost-army burnt down the Potala (= the king's palace mKhar-rtse, cf. note 4 above) and, as something new, that they as booty tried to take away the Jo-bo Mi-bskyod rdo-rje instead, but that they only managed to carry it the distance of a morning's march. From this point in the transmission of the narrative in Tibetan historical sources, the story acquires even more picturesque proportions,[9] where, partly inspired by already circulating versions, partly, we must assume, by oral legends or otherwise unknown literary sources, an incredulous story was circulated about the creation of a defensive Tibetan phantom or epiphany-army being issued from the image of Khro-rgyal rMe-brtsegs.[10]

In **BZH** (Stein ed. 3.7-13, Chin. ed. 3.19-4.4),[11] *inter alia*, the story continues after the arrival of the second Chinese consort in 710 A.D. The narrative goes that she wanted to pay her respect to her aunt's Jo-bo idol which appeared to be lacking in her Ra-mo-che temple. She traced the idol to a southern protuding wall-section being hidden by a door in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang. After its recovery, she instituted an 'offering for beholding its countenance' (*zhal mthong gi mchod pa*).

What again moves this story of the alleged swapping of site of the Jo-bo idols, a story, doubtlessly, which has seen the busy hands of post-dynastic Buddhist redactors, into further obscurity and, on the other hand, into the sphere of some credibility are the additional narrative segments surrounding the continuous fortunes of the golden Jo-bo Shākya-muni idol. An interesting and repeated testimony in **BZH**[12] adduces that in the wake of the oppression of a (pro-Buddhist?) revolt against ruling Bon court circles, which arguably culminated with the death of king Mes Ag-tshom(s) in 754 A.D., the Jo-bo Shākya-muni was to be brought from Ra-mo-che[13] and be taken back to India (*rgya yul*) again, while this

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8 Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

9 Cf. dPa'-bo's **HBCHBY** (JA) 70a2-5, followed by Vth Dalai Lama, **TSLKHKCH** 8a2 and 17b1-2, see further Richardson. However, Bla-ma dam-pa has also retained this legend about the Mi-bskyod rdo-rje idol, cf. the notes 1178 and 1468.

10 Cf. Richardson, pp. 170-71. For this statue, cf. note 881 *supra*.

11 Also briefly retained **MBNTH** 84a6-b4; **CHBY** 139b1 (Szerb, p. 17-18), followed by dPa'-bo, **HBCHBY** (JA) 71b6, 72b4-6; the Vth Dalai Lama, **DTHZHG** 50.21-51.2, **TSLKHKCH** 11a4-5, 17b1-2. Cf. note 1147 *infra*.

There may be only little reason to doubt the historicity of this single incident, only, again, it sparks the interesting question why actually the image was hidden and concealed in the first place, when not for fear of e.g. an invasion or the threat of anti-Buddhist vandalism.

12 (Stein ed. 8.3 and 28.9-10, Chin. ed. 8.20 and 35.12-13). Paralleled by **CHBYMTNYP** 294a2; **MBNTH** 87b6-88b3, 92b5-6, 100a4-5; **CHBY** 139b3-5; **HBCHBY** (JA) 75a5, 75b2-76a2, 79a3-4; **DTHZHG** 54.4-5.

13 Here we are confronted with an anachronism or puzzling testimony further. According to all previous narrative segments of this story delineated above, cf. in particular note 11 *supra*, the Jo-bo Shākya-muni idol was by now installed in Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang (cf. note 1147) which was to become its future shelter (accounting for its later renaming to Jo-khang, 'the house of the Lord' i.e. Jo-bo Shākya-muni). In the present narrative version (cf. e.g. **BZH** (Chin. ed. 8.22-23 and 35.11-12); **CHBYMTNYP** 294a2; **YLJBCHBY** 60.2-9; **HBCHBY** (JA) 90a6), obviously describing the

idol was an Indian idol (*rgya'i lha*).[14] The story continues with the attempt to transport the heavy idol, first an abortive attempt with one horse, then by three hundred men, then by one thousand men. They were finally able to push it in front of mKhar-brag-gdong.[15] Unable to lift it further, it was dug or got stuck into the sandy plain. While Lhasa, from a Buddhist point of view, allegedly was turned into a slaughter-house (*bsha' ra*) due to anti-Buddhist activities, an old Chinese was appointed *dkon gnyer* of the statue. Eventually, this old Chinese *hva shang* proceeded to the border between China and Tibet where he proclaimed that he had left one of his shoes (*mchid* = *mchil lham*) behind, at some point along his morning's march the day before (*kha sang gi dro lam*).[16] This shoe, **BZH** tells us,

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activities covering approx. the years from 754-756 A.D., the statue is apparently still installed in Ra-mo-che and after a detour in Mang-yul during the anti-Buddhist wave, it was again installed in Ra-mo-che (**YLJBCHBY**: *gtsang khang dbus ma* in Ra-sa). Are we to assume that it had been brought back to Ra-mo-che again in the meantime by the Chinese Kong-jo after she found it hidden away in Jo-khang? - if the story is true at all, this is not unimaginable, since a Chinese dowry-idol obviously belongs to a Chinese-founded temple and the mention that it was removed to *gtsang khang dbus ma* (cf. *ad* note 1147) may altogether be a later Buddhist reconstruction. As seen above, according to the above testimony in **BZH**, the idol is in fact in Ra-mo-che after Kim-sheng Kong-jo had passed away in 739 A.D. Aside from this inconsistency, which we may ascribe to the general inextricably concocted state of our sources or to the not infrequent dearth of historical sense that prevails among Tibetan historians, this part of the narrative seems to carry some trustworthy elements.

14 Cf. **GLR** Chap. II, Sect. 1 and 3, notes 84-101, 121-132 *supra*. The statue was manufactured by Viśvakarman. The idol passed from India to China and eventually to Tibet, cf. **GLR** Chap. III, notes 134-155 and Chap. XIII, *passim*. One would tentatively assume here that the destination is China, because of the activity of the Chinese *hva shang* involved here in this part of the narrative. But in fact what is meant is India as directly alluded to in **GLR** itself cf. *ad* note 1173ff., 1185 and e.g. **BZH** (Stein ed. 8.3-6, Chin. ed. 9.20-10.1), because the idol was in fact *originally* an Indian fabrication. As declared in the sources (cf. previous note), the statue was hidden in Mang-yul during the anti-Buddhist tumult and vandalism allegedly set in scene by the Bon-adherents under the *khrims bu chung* enacted by them. It is maintained that during Khri-srong lde-btsan's years of minority, the statue was brought to the Valley of Mang-yul. Reaching full age and Buddhism having been restored again, it was brought from Mang-yul and installed in Ra-mo-che or in the Central Chapel of Ra-sa. Mang-yul is on the way to India.

15 mKhar-brag, cf. note 911, but better Phag-sna-gdong? cf. note 4 *supra*. But according to **GLR** itself, cf. note 1174-75 *infra*, mKhar-sna-gdong is the correct reading. Here we find a narrative segment analogous to the one found in the earliest version concerning the initial transport of the idol purportedly bringing it from Ra-mo-che to Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang and where it similarly first made a halt at the rock of Phag-sna-gdong in Lhasa. Here evidently the narrative segments have been confounded, probably beyond extrication.

16 We shall see that Bla-ma dam-pa, cf. note 1178, have retained a segment (also dPa'-bo, cf. note 9 above) concerning Jo-bo Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje which equally speaks about this statue being carried off by the Chinese army the distance of a morning's march (*snga dro gcig*), whereafter it was left on a plain called Ngo-ma (to the east of Lhasa) or Jo-bo 'O-rgyal thang. Only this part pertains to an earlier stratum of the legend's transmission being bound up with the (non-existing and legendary) capture of Lhasa by the Chinese army. The source, according to Bla-ma dam-pa, was **rGya'i deb-ther**. We may perhaps assume that somewhere in the reappraisal and assessments of these narrative fragments the two Jo-bo idols have been confounded.

was to mean that Buddhism at one point again would sparkle in Tibet.[17]

The last tumult befalling the idol during the dynastic period, it appears, is associated with an attempt of vandalism allegedly perpetrated by Bon-adherents during the reign of king Glang-dar-ma and his cohort, who are depicted in a last and abortive attempt to restore the indigenous Bon religion as the dominant religion in the country.[18]

After this brief *tour d'horizon*, it is evident that some narrative material have long circulated in Tibet dedicated the story or description of at least two spectacular removals of the statue(s). And the above brief overview may perhaps reflect what actually was the fate of the(se) statue(s). Only it is a hapless task to venture to verify historically whether one or both of these removals or concealments actually did take place. The lengthy narrative concerning the second removal of the Jo-bo statue from Lhasa to Mang-yul during the persecution of Buddhism as testified and recorded in **BZH**, a text in its core of considerable antiquity (IXth century) and usually accorded more than a modicum of credibility, does allow us to trust this episode as historically correct. Perhaps one concealment or removal later developed into two stories. It nevertheless appears that an

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17 **BZH** (Stein ed. 8.5-7, Chin. ed. 9.4-7). It is conspicuous, precisely in **BZH**, to find this narrative pattern with a Chinese monk and a boot left behind in this part dealing with an inner-Tibetan Bon-Buddhist contest and connected with the story about the Jo-bo idol. From the witness in **BZH** (cf. note 1186), the Bon-Buddhist dispute arguably could only take place in 759 A.D.

Nevertheless, this 'boot'-episode should be read as a metaphorical analogy to be met with again in the narrative tradition pertaining to the bSam-yas Debate (cf. note 1376), and where the Chinese representative *hva shang* Mahāyāna, after the alleged defeat to his Indian opponent Kamalaśīla during the Debate, is said to use this analogous dictum or prophecy in order to predict that his teachings shall remain behind in Tibet after the Indian Buddhist victory. Aside from a brief reference by Nyang-ral to this prophetic statement ascribed to the Chinese master, it is, as seen, also retained in **GLR** (and by dPa'-bo, who expressed some misgivings, cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 75b4-76a2). It is noteworthy that no other source, aside from dPa'-bo, mentions this first episode with the boot, albeit we must assume that it adheres to the core part of **BZH**.

18 **BZH** (Stein ed. 78.5-79.13, 79.16-81.5) = **CHBYMTNYP** 467b3-469b3 = **MBNTH** 140a6-141b1 (both briefer)) where it is related how the presence of the Jo-bo idol by the anti-Buddhist Glang-dar-ma is made responsible for the occurence of natural disasters etc. Cf. the notes 1512, 1514, 1555 for details. In an attempt, once more, to conceal Jo-bo Shākya-muni, it was initially brought hither and thither aimlessly. Later it was dug into the sand and a plastered door installed to hide or cover it. The Bon-adherents are reported to have smeared the door with (defaming) paintings of beer-drinking Buddhist monks (*btsun pa chang 'thung ba'i ri mo*). Cf. similarly Bu-ston's **CHBY** 145b4-5.

This description may clearly reflect a later Buddhist apologetic attempt to belittle and slander an old religious opponent. But there is, again, only little reason to doubt that in these violent clashes following in the wake of the prolonged Bon-Buddhist conflict that raged for the greater part of the dynastic period and which eventually led to its collapse, not only the precious Jo-bo idol, but also monasteries and sanctuaries fell victims of severe destructions or vandalism. Among the numerous temples destroyed immediately after their erection we may mention the mGrin-bzang and Kva-chu temples.

From a literary point of view these distinct narrative segments contain, not infrequently, similar themes or identical elements such as removing and hiding the statue and the door being plastered or being furnished with a brick-wall. This makes it virtually impossible to determine which story is the oldest or to what extent we are witness to cases of plagiarism.

underlying or more credible motive for hiding the Buddhist Jo-bo idol or, alternatively, for abducting the idol and forcibly bringing it back to China or into safety in China by some Chinese Buddhist pertaining to the Tibetan court, would far more be the fear for a fierce *non*-Buddhist threat that came from powerful Bon-circles rather than, as it turns out, from an attempt to ascribe this to a non-existing Chinese invasion. Internally the Buddhist-Bon conflict was just as seething as externally the Sino-Tibetan struggle vacillated between peace and hostility during the dynastic period. That an anti-Buddhist iconoclastic threat could have been the reason for its removal and concealment is far more likely. It is directly stated to be the case and it reflects moreover what most probably did take place, although it is not easy for us to penetrate through the later Buddhist apologetic veneer and recast of the material.

It should be recalled, as discussed *ad* note 1512, that the main target for Glang-dar-ma in his attempted foray for or recrudescence of the pre-Buddhist religion is recorded to have been the Jo-bo Shākya statue, which according to **BZH** to him represented an ominous symbol of Chinese lore and imperialism.[19] In this text the direct target thus appears to have been the Buddhist religion, whereas the indirect one was the Chinese presence. In the *phyi-dar* period, however, the story about the removal and concealment and the concomitant story about the forcible attempt to abduct the holy idol could easily, in some anti-Chinese vein (like the one imputed, rightly or wrongly, on Glang-dar-ma), have been dated back and recast into a non-Tibetan or foreign attempt of removing it, written by the Vita-mythographers and *gter-ston*-s of **MṆKB**, **KCHKKHM** etc., who on their side were not unknown for their conciliatory attitude towards the Bon tradition.

1137 The data proffered by the entire Tibetan historiographical tradition which contend that Kim-sheng Kong-jo was intended for a matrimonial alliance with lJang-tsha lHa-dBon, allegedly the oldest son of Mes Ag-tshom(s) (b. 704, *rl.* 712-754 A.D.), fit only too badly with the data derived from the *Annals*. When she arrived in 710 A.D., Mes Ag-tshoms was barely six years old and a son named lJang-tsha lha-dBon could thus not have been born. This has prompted Petech, 1967 (reprint 1988), 1988(b), reiterated by Beckwith 1983; Beckwith 1987, pp. 69-70, to suggest that she was originally intended for Mes Ag-tshom's elder (or step-)brother lHa Bal-p[h]o, who, despite being the legitimate, obvious successor claiming the status

19 This point has particularly been stressed by Karmay, 1988, pp. 4-6 also. Sinophobic sentiments in leading court circles, weary of enervating warfare with Tang China, may well have been a motivating factor for the anti-Buddhist retaliation launched by Glang-dar-ma, only the literary witness for this assumption is not unproblematic. True, Glang-dar-ma has by later Buddhist historiography perhaps undeservedly been painted in too dark colours as an unmitigated anti-Buddhist. Now, it should be remembered that this part of **BZH** did not pertain to the core-part of this old document, which closes with the passing of Khri-srong lde-btsan at Zung-[m]k[h]ar (cf. note 1380). The appended or annotated part of **BZH** (conserved in Stein ed.), which relates about the fortunes of the remaining members of the royal gallery from Mu-tig btsan-po until the Gu-ge kings and the arrival of Atiśa, was consequently first compiled in the middle of the XIth century. By then history could easily have been rewritten into imputing an anti-Chinese attitude to him.

of primogeniture, lost the battle by being forced(?) to abdict from the throne after only one year of rule during the dramatic court-intrigues in 705 A.D.

The points under discussion here have already been dealt with competently by the above scholars and the following can only be a little more than a réchauffé, yet new material may now cement already suggested conclusions further.

Before introducing these new moments, it is worthwhile to recapitulate the contradictory or incompatible data at our disposal:

The entry for the year 705 A.D. in the *Annals* chronicles that the *btsan po gcen* lHa Bal-pho was deposed from the throne and

the entries for the years 739 and 741 A.D. record the death and funeral ceremonies of both *btsan po sras* lHas-Bon and *btsan mo* Kim-sheng Kong-co.

The nub of the entire matter is whether lHa Bal-pho and lHa-[d/s]Bon should be considered as one person or not. As we shall see, no conclusive position can be reached on this point, but **DCHBY** 120.20-21 now offers interesting news on this nebulous throne-loser lHa Bal-p[h]o. It is said that Mes Ag-tshoms' elder brother Pa-tshab-tsha lHa Bal-po (which thus means that lHa Bal-p[h]o was the son of a consort of his father 'Dus-srong Mang-po-rje being of Pa-tshab extraction (*tsha*), i.e. descending from the Pa-tshab clan) and his younger brothers Lod-po and Lod-chung, the two, three (in all) were deposed (or passed over) (*rgyal po 'di'i gcen po pa tshab tsha lHa bal po dang gcung lod po lod chung gnyis te gsum thang mtshams su phab bo*). lDe'u Jo-sras, *op. cit.* 120.21-121.2 then continues with the story that the eldest son of the king (of 'Dus-srong? or of Mes Ag-tshoms) lJang-tsha lHa-dBon passed away prior to the arrival of Kim-shing Kong-jo.[20]

Equally significant is the brief entry in the cognate **GBCHBY** 300.10-11, where mKhas-pa lDe'u quotes the same fragmented entry as lDe'u Jo-sras, with the very important variant that he here reads 'Jang-tsha lHa-dBon instead of lHa Bal-po and thus not only corroborates our reading of **DCHBY** above but conduces to equate lHa Bal-pho and lHa-[d]Bon. mKhas-pa lDe'u chronicles that lJang-tsha lHa-dBon (temporarily?) retired (*thang mtshams su phab*) (was deposed), *while he did not come to power* (*rgyal sa ma zin te*).[21] In a passage, *op. cit.* 300.4-9, immediately preceding the above terse statement, mKhas-pa lDe'u claims that after having consulted her divinatory mirror (of prognostication), Kong-jo realized that the *mo*-omens which prior to her journey to Tibet looked promising, now boded ill and that lJang-tsha lHa-dBon, who was said to be the son (of 'Dus-srong? or of Mes Ag-tshoms) and was to be her prospective groom, in fact proved to be obtuse

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20 The first impression to be drawn from lDe'u Jo-sras' account would be that lHa Bal-po and lHa[s]-[d]Bon are two different royal figures. On the other hand, it readily appears that his statement here consists of two components, where the last part appears to be a standard recapitulation found in later Tibetan historiography purporting that lHa-dbon passed away prior to the arrival of the imperial princess. Consisting thus of two distinct components unwittingly rendered by lDe'u Jo-sras, it needs not undermine the proposed hypothesis that lHa Bal-pho and lHa-dBon ultimately may be identical.

21 The phrase *thang* (=*mnga' thang*?) *mtshams su phab* usually indicates a heir's deprivation of the throne either by way of abdication (voluntarily or forced), deposition or by being passed over in the succession.

(*glen par song 'dug*).[22] Consequently, when she arrived in Tibet, she was forced to have nocturnal rendezvous' with the father-in-law (*gyos po*) Khri-lde gtsug-brtan, alias Mes Ag-tshom[s] and eventually Khri-srong lde-btsan was born.[23] This latter point is a post-dynastic fabrication. Collating the two above statements, it seems clear, at least it is a fair option, that lHa Bal-pho and lHa-dBon refer to the same personage despite different provenance or paternity[24] and that they later have been conflated. In the latter text, it should be added, there is no word about any untimely or premature death or assassination (cf. note 1141) of lJang-tsha lHa-dBon given as is the case with the remaining Tibetan historiographical material.

The information is nevertheless indicative as it would suggest that a certain conflation concerning the figure(s) lHa-dBon (whose real background is still nebulous) and lHa[s] Bal-p[h]o, whether identical or not, here must have taken place.[25] At any rate, it adds weight to the contention that Kim-sheng Kong-jo

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22 Assuming that the text is correct, the word *glen pa*, which readily covers the meaning stupid etc., rather than indicating any mental insanity (*smyon pa*) or downright stupidity or idiocy (*lkugs pa*), alludes foremost to a person characterized by mental dullness, stubborn imprudence and naivety.

23 Here mKhas-pa lDe'u, almost inadvertently, peddles the assumption that lHa-dBon is son of Mes Ag-tshoms, so popular in later literature. Admittedly, this position seems, at least indirectly, undergirded by a most trustworthy witness, the *Annals*: The years 739 and 741 A.D. record, as we have seen, that lHa-[d]Bon was the heir apparent (*btsan po sras*). This therefore *appears* to indicate that he was considered the son of the current king, i.e. Mes Ag-tshoms. Cf. also Vitali, 1990, p. 28.

24 Trusting the genealogical data, the problem remains: lHa Bal-pho's mother is said to come from the Pa-tshab clan and people, whereas lHa-[d]Bon's mother purportedly adhered to the petty Yunnanese dynasty of Nanzhao, where king 'Dus-srong, incidentally, passed away during a campaign in 704 A.D. The latter may possibly be clarified: The complement lJang-tsha may simply be a later addition provided by the Tibetan historians, while he, in their historical construct, is made the son of Mes Ag-tshoms' (who according to these later sources was born in 680 A.D.) first or senior consort, lJang-mo Khri-btsun (cf. the notes 1120, 1135). Proving that lHa[s]-dbon or Bal-pho actually was of Nan-zhao blood or Pa-tshab descent is therefore ultimately hinged upon the condition whether we can verify that 'Dus-srong actually espoused a Nan-zhao or a Pa-tshab royal bride.

25 Here just a small note on their names, be it either lHa Bal-p[h]o (Royal [of] Nepal) and lHa[s]-[d]Bon (Divine = Royal Grandson) to see if they can yield any clue as to his/their origin. **BZH** (Stein ed. 2.3-15, Chin. ed. 2.2-10) has conserved a possibly fanciful etymology of his name, stating that his physical appearance was so extraordinary beautiful, that it resembled the gods, wherefore he was considered a grandson (*dbon po*) of the gods (*lha*) and hence thus named. Cf. note 1135. Beckwith, 1983, p. 9, n. 25, opts for lHa-s/dBon (most probably suggesting lHas-Bon = lHa-sBon = lHa-dBon) as the original name, by alluding to the relationship between the grandmother (*phyi mo*) and grandson (*dbon po*), so prominent in contemporary politics at the court. But this is not unproblematic. True, this rapport was conspicuous, just like the patruity or crucial relationship between the material uncle (*zhang*) and nephew (*dbon po*) throughout the dynasty. The role of the grandmother, and in particular that of Khri-ma-lod, is reflected by the fact that her shifting residences and activities are duly reported annually in the Dunhuang material indicating, as already suggested by Beckwith, that Khri-ma-lod in fact ruled Tibet sovereignly and singlehandedly from 704 to 712 A.D. in a manner quite similar to the well-nigh contemporary all-powerful Chinese empress Wu (684-704 A.D.). Further, as shown by the fact that the joint sojourn of *phyi sbon* (i.e. Khri-ma-lod and rGyal gTsug-ru, alias Khri-lde gtsug-btsan *in spe*) e.g. is reported for the year 707 A.D. in the *Annals*, it more than hints at the fact that rGyal gTsug-ru by

actually or originally was intended for this elder brother of Mes Ag-tshom[s], and that he was *not* killed after having lost his throne, but that he temporarily went into exile or into a sort of forced semi-retirement, being important for the legitimacy. In this light the information offered by the *Annals*, which record that both *btsan mo* Kong-jo and *btsan po sras* lHas-Bon died in 739 A.D.[26] and that they were buried together, may induce us to conclude that they may also have lived together (but see also subnote 30 below) and that Kong-jo possibly never(?) cohabited with Mes Ag-tshoms. If this assumption reflects fact, it underpins the already established equation between the two figures and shall compel us to assume that the entire arrangement originally was conceived as a matrimony between this elder brother and the Chinese princess as suggested by Petech long ago, only Petech (and so also recently Vitali, 1990, p. 28) adduces that lHa Bal-pho and lHas-[d]Bon are two different persons (inferred from the statement in the *Annals*, cf. subnote 23 above), an assumption which, as seen, still cannot be conclusively clarified. Another illation is also feasible. As may be deduced from the *Annals*,[27] the coup-like dethronement of the rightful claimant to the throne, the *btsan po gcen*, i.e. the king, the elder brother, lHa Bal-p[h]o was set in scene by the

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his paternal grandmother (cf. note 1092) of the foreign and influential 'Bro clan, i.e. of Mo-lu (a Yang-dong people) extraction (*tsha*), was kept under close surveillance and that he, albeit being a crown-prince, was a child usuper installed by his grandmother on behalf of his much older half-brother lHa Bal-pho/lHa-dBon of Nan-zhao extraction(?), at that point under Tibetan vassalage. Tradition moreover claims that rGyal gTsug-ru, in addition to his 'Bro-blood through his grandmother, was son of 'Dus-srong's (senior queen?), the mChims consort bTsan-ma-thog (cf. note 1115). Returning to the throne-loser, it helps us only little in ascertaining whether the name lHa-dBon, through his status as grandson, was the original form or not. Both names may finally reflect simple miswritten variants of the same name. The suggestion offered by Beckwith that the 705 A.D. entry in the *Annals* could also be construed to mean that the elder brother lHa was deposed from the throne (*rgyal sa*) [in/of] Bal-pho, allegedly alluding to one of the summer-recidences and palaces of the dynasty, may now be rebutted by the entry in **DCHBY**. It would also require a genetive-marker. We can therefore conclude that lHa Bal-pho is to be conceived as a name.

Another good argument, incidentally, for the equation between these two figures (i.e. lHa Bal-po and lHa-[d]Bon) may be offered by the fact that a tomb was raised for lHa-dBon. It was occasionally listed among the tombs counting the abdicated or thronelosing royals (*thang mtshams kyi bang so*). Cf. note 1143. The information proffered by the list delineating the cases of regicide (conserved in **GBCHBY**) which purports that lHa-dBon was killed by the minister sNyags Khri-bzang yang-ston, while he turned over the mNga'-ris (? = *mnga' thang*, the power) to Khri-srong lde-btsan [*sic*], better Khri-lde gtsug-brtan/btsan (cf. note 1138) needs to be properly assessed. Most readily it seems to gainsay any identification of the two figures, but this revengeful elimination of lHa-dBon, when or if reflecting fact at all, may allude to another episode than the complex throne succession in 704-712 A.D. and simply refer to his death in 739 A.D.

26 As correctly seen by Petech, *Glosse agli* (reprint, *Selected Papers*, 1988, pp. 276-277), the *btsan po sras* lHas-Bon of the *Annals* 739 and 741 A.D. should be conceived as a parallel to 705 A.D. *btsan po gcen* lHa Bal-pho, i.e. 're figlio' and 're fratello maggiore'. We shall argue that the *btsan po* in *btsan po gcen* of 705 A.D. alludes to bTsan-po (Khri-lde gtsug-btsan), i.e. Mes Ag-tshom, although he was first officially enthroned 712 A.D. The reason is, as already noted by Beckwith, that it is a case of anachronism since the *Annals*, as an anonymous piece of dossier, was first compiled in the IXth century at the earliest, at a point when, in retrospect, this king's ensuing monarchy is anticipated. Similarly with the *btsan po* in *btsan po sras*.

27 Cf. also Beckwith, 1983, pp. 8-9; *op. cit.* 1987, pp. 69-70.

powerful dowager queen Khri-ma-lod in 705 A.D. But rGyal gTsug-ru, his younger half-brother, was first enthroned under his regal name Khri-lde gtsug-btsan in 712 A.D., barely being seven years of age, in whose interegnum the old grandmother and dowager queen (*phyi*) held sovereign regency. But negotiations for the matrimonial alliance had been under way since long and continued after the dethronement of lHa Bal-p[h]o.[28] When the imperial princess arrived in 710 A.D., there was in fact no male ruler on the throne. First in 712 A.D. rGyal gTsug-ru was formally (albeit prematurely) enthroned, possibly also under mysterious or dramatic circumstances, while his powerful guardian, the dowager grandmother passed away (accidentally?) in the same year and while he had yet not reached the age of thirteen as dictated by convention. Was a new coup under way, led by the legitimate claimant lHa Bal-pho, which forced the faction behind the dominant 'Bro (Mo-lu) clan to counter? Or was an agreement reached to share power, rights and throne? To all effects and purposes, we may argue, by way of consolation or after mutual agreement, the long-scheduled marriage alliance with lHa Bal-pho was carried through. With the proviso that lHa Bal-pho and lHa-[d]Bon are different names for the same personage, it must be recalled that the elder brother until his death was designated *btsan po*, i.e. he held the title of a 'king' and obviously functioned as such, being second only to the *Khri*, the throne-holder bTsan-po, his younger half-brother Mes Ag-tshoms, whom he most probably substituted during the latter's temporary absence and at other occasions. This 'king' therefore received and cohabited with the imperial princess and *btsan mo* until 739 A.D.[29]

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28 The Tibetans had repeatedly asked for a new matrimonial alliance with imperial China already back in 676 A.D. But deeming the unending warfare between the two countries a positive reply was first given from Chinese side in 702-703 A.D. With the untimely death of Khri 'Dus-srong in 704 A.D., its effectuation was postponed first to 706 and later to 709-710 A.D. From Chinese side, it should be noted, the impression seems to be conveyed that the prospective groom was the infant Khri-lde gtsug-btsan. Cf. Demiéville, 1952, pp. 2-3; but see Petech, pp. 257-258, who argues that the negotiations were held on behalf of lHa Bal-pho.

29 This may also be supported by another incidence recorded. In 723 A.D. Jincheng wrote a letter to Candrāpīḍa, the king of Kashmir, to ask for asulum. Cf. Beckwith, 1983, p. 7 and 1987, p. 96; Vitali, 1990, pp. 3-4. This may reflect a considerable frustration and discomfort on the side of the imperial princess, who was perhaps unsatisfied with her (subordinate?) position at the court, being (only or simultaneously?) married to the king's brother. This point deserves further research. While it was institutionalized practice that each Tibetan king entertained more consorts throughout the dynastic period, we know next to nothing whether one queen could be married to several male members of the royal house. Polygamous habits in ancient Tibet meant almost exclusively polygyny in this patriarchal and tribal society, while the practice of polyandry was mainly known to have been a widely prevailed custom among, in particular, the Tibetan nobilities of the later centuries and then basically for economical and herditary reasons. Its practice in dynastic Tibet would solve many unanswered questions. The princess, during the later part of her sojourn in Tibet, may well have been married to (or shared by) both Mes Ag-tshoms (cf. also note 920) and the brother. This would, in retrospect, also mean that the first-arriving Kong-jo, i.e. Wencheng, simultaneously could have been married to (and cohabited with?) king Srong-btsan sgam-po and Gung-ri gung-btsan.

According to a reliable witness, originating from the dynastic period, a Tibetan king (*lha btsan po*) (= Mes Ag-tshoms?) is recorded to have been married to a Chinese consort named Kong-jo (cf. note 920 and Vitali, pp. 4-8). Identifying tentatively this Kong-jo with the second Kong-jo Jincheng, it is further reported that she died by having contracted smallpox (*'brum nag*), allegedly brought to Tibet by Khotanese monks, in which case it accounts for the death-cause of lHas-[d]Bon also.

This would also account for the persistence found in later narratives that lHa-dBon alias lHa Bal-pho was the crown-prince for whom the princess was intended.[30] This aspect of the story has truthfully been retained by this tradition, only the same tradition has conflated Mes Ag-tshoms' son with his elder brother. The positive depiction of Kong-jo in the same literature has also paved the way, apparently, for setting the myth in circulation that Kong-jo was the mother of Khri-srong lde-btsan. Here, doubtlessly, the imperial princess' documented pro-Buddhist attitude, being recorded to have erected *vihāra*-s and giving shelter to Khotanese monks etc. must have played an important role in the shaping of her picture in later Buddhist literature.[31]

1154 Another identification is also feasible since the palace and centre of this king (Khri-lde gtsug-brtan) was Brag-[d]mar, i.e. the vicinity of bSam-yas: As a pendant to the detailed geomantic analysis (*sa dpyad*) contrived by the first Kong-jo (cf. **GLR** Chap. XIV), we here have, as said, reminiscences of another geomantic probe and exposition allegedly contrived by the second Kong-jo, but here restricted to a mountain-centred geomantic probe (*ri dpyad*). Most significantly, in **PMKTH** Chap. 59, 346.1-347.16, we have a brief geomantic-terrestrial description (*sa btsal*) of bSam-yas and vicinity delivered by the royal court geomancer or diviner, a Chinese *bla mkhyen* named Bi-rje (**biji*, a Sogdian word: physician, cf. note 1134 *supra*). Here we find, parallel to the geo- or topographical exposition found delineated in relation to the erection of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang (cf. note 726ff.), a topographical depiction of a number of mountains surrounding bSam-yas. These depictions are in a few incidences identical with the ones allegedly given by the second Kong-jo here. *In casu* the king's *bla ri*, gauged from this depiction, could also be: Has-po-ri or mChims-phu'i ri.

It remains to be settled, from a literary historical point of view, to what extent these partly parallel expositions and narratives are mutually interdependent.

1186 As recorded in the version of **BZH** (Stein ed. 27.9-28.9, Chin. ed. 34.6-35.11 = **MBNTH** 99b4-100a3 = **HBCHBY** (JA) 89b6-90a6) the Bon-Buddhist dispute first took place in a pig-year (i.e. 759 A.D. after the king's assumption of majority and enthronement in 756 A.D. and prior to the erection of bSam-yas which commenced in a hare year, 763-775 A.D.),[32] while the king resided in his palace at Zul-phug [rKyang-bu-tshal] and this inner-Tibetan religious dispute was occasioned by a famous *dictum* allegedly expressed by Bodhisattva Śāntarakṣita stating that 'the presence of two religious systems in one kingdom was highly sacrilegious' (*rgyal*

30 Cf. the reflections in Beckwith, 1983, pp. 10-11. We shall leave out here the hypothesis, altogether possible, that the *btsan po sras* lHa-Bon mentioned in the *Annals* to have passed away in 739 and buried 741 A.D., thus sharing the same fate as Kong-jo, actually was the common son of her and Mes Ag-tshoms.

31 Cf. note 920 *supra* and Vitali, 1990, pp. 4-8.

32 Cf. for details note 1244.

khams gcig tu chos lugs gnyis byung na shin tu sdig che),[33] an advice which is recorded (in Buddhism-prone sources) to have sparked off the contentious contest (*'gran*) and the ensuing Bon defeat. The present incidence with Ānanda (for him, cf. note 1352), as seen in **BZH** (Stein ed. 16.10-12, Chin. ed. 20.14-16), predates markedly this religious conflict.

True, as briefly discussed above (Appendix, note 1094 *passim*) religious clashes between pro- and anti-Buddhist circles flashed throughout the later part of the dynastic period. However, one major strife is by numerous sources, Buddhist and Bon, recorded to have taken place. Fixing the date of this main Bon-Buddhist contest is of paramount importance, albeit in no way unproblematic. Karmay, 1972, pp. 88-94, basing himself upon a collation of sundry Bon sources and arguing by means of fixing some chronological data anent the Bon-saint Dran-pa Nam-mkha's *floruit*, reaches the conclusion that the pig year,[34] in which the dispute is recorded to have taken place, must correspond to 783 A.D. In other words, after the erection of bSam-yas (763-775 A.D., inaugurated 779 A.D.). Karmay argues that the abolition of Bon and the concealment of Bon-texts, which according to one of the apparently more trustworthy Bon-witnesses followed in the king's forty-fifth year, must be fixed to *ca.* 785-86 A.D. The indication of the king's age would here seem to be crucial for Karmay's dating of the abolition of Bon. Albeit these sources are couched in a strong apologetic diction, we shall abstain from passing any final verdict on the general validity of the chronological data offered in these Bon sources, also in the question whether they reflect some historical fact at all, the crucial issue nevertheless remains whether this contest took place prior to or after the erection of bSam-yas. No doubt, this point demands further research and consideration, also beyond the reflections proffered here.[35]

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33 To what extent this statement ascribed to Śāntarakṣita is a literary fabrication (contrived by some later redactors), being pattern upon or inspired by a similar contextual prophecy articulated by him (and conserved in his *bka' chems*) and which led to the invitation of his pupil Kamalaśīla and, in turn, to the grand bSam-yas Debate in 792-794 A.D., remains to be substantiated. Cf. the notes 1361 and 1371. Our suspicion is not decreased by the fact that a similar case of literary and narrative parallelism can be registered in the same narrative tradition conserved in **BZH**. It concerns the narrative segment with the famous dictum or analogy allegedly delivered by a Chinese master or *heshang*, predicting that one of his boots (= teachings) will remain back in Tibet after his passing. Paradoxically, the dictum turns up in two historically distinct episodes. The same dictum is moreover found in an expanded form in a slightly different version of a Buddhist-Bon dispute conserved in **PMKTH** (cf. subnote 37 *infra*) and there unspecifically ascribed to Buddhist *lo paṇ*-s. Cf. Appendix, note 1094, subnote 17 *supra* and note 1376 for details.

34 To be true, this year indication is only offered by **BZH**. For contextual reasons, it makes sound sense.

35 Chab-spel, 1989(b), *op. cit.* pp. 334-343, quotes *in extenso* a version of an alleged dispute or contest between Buddhist and Bon-po-s gleaned from a hitherto unknown and unique **dPa'-bzhed** manuscript (differing markedly from the extant **sBa'-bzhed** versions!), which recently has surfaced in Lhasa. A few narrative components retained in this version vis-à-vis the accounts conserved in **BZH** and the relevant Bon sources do as such correspond neatly, such as for instance one or two of the names of the participants and the site, i.e. Brag-dmar mTsho-mo-mgur (cf. note 1320) where the dispute took place. In this respect some measure of literary borrowing can be inferred, also in respect to the grand Buddhist bSam-yas Debate. Decisive differences or diffinities, however, abound not only in terms of the narrative length (far longer and basically different in **dPa'-bzhed**), but

The version of the dispute conserved in the **BZH** differs somewhat from the details found in the relevant Bon sources. The arena for the dispute (Brag-dmar mTsho-mo-mgur/Brag-dmar mGrin-bzang)[36] and the gallery of persons involved are roughly the same in both parallel accounts.[37] But where the Bon-sources stress that

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foremost in the narrated details to such an extent that the overall question of correspondence between all the versions safely can be excluded.

Firstly, the version in **dPa'-bzhed** delineates a dispute taking place after the passing of Khri-srong lde-btsan (742-797 A.D.), which in this text is situated in a horse (*rta*) year (i.e. 790/802 A.D.? or mistake, as is so often seen, for tiger (*stag*) year, 798 A.D.?; (cf. note 1381)). It further states that Mu-ne btsan-po still was a minor (which hardly corresponds with fact while he was, according to general consensus, born in 774 A.D.), which places this episode around 800 A.D. (Chab-spel opts for 796 A.D.). The set-up and the rendering of the names of religious personages engaged in this dispute here clearly presupposes the Buddhist bSam-yas Debate of 792-794 A.D., which again matches with the above data. This last impression, more than anything else, shall prevent us from an attempt to see in this version the name Khri-srong lde-btsan as a simple mistake for Khri-lde gtsug-btsan, i.e. Mes Ag-tshoms (704-754 A.D.) and Mu-ne btsan-po as a mistake for Khri-srong lde-btsan and then push the entire episode told in **dPa'-bzhed** half a century back in time, in which case it would tally nicely with the historical circumstances surrounding Mes Ag-tshoms and Khri-srong lde-btsan, during whose minority the Bon-adherents codified the *khrims bu chung* legislation which temporarily spelt the end for Buddhism in Tibet. A part of the version in **dPa'-bzhed** would in fact otherwise suit these circumstances all too good. Nevertheless, taking the witness at face value, the narrative tells the story of a dispute around 800 A.D. Reading the sKar-chung and Zhva'i lha-khang Inscriptions (cf. Richardson, 1985, pp. 47, 73), both dating from the beginning of the IXth century during the early reign of Khri-lde srong-b[r]tsan, provides us with enough reference to infer the existence of an open opposition against Buddhism during precisely these years. The present witness in **dPa'-bzhed** may therefore be a concrete piece of reference to this dissension.

The two contests are moreover also distinguished by Chab-spel. The slightly pre-classical diction, the topos and the narrative particulars of this **dPa'-bzhed** version display moreover so many distinct and unique traits that it deserves a separate study, also for its historical importance.

36 For these places, cf. the notes 1129 and 1320 respectively. If we were to take the text-witness found in **BZH** and foremost in **bKa' yi Thang-yig chen-mo** literally, the naming of mTsho-mo-mgur allegedly first came into existence during the erection of bSam-yas proper. Only this part of the narrative is steeped in mythology so as to carry any historical weight.

37 A notable exception and a point, incidentally, which is a strong rebuttal against the dating proffered by Karmay, is the information given by the **Srid-rgyud** and cited in *Treasury of Good Sayings*. This text purports that Ma-zhang Phrom-pa-skyes (= Ma-zhang Grom-pa-skyes of sNa-nam, cf. the notes 1171 and 1183) was a leading proponent (*kha 'dzin*) for the Bon party during the dispute. Now, Ma-zhang Grom-pa-skyes was at this point, i.e. 759 A.D., already eliminated by the pro-Buddhist ministers, while he, arguably in 758 A.D., was buried alive at his estate in sTod-lung Brang, cf. *ad* note 1183 for details. Under no circumstances is he alive in 783 A.D., while his anti-Buddhist vendetta, which ultimately sparkled the contest leading to the ensuing Bon defeat and its abolition, are mentioned in the king's edict of 779 A.D. on the occasion of bSam-yas' consecration or inauguration. True enough, Ma-zhang's name is also signally absent from the list of participants as retained in the versions found in **BZH** and related sources. His appearance in the contest in Bon sources may be ascribed to his pro-Bon sympathies and the repute he had won in these circles for having attempted to keep a curb on the Buddhist expansion.

Another problem, this time involving the version in **BZH**, is the mention of the participation in the debate of one Nyang Sha-mi (= Myang Sha-mi go-cha?; details on him, cf. note 1449). If this identification can be corroborated, a chronological problem is *possibly* involved, while this powerful monk from the influential Myang clan is recorded to have been an adherent of the Chinese

the parties *mainly* competed on physical skill and other supernatural crafts, the Buddhist version in **BZH** etc. points out that the procedure was by way of verbal debating exclusively.

However, we must for a number of reasons retain the year 759 A.D. as the year for this inner-Tibetan religious dispute and, *a fortiori*, the recorded abolition and concealment of Bon-works must be fixed to the ensuing years, say 760-762 A.D., even though this appears to be manifestly out of line with recorded Bon data. We shall leave out here the not uncomplicated discussion as to whether *bon po siddha*-s internally and vis-à-vis *chos pa* should be considered as a sort of Buddhists who during the dynastic period came in opposition to official Buddhism or not. Reading the various Bon sources, the decline or oppression of Bon is chronicled to have been effectuated several times (Karmay, 1972; Blondeau, 1990, pp. 41-49). Problematic also is the attempt to gain a picture of what kind of *bon po*-s were active at the contest while the internal development of Bon is still hazy. Brief case-stories such as these offered by Martin (1982) and further discussed foremost by Blondeau and Kvaerne in a number of papers show how difficult it was to draw a distinction between *chos* and *bon po*-s, possibly already during the Tibetan imperial, but at least in the early post-imperial period.

As to the dating of the contest the Buddhist and other reliable historical sources speak their own clear language. Taking as point of departure some information conserved in **PMKTH** Chap. 54, as a convenient chronological frame, the reasons are: As corroborated in the Dunhuang *Annals* also, the king was born in a horse year, i.e. 742 A.D. Age thirteen, his father Mes Ag-tshoms passed away, i.e. 754 A.D.;[38] age fifteen he was appointed king under the regal name

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master *heshang* Mahāyāna, and, more problematic, he is recorded to have been the seventh in the line of abbots of bSam-yas (cf. Karmay, 1988, p. 78) and moreover chronicled to have been active during the reign of Ral-pa-can (rl. 817-ca. 836 A.D.). To span such a long period requires that we allow him a very high age indeed, which altogether is not impossible. A reason for his (anachronistic?) listing in the Buddhist sources may simply be that he, quite similar to Ma-zhang's introduction into the Bon ditto, for yet unknown reasons was introduced by later chronologically unconscious historians.

But the picture is more complex. A brief version delineating the (same?) competition between *chos* and *bon* adherents on argumentative rhetorics (*ngag nus 'gran*) is found conserved in **PMKTH** (Chap. 81, 472.1-476.6; Toussaint, pp. 361ff.; Hoffmann, 1950, pp. 223-225, 261-263). The contest referred to in this version nevertheless appears to allude to another dispute than the (main) one described in **BZH** etc. while the one in **PMKTH** purportedly took place on the passing of minister sTag-sgra Klu-gong, who on one hand is recorded to have been participating in the dispute in the other versions, but who was also active at least until the middle of the 780'ies, i.e. after the erection of bSam-yas (cf. note 1181 above). The place of the dispute is also different: Don-mkhar-thang in contrast to mTsho-mo-m/'gur. Beyond that, the material does not allow us to draw further conclusions, but no doubt, it is a safe guess to assume that a fair degree of contamination between these versions have taken place in the course of time. It is beyond the compass of the present brief commentary to expatiate further on this interesting point, but it would be a rewarding initiative indeed, to subject the various segments of the (doubtlessly) numerous versions which record religious clashes between these religious factions in the dynastic period in an attempt to set right the degree of narrative affiliation and the relative chronology involved. Cf. also more generally, Hoffmann, 1950, pp. 223-225 and his *Religions of Tibet*, pp. 66-83.

38 However, cf. Beckwith, 1983, *passim* suggesting 755 A.D. for the king's passing.

Khri-srong lde-btsan, i.e. 756 A.D. (again corroborated by the Dunhuang *Annals*). Age seventeen, i.e. 758 A.D. he was mindful of Dharma.[39] This, we shall argue, was crowned by the Bon-Buddhist dispute, taking place in 759 A.D. in the above mentioned pig year. An important clue here is that **BZH** in connection with the dispute chronicles that the king sojourned in the palace of Zul-phu[g] rKyang-phu-tshal. Now, according to the entries in the *Annals* for 758 *and* 761 A.D., the king resided in these years in his palace of Zu-phug = Zul-phug rKyang-bu-tshal.[40] According to all sources - Buddhist and Bon - the Buddhists are recorded to have been victorious and, within a few years, the king, by now age twenty-one according to most sources,[41] laid the foundation of his grand Buddhist edifice, the physical sign of its victory: The erection of bSam-yas was commenced in a tiger year 762 A.D. *or* a hare year 763 A.D. (cf. note 1244 for details). In 775 A.D., according to general consensus, the *vihāra* was brought to completion, in a dragon year, i.e. 776 A.D. the completion was celebrated and on the seventeenth day of the first spring month of a sheep year, i.e. 779 A.D.,[42] the edifice was consecrated (*rten btsugs*). Cf. note 1320 and the king's sworn *bKa'-gtsigs*.[43] This and the collateral *bKa'-mchid* were both issued in order to announce publicly that the Buddhist religion should be practised forever hereafter. This famous edict was thus intimately bound up and coincided with the formal consecration of bSam-yas, the ordination of monks and the previous abolition of Bon, which at that point since long had been *beschlossene Sache*, a fact which was also mentioned in the edict of 779 A.D. as one of the main instigations for issuing it. This is alluded to by the

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39 This can only allude to the year where the anti-Buddhist *khrims bu chung* legislation initially codified and implemented by Zhang-ma-zhang Grom-pa-skyes during the king's minority was (or was planned to be) abolished (cf. the notes 1171 and 1183). Its climax is chronicled to have been the living confinement of this minister of the sNa-nam clan. This in turn opened up for the debate which temporarily spelt the end for Bon in form of its abolition (later briefly resuscitated during Glang-dar-ma).

In the present historical reading we shall, logically, assume that the abolition and ensuing Bon textual concealment followed immediately after the religious defeat and that the dispute and the concealment were not two distinct episodes separated by a longer spell of years.

40 That the place Zu-spug is identical with Zul-phug rKyang-bu-tshal is confirmed by the entries for the years 713 and 715 A.D. in the *Annals*. Cf. in particular Appendix, note 790 *supra* for a lengthy discussion of this most important site during the dynastic period, a location which turns out to play a central role in both major Vita cycles dedicated to Srong-btsan sgam-po and Padmasambhava.

41 Also corroborated by Bon sources, cf. Karmay, p. 94. The Bon chronological text **bsTan-rtsis bsKal-ldan dang-'dren** discussed by Kvaerne (1990), adds further to the confusion. On the one hand, it corroborates the dates proposed by other Bon-sources studied by Karmay. On the other hand, it suggests that the suppression took place in 757 A.D., but computed on the untenable assumption that the king was born in 730 A.D. against the correct 742 A.D.

42 As deftly shown by Yamaguchi, 1984, p. 408, the Tibetan calender started from the first day of the third month of spring. Consequently the first month of spring of the sheep year, when *converting it to a corresponding Western date*, must be situated in the preceding year, i.e. 778 A.D. Phrased differently, the consecration of bSam-yas was formally performed towards the end of 778 A.D. of our calender.

43 Cf. **HBCHBY** (JA) 108b7. This edict was also issued in the same sheep year, i.e. 779 A.D., the same year, incidentally, the seven first men of Tibet were ordained as monks (*sad mi mi bdun*), cf. note 1210.

edict's reference to the earlier anti-Buddhist (i.e. Bon) activities of Ma-zhang Grom-pa-skyes, which initially sparked off the inner-Tibetan strife in 759. This was naturally not the last to be heard from the Bon-po-s, who continued to be propped by powerful members of the court and the aristocratic clans and the struggle should also continue down to and eventually cause the break-up of the dynasty in the IXth century. After a decade or so, however, internal strife within Buddhism paved the way for the famous inner-Buddhist Debate at bSam-yas, *arguably* launched 792-794 A.D., where the Indian orientation is recorded to have gained the upper hand.

The above historical and chronological reading is also underpinned by the narrative sequence recorded in **BZH** and in all Buddhist historiographies such as **GLR**, where the episode with the Bon-Buddhist contest is described before the erection of bSam-yas and long before the inner-Buddhist bSam-yas Debate.

Equally astonishing, the entire episode with the Buddhist-Bon Debate is absent from Nyang-ral's **CHBYMTNYP** (though present in (his?) **MBNTH**). Are we here to see an attempt at reconciliation on the side of the rNying-ma master towards the Bon tradition? Cf. also Chab-spel, 1989(b), pp. 301-302.

1240 **BZH** (Stein ed. 32.14-34.9, Chin. ed. 40.12-42.8) = **HBCHBY** (JA) 89a2-6, 92b2-93a7: A lengthy description of the symbolic import of bSam-yas, which *in toto* reflects the Tripiṭaka (incl. Mantrayāna). The Tibetan monastery, the first *real* Buddhist temple in Tibet, was patterned upon the Indian O-tanta-puri monastery; **CHBYMTNYP** 318a1-5; **MBNTH** 103b5-114a3; **GBCHBY** 349.2-6: The pattern of bSam-yas was conceived in accordance with [the cosmographical section of] **Abhidharma**. In fact, the entire edifice reflects in form (*dbyibs*) the Tripiṭaka: Externally bSam-yas is conceived in the fashion of an *imago mundi* in accordance with **Abhidharma**, with Mt. Meru in the centre, the four continents or *insulae* (*gling*, *dvīpa*) and the eight sub-continents (*gling phran*, *antaradvīpa*), twelve in all, represented by the central dBu-rtse chapel, the four cardinal chapels and their eight satellite chapels in addition to two twin chapels reflecting the pair, the sun and the moon; further, the fashion in which the roofs (*thog 'bubs lugs*) and the fashion in which the 'openings' [in the roof and walls?/doors] (*bu ga bzhag lugs/thabs*) were laid reflect the **Vinaya**-section; finally, inside [the chapels] the murals are painted and executed in accordance with the **Sūtra**-section; see similarly **DCHBY** 124.13-125.1; **KTHZGM** Chap. 11, 51.3-52.2; **KTHDNG** (GA) Chap. 1, 231.20-233.13; **GBYTSH** 129b2-6; **HBCHBY** (JA) 89a2-b6.

Of importance is to note that the image-sculptors (*gzugs mkhan*, *lha bzo*), active at bSam-yas, mainly were recruited from Nepal, cf. e.g. **BZH** (Chin. ed. 42.9); **GBCHBY** 351.1.

GBCHBY 349.7-17 and **DCHBY** 125.1-3 add that the dBu-rtse rigs-gsum central chapel was erected in the pattern reflecting Vairocana converting or taming the worldlings. For the importance of Vairocana during the dynastic period, cf. e.g. Appendix, note 92.

1300 The function as a manual supervisor (*lag dpon*) probably here indicates that the person in question was the patron, i.e. the one financing the erection of the *caitya* or, as in other cases, a building.

Concerning the four *caitya*-s, each in a different colour, **GBCHBY** 354.15-21 summarizes symbolically that the white *caitya* was set up in the south-eastern direction [of the bSam-yas *vihāra* lay-out], representing the *śrāvaka*-s and being considered a heap (*brtsegs pa*) of joy (*dga' ba, prīti*) piled up and raised in the manner of Mt. Meru.

The red *caitya* was set up in the south-western direction, representing the *bodhisattva*-s, being considered a heap of lotuses piled up and raised in the manner of a thousand lotuses.

The black *caitya* was set up in the north-western direction, representing the *pratyekabuddha*-s, being considered a heap of *maṅgala* piled up, and raised in the manner (i.e. endowed with) of a thousand miniature (conch) figures (*tsha tsha stong ldan*).

The green-blue *caitya* was set up in the north-eastern direction, representing the *Buddha*-s, being considered a heap of endowments (*guṇa*) piled up, and raised in the manner of the many-door Vajradhātu.

1561 Here just a brief note on the language in which this episode is dressed. A number of texts employ the highly interesting and classical expressions: *dbu* [*g.*]*yogs* and *la* [*g.*]*yogs*. The first idiom designates more or less retribution and is most regularly found in Bon sources (cf. e.g. Hoffmann, 1950, p. 225; Karmay, 1972, pp. 61, 82, 97-104), used in order to illustrate the victimization and ill-fated misfortunes that the Bon-adherents had to suffer due to their persecution by the Buddhists. However, and what is perhaps less known, the idiom is also found employed in Buddhist texts, f.ex. by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan in his **BGR**, where Glang-dar-ma is designated *chos kyi dbu g.yogs*, the (sinful) revenger or retributor causing the persecution of Buddhism. The expression always carries the added sense of deception and even delusion. The other expression, equally popular and also found in use up to the present day in both literary sources and colloquial tongue, is the idiom *la g.yogs*. It carries another sense altogether. For this term, cf. Sørensen, 1990, p. 353. Its usage is quite broad, and we can only aspire to catch aspects of its broad meaning. It partly overlaps, partly differs from *karman* in meaning. Semantically it may cover the sense expressed via *ate*, *hybris* and *nemesis*. Yet a fully equivalent synonym is not easily found. Being trapped in a scrape after having ignored a good and sound advice (whether articulated or not, implied or merely acting against plain sense) often defines what *la g.yogs* means, in other words it alludes subjectively to a sort of retributive *Hochmut* initially being directed towards others (albeit not necessarily), but backfiring or rebounding (*la g.yogs brgyab*), it becomes self-inflicted and the action or move is paid back in kind, although the expression need not carry any malicious connotations of spite. The best equivalent is possibly comeuppance or 'talionic' and *just deserts*. When f. ex. O-rgyan gling-pa declared that the *kheng log* or revolt of the ordinary people was the ruler's (*rje* or ruling class') *la g.yogs*, it means that the blatant retribution or perhaps altogether better: comeuppance, i.e. the revolution and thus *the blame*

(not necessarily with moral connotations) for it is only to be found within the circle of the ruling class itself, i.e. in the internal feud between Yum-brtan and 'Od-srung for power which caused the break-up of the society.

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ABHINIṢ: *Abhiniṣkramaṇa Mahāyānasūtra*: *mNgon-par 'byung-ba Theg-pa chen-po'i mdo*
Ed. TTPE 967: bKa'-'gyur mDo-sde 1b1 - 131b1.

AK[-BH]: *Abhidharmakośa*[*-bhāṣya*]: *Chos mngon-pa'i mdzod* [*kyi bshad-pa*]
Edition: TTPE 5591: bsTan-'gyur, *mNgon-pa'i bstan-bcos, mDo-'grel* LXIII (GU) 27b6 - LXIV (NGU) 109a8; here esp. chap. III: *'Jig-rten bstan-pa* (*lokanirdeśa*) (GU) 125b1-190a3.
Author: Vasubandhu
Tr. cf. Vallée Poussin, 1923-31.

BMGPNTH: *De-bzhin gshegs-pa thams-cad kyi brgod-pa gcig-pa'i lam-chen gsum ngag rin-po-che'i Bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*, also *Lam-'bras bla-ma'i rnam-thar*
Ed. sDe-dge, 13 vols (KA-PA): *glegs-bam dang-po*: 1b1-237a6
Author: 'Jam-dbyangs Blo-gter dbang-po
Date:

BZH: *sBa-bzhed*, differently [or supplementarily titled] also *bSam-yas kyi dkar-chag chen-mo*, or *mNga'-bdag Khri-srong lde'u-btsan gyi zhal-chems bSam-yas Ka-brtsigs chen-mo*, or *bTsan-po mNga'-bdag gi bka'-gtsigs kyi yi-ge zhib-mo*, or *bSam-yas bKa'-thang*, etc.
1. pp. 1-92, ed. Stein, 1961. [= Stein ed.]
2. Modern book-ed. (copied from a manuscript (*bris ma*) kept in the Library pertaining to the Cultural Palace, Beijing), ed. mGon-po rgyal-mtshan, pp. 1-82, Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1980, repr. 1982 [= Chin. ed.]
Author: sBa/dBa gSal-snang (*et al.*).
Date: Core part ca. 800 A.D.

The two published or extant versions that hitherto have come down to us above are *grosso modo* identical, albeit in the main narrative they at places occasionally differ. Approximate correspondence exists between Stein ed. 1.1-65.15 = Chin. ed. 1.1-82.8, whereas Stein ed. 65.16-92.9 constitutes a later appended annotation (*zhabs btags ma, kha skong*) delineating Tibetan history up to the kings of Gu-ge. Cf. below.

The picture of the transmission and dissemination of **BZH** as such is complex since we are dealing with a number of unknown quantities. Only some of the apparently numerous versions that exist of this basic source, not to speak of the original version, have come down to us in full as can be gauged from its many quotations, often lengthy, in later historical works. As delineated in **BZH** (Stein ed. 63.13-15, Chin. ed. 82.9-22) and **CHBYMTNYP** 439b3-6 the (proto-version (*phyi mo*) of) *bTsan-po mNga'-bdag gi bka'-gtsigs gi zhib-mo* or *yi ge*, the core-version of **BZH**, was arguably composed in three versions by the king: One was deposited in lHa-sa, one in Khams and one in the king's personal deposit or archive (*rje'i phyag sbal*). Different names/versions for this *bSam-yas kyi bka'-gtsigs*, or 'Edict/Chronicle of bSam-yas', also called the Testament of the king (i.e. Khri-srong lde'u-btsan) include: It was e.g. called [in brief] *sBa-bzhed* (reflecting the testimony/opinion (*bzhed lugs*) of either sBa gSal-snang or sBa Sang-shi). But versions are found with mutually confounding or indiscriminate titles such as *bSam-yas bKa'-thang* and *Thang-yig chen-mo*, *bSam-yas [b]Ka[']-btsigs chen-mo*.

After its recording three versions were made, and later tradition speaks about a *rGyal-bzhed* (incl. a testament and the king's testimony of the bSam-yas erection and of the bSam-yas Debate = the one deposited in the king's hand?), a *Bla-bzhed* (the Prelate's version = the one deposited

in Khams?] and the *sBa-bzed* (the version of the sBa clan = the version deposited in lHa-sa?); Tāranātha, **Yid-chen gsum-ldan** (Chin. ed. p. 256.3-17), merely calls them the three versions of the king's testament. The above references maintain that the largest version was distributed among the zhang-blon, which would suggest that the *sBa-bzhed* is the larger one. Of the latter(?), moreover, three different sizes were executed among which **BZH** (Chin. ed.) maintains to be identical with the middle-sized one.

As already adduced by Vostrikov, basing himself here upon **BZH**-quotations in dPa'-bo's **HBCHBY** and Sum-pa mkhan-po's **PSJZ**, *inter alia*, we know that the **BZH** essentially renders the story of the erection of the bSam-yas *vihāra*, a narrative composed by the minister sBa gSal-snang, sBa s[h]ang-shi and others. A part of it (or a separate version?) was also known, as said, as the Testament (*bka'* (or *zhal*) *chems*) of the king, cf. e.g. the rNam-thar of Rva Lotsava (as mentioned by Tucci, TPS, I, p. 143: *mNga'-bdag Khri-srong lde'u-btsan gyi zhal-chems bSam-yas Ka-brtsigs chen-mo* (= the non-extant *rGyal-bzhed*?), cf. the Intro., n. 24. The picture, needless to say, of **BZH**'s transmission is thus unclear, and in later literature a bulk of versions is quoted, as e.g. the *sBa-bzhed che-ba*, occasionally also called *bSam-yas kyi dkar-chag chen-mo*, cf. e.g. **HBCHBY** (JA) 89b6, 155a1; **PSJZ** 155.26-156.9, 383.18-26; but also versions labelled or qualified as *gtsang ma* or the pure (i.e. uninterpolated) one, *khungs ma* and *khungs thub* or the authoritative ones or *'bring po*, the middle-sized (= the Chin. ed. version?), *lhad can* or the interpolated version and even a *zhabs btags ma*, an annotated/supplementary version (= Stein ed.). An evaluation of the mutual relation between these fragments remains to be worked out (a rewarding task in fact to collate the numerous quotes from **sBa-bzhed**), when or if further versions of **BZH** should surface.

Thus the basic version (or matrix) of **BZH** undoubtedly originated in the late VIIIth cent. and the above versions essentially relate the same basic narrative story, but from the *phyi-dar* period **BZH** was repeatedly worked over. The Chin. ed. may well be from the XIIth century. The annotated (*zhabs btags ma*), Stein ed., at the earliest from ca. 1350 A.D., as e.g. Bu-ston's **CHBY** is found cited therein (Stein ed. 54.10-11) being supplemented, probably by a bKa'-gdams-pa master (cf. also Blondeau, 1980, p. 48 and Tāranātha, ref. above) and later recensions worked over during the XIII-XIVth cent. As seen from the notes 1122-1378 in the present book, **BZH**, **CHBYMTNYP** (*ab* 292a5ff., though interspersed with lengthy sub-sections), **MBNTH** followed by the lDe'u versions (**GBCHBY**, **DCHBY**) display a fair degree of correspondence in the chain of events related, suggesting that they draw from a common proto-version of **BZH**, possibly **bSam-yas Ka-gtsigs chen-mo** (cf. the Introduction). Nyang-ral, moreover, has employed a version identical or cognate to the Chin. ed. of **BZH**, while he cites a part of its colophon (439b3-6), but, most surprisingly, Nyang-ral (*ab* 440a6, cf. *ad* note 1385ff.) shares long verbatim passages with the annotated version of **BZH** (found in Stein ed.),

which indicates that the so-called *zhabs-btags-ma*, was in circulation and inserted (?) into a **BZH**-version already in the XI-XIIth century.
Tr.: Cf. paraphrase Stein, 1961; Blondeau, 1980, pp. 48-49; van der Kuijp, 1984, pp. 176-180; Ruegg, 1989, pp. 68-71 and Intro. to this work.

CHBY: *bDe-bar gshegs-pa'i bstan-pa rigs-byed chos kyi 'byung-gnas gSung-rabs rin-po-che'i mdzod* (also *Zhva-lu-pa'i chos-'byung*)
Xyl. 1b1-212a1 lHa-sa zhol ed., vol. *ya* of *gSung-'bum* (cf. Lokesh Chandra *ŚPS* vol. 64). Section on Tibet, cf. Szerb, 1990, whose version is used here.
Author: Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1364)
Date: 1322, no indication in col., but cf. e.g. **CHBY**, 93a1: *chu-pho-khyi*, i.e. 1322 A.D. (Some versions with glosses up to 1326 A.D.).
Tr. partly cf. E. Obermiller, 1931-32 and ed. partly cf. Szerb, 1990.

CHBYMTNYP: *Chos-'byung me-tog snying-po'i sbrang-rtsi'i bcud, rNying-ma'i chos-'byung chen-mo*, or *mNga'-bdag Nyang gi chos-'byung, Dam-chos chos-'byung*
1. Manuscript A (Ugyen Tempai Gyaltsen, Paro, 1979); Manuscript B (Ugyen Tempai Gyaltsen, Paro 1979).
2. Faksimile ed. of MS, 515 fols (Tafel 1-366). ed. R.O. Meisezahl, St. Augustin 1985. This version is followed here.
3. Mod. book ed. pp. 1-544, *Gangs-can rigs-mdzod*, Vol. 5, ed. Chab-spel Tshe-brtan phun-tshogs, Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, 1988.
Author: mNga'-bdag Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (1124-1192 A.D.)
Date:? *ca.* 1175-1190 A.D.
Tr. cf. L.S. Dagyab's brief synopsis in Meisezahl, 1985, pp. 21-23.

DCHBY: *lDe'u chos-'byung*, also *Chos-'byung chen-mo bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan lDe'u Jo-sras kyis mdzad-pa*
Modern book-ed. pp. 1-163, Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, 1987.
Author: lDe'u Jo-sras(?)
Date: around 1230-1240 A.D.?
Thematically and textually closely affiliated with **GBCHBY** and like in the case with the relationship between **CHBYMTNYP** and **MBNTH**, both possibly by Nyang-ral, we have reasons to believe that lDe'u Jo-sras and mKhas-pa lDe'u are somehow related, rather than identical persons. As to the authorship we cannot presently add anything beyond what van der Kuijp, 1992, pp. 471-472, offers, namely that both nebulous lDe'u-s must be sought in a rNying-ma-pa ambience centered around the circles of Zhig-po bDud-rtsi (1149-1199 A.D.) and his successors. If, however, the

contention holds true that they are related by blood, it must be assumed that lDe'u Jo-sras, or the Noble-son lDe'u is the younger and mKhas-pa lDe'u the older lDe'u, in which case, one would suggest that **DCHBY** postdates **GBCHBY**. Based, however, upon an analysis of the post-dynastic royal genealogical exposition retained in **DCHBY** and **GBCHBY**, it appears, as already deftly discussed by van der Kuijp and by us in note 1829, that **DCHBY** *possibly* antedates **GBCHBY** by one or two decades. Cf. intro. and intro. to **GBCHBY** *infra* and van der Kuijp, 1992.

DSYML: *rGyal-ba'i bstan-pa rin-po-che byang-phyogs su byung-ba'i rtsa-lag Bod-rje lha btsan-po'i gdung-rabs tshig-nyung don-gsal yid kyi me-long*
1. Mod. book ed. pp. 55-86, *Gangs-can rig-mdzod* IX, Bod-ljongs Bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrun-khang, Lhasa, 1990.
Author: Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755 A.D.)
Date: 1745 A.D.

DTHNGP: *Deb-ther sngon-po*
1. Xyl. 2 Vols. (I, 1-297; II, 1-271), A-mdo ed.;
2. Modern book-ed., Sechuan Minzu Chubanshe, 1984. 2 Vols. The text covers fifteen sections (*skabs*). This version is used here.
Author: 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481)
Date: 1476-1478 A.D.
Tr. G.N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, I-II, 1949-53.

DTHMP: *'Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rjes mdzad-pa'i Hu-lan deb-ther* (less correctly, yet currently) *Deb-ther dmar-po*
1. 1b1-40a7, Reprint. Gangtok ed. (Used here).
2. Mod. book-ed. (with comm.), ed. Dung-dkar Blo-bzang 'phrin-las, Beijing, 1981, pp. 1-151.
Author: 'Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje (i.e. Si-tu dGe-ba'i blo-gros) (1309-1364 A.D.). Both available versions above contain glosses added after 1376 A.D. at least since **YLJBCHBY** is quoted (cf. note 242).
Date: 1346, no indication in col., but cf. e.g. **DTHMP**, 6b4: *me-pho-khyi*, i.e. 1346 and terminated 1363 A.D. according to Dung-dkar, 1981, Intro.
Tr. Inaba, Sh. & Satō, H., *Hu-lan deb-ther* (*Chibetto Nendaiki*).

DTHMPSM: *rGyal-rabs 'phrul gyi lde'u-mig gam Deb-ther dmar-po gsar-ma*
1. Ms 1b1-103b2, reprod. Tucci, 1971. Used here.
2. Mod. book ed., pp. 1-110, Xizang Minzu Chubanshe, 1982.
Author: Paṇ-chen bSod-nams grags-pa (1478-1554)

Date: 1538, no. indication in col., but cf. **DTHMPSM**, 65b1-3: *sa-khyi*, i.e. 1538.

Tr. G. Tucci, 1971, *SOR*, XXIV.

DTHZHG: *Gangs-can yul gyi sa la spyod-pa'i mtho-ris kyi rgyal-blon gtso-bor brjod-pa'i deb-ther rdzogs-ldan gzhon-nu'i dga'-ston dpyid kyi rgyal-mo'i glu-dbyangs* (or *Deb-ther rgyal-mo'i glu-dbyangs*, or *Bod kyi rgyal-rabs deb-ther rdzogs-ldan gzhon-nu-ma*, or *rGyal-ba lnga-pa'i deb-ther*)

1. Xyl. 1b1-113a5, vol. *dza* of *gSung-'bum*;
2. book-ed. Ngawang Gelek Demo, New Delhi, 1967.
3. book-ed., pp. 1-202, Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, Beijing, 1988. The latter version is used here.

Author: Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, the Vth Dalai Lama (1617-1682)

Date: 1643, col. 113a4, *chu-mo-lug*.

Tr. *Xizang wang-chen-ji*, Beijing 1957.

GBCHBY: *mKhas-pa lDe'us mdzad-pa'i rGya-bod kyi chos-'byung rgyas-pa* or rather *Chos-'byung rgyas-pa* (alias *lDe-ston chos-'byung*)

1. Modern ed., pp. 1-412; *Gangs-can rigs-mdzod*, III, ed. by Chab-spel Tshe-brtan phun-tshogs, Bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrun-khang, 1987.

Author: dGe-bshes alias mKhas-pa lDe'u (=lDe-ston Shes-rab tshul-khrims?, known and following directly in the transmission-line of Sha-mi sgom-chen sMon-lam 'bar (1085-1171 A.D.))

Date: 1260-61 A.D.

Cf. **DCHBY** above for the authorship. As already discussed by van der Kuijp, to which currently only little can be added, mChims Nam-mkha' grags' famous calculation of Atiśa's system (made 1257 A.D.) is mentioned and from an approximate evaluation of the *floruit* of the post-dynastic rulers of Western and Central Tibet, its compilation must be placed in the middle of the XIIIth century. See note 1829 in the present work, but foremost van der Kuijp, 1992 and Chab-spel's Intro., I-X.

Full identification of title, authorship and date thus still conjectural. The contention that the nebulous figures lDe'u Jo-sras (cf. **DCHBY**) and mKhas-pa lDe'u refer to one and the same person (as young resp. as older) remains ultimately to be proved.

GBYTSH: *rGya-bod kyi yig-tshang* (or *rGya-bod* [*kyi*] *yig-tshang mkhas-pa'i dga'-byed chen-mo 'Dzam-gling gsal-ba'i me-long*)

1. Fasc. reprod. 2 vols. *stod-cha* 1a1-218a2; *smad-cha* 1a1-212b3, ed. Kunzang Topgyel & Mani Dorji, Thimphu 1979; used here.
2. Mod. ed. pp. 1-609; ed. by Dung-dkar Blo-bzang 'phrin-las, Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, Chengdu, 1985. Cf. also Yamaguchi, *Catalogue*, 520-3066.

Author: Yig-mkhan Shākya'i dge-bsnyen Śrībhūtibhadra (alias g.Yas-ru sTag-tsang-pa dPal-'byor bzang-po)
Date: 1434, col. *et passim*, *shing-pho-stag*
Tr. Cf. Macdonald's analysis in *JA* 1963.

GGCHBY: *rGya-gar chos-'byung*, alias *dPal gyi 'byung-gnas dam-pa'i rin-po-che 'phags-yul du ji-ltar dar-pa'i tshul gsal-bar ston-pa dgos-'dod kun-'byung*
Ed. A. Schiefner, 1868.
Author: Kun-dga' snying-po, alias Tāranātha (1575-?)
Date: 1608 A.D.
Tr. A. Schiefner, 1869.

GJBTSNK: *Gangs-ljongs dbus-gtsang gnas-bskor lam-yig nor-bu zla-shel gyi se-mo-do*
Ed. 1.1-539.4 (1a1-270a4); Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang, Tashigong 1972.
Author: Kaḥ-thog Si-tu Chos kyi rgya-mtsho (1880-1925)
Date: 1920.

GTHDTH: *Bod-rje lha btsan-po'i gdung-rabs mNga'-ris smad mang-yul gung-thang du ji-ltar byung-ba'i tshul deb-ther dvangs-shel 'phrul gyi me-long*
1. Mod. book ed. pp. 89-150, *Gangs-can rig-mdzod* IX, Bod-ljongs Bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrun-khang, Lhasa, 1990.
Author: Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755)
Date: 1748/9 A.D.

GZBZNTH: *rGya-bza' bal-bza'i rnam-thar*
1. mod. print, pp. 1-47, Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, Lhasa, 1981.
The legendary and popular script-play (*'khrab-gzhung*) germane to the theatrical drama-play (*a-lce lha-mo*) based upon the section of Srong-btsan sgam-po'i rnam-thar in **MṆKB**, **KCHKKHM**, and in particular in **GLR** dealing with this king's marriage to the two princesses.
Author: putative author Srong-btsan sgam-po, cf. **MṆKB**, *infra*.
Date: Prob. compiled in the 16th cent.

HBCHBY: *lHo-brag chos-'byung* alias *Dam-pa'i chos kyi 'khor-lo bsgyur-ba rnams kyi byung-ba gsal-bar byed-pa mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston*
Ed. L. Chandra, *ŚPS*, 9 (1-4); here vol. KA, KHA, NGA and JA; *ŚPS* 9

(1) and vol. MA, *ŚPS*, 9 (4);
Author: dPa'-bo gTsug-lag 'phreng-ba (1504-1566)
Date: 1545-1564, col. vol. *tsa*, p. 864.21-24: commenced 1545, completed, *shing-pho-byi*, 1564.

HCHBY: *Hor chos-'byung*, alias *Chen-po hor gyi yul-du dam-pa'i chos ji-ltar byung-ba'i tshul bshad-pa rgyal-ba'i bstan-pa rin-po-che gsal-bar byed-pa'i sgron-me*
Ed. Huth, I, 1892.
Author: Gu-śri (Guoshi) Blo-bzang tshe-'phel
Date: 1819 A.D.
Tr. Huth, 1896.

KCHKKHM: *bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma*: 3 diff. versions:

KCHKKHM-1: **A**: *rGyal-rabs dang | gser gyi lha shākya mu-ne bzhengs na bod-yul dbus-su gdan-drangs lugs dang rigs-gsum mgon-po mdzad-spyod | rgyal-po srong-btsan sgam-po rnam-thar bsdus-pa* (also denoted *passim*: *rGyal-po'i bka'-chems*)
1. Manuscript, 1b1-81a2, Collection Dybykov, Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut Narodov Azii, Leningrad; cf. Vostrikov, 1962, pp. 25-29;
B. *id.*, but other title: *'Phags-pa sPyan-ras-gzigs dbang-phyug gyi rnam-thar | rigs gsum mgon-po'i mdzad-spyod | jo-bo-rje'i bzhengs lugs | ma-ṇi padme'i lung-bstan | mes-mgon gsum gyi dpe'i rgyal-po srong-btsan sgam-po'i rnam-sprul | bod-yul dbus kyi yon-tan gtsug-lag-khang gi bshad-pa | rgyal-po bka'-chems kyi shog-ril mdo-tsam byas-pa | bka' khol-ma*
MS, fasc. reprod. 613.1-803.4, embodied in *Ma-'ongs lung-bstan gsal-ba'i sgron-me*, vol. 1, The Stog Manuscript, Leh 1973,
13 chapters.

KCHKKHM-2: *Bod kyi rgyal-po Srong-btsan sgam-po'i bka'-chems gser gyi 'phreng-ba* (or *bKa'-chems Ka-khol-ma*)
Book-ed., pp. 1-321 copied from two identical Mss kept in Bejing Nationalties Library and the Library of Bla-brang bKra-shis 'khyil, ed. by sMon-lam rgya-mtsho, Kan-su'u mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, Lanzhou, 1989.
16 chapters.

KCHKKHM-3: *Chos-rgyal Srong-btsan sgam-po'i bka'-chems*
MS-reprod. 363.1-481.5, embodied in *The Literary Arts in Ladakh*, vol. I, Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso khang, Darjeeling 1972.
15 chapters.
Version 1 and 3 are closely cognate, with the latter offering the briefest version.

KCHKKHM retells essentially the narrative of the erection of the Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang (alias Jo-khang) temple (*chos 'khor lha sa bzhengs pa'i lo rgyus rgyal po'i bka' chems bKa'* [=*Ka*] *khol ma, lha sa bzhengs pa'i lo rgyus kyi yi ge*), cf. **KCHKKHM-2**, 314.3-4, 316.2-3. The above recensions all appear to be later revised or reworked apographs of an original matrix-scroll (*phyi mo* = *ma phyi*) of **KCHKKHM**, now no more extant, when or if version 2 above should not be identified with the original version (cf. **GLR** B 78a3: *Jo bo rjes gter nas thon pa'i Ka khol ma che ba*) and incidentally confirmed by **KCHKKHM-2** itself, *op. cit.* 321.10. However, the present version of **KCHKKHM-2** is a later copy of the original expanded with prophecies which include the name of Atiśa. Cf. *ad* note 1057.
Author: Apocrypha (*gter-ma*), putative authorship rGyal-po Srong-btsan sgam-po; the proto-**KCHKKHM** was allegedly discovered by *gter ston* Atiśa, alias *Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna*, ca. 1049-1050 A.D. from beneath the *ka-ba bum-pa-can* pillar of Ra-sa 'Phrul-snang/Jo-khang in Lhasa. Date: Core narrative parts of the original plausibly hailing from the late dynastic period, but prob. first compiled or reformulated in the XIth cent.
Cf. Vostrikov, 1962, pp. 25-29; Sørensen, 1986, pp. 262-64 and the Introduction *supra*.

KTHDNG: *bKa'-thang sde-lnga*: A pentateuch:
1. KA: *lHa-'dre bka'i thang-yig*
2. KHA: *rGyal-po bka'i thang-yig*
3. GA: *bTsun-mo bka'i thang-yig*
4. NGA: *Lo-pan bka'i thang-yig*
5. CA: *Blon-po bka'i thang-yig*

1. Ed. Tib. print Mundgod, 1975.
3. Mod. book-ed., based upon a sDe-dge print, pp. 1-539, Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, Beijing, 1988. Used here.
Author: Apocrypha (*gter ma*). Recovered or compiled by O-rgyan gling-pa (1323-1367/1374?) and Kun-dga' tshul-khrims.
Date: Various dates, cf. most convincingly, yet still tentatively, Blondeau, 1971, pp. 42-48:
KA: 1347 A.D.
KHA: prior to 1368 A.D.
GA: 1368-1393 A.D.
NGA: 1393-1395 A.D.
CA: 1368-1393 A.D.
Cf. also Vostrikov, 1962, pp. 39-42; Tucci, 1949, pp. 110-115.
Tr. Vol. KA paraphrased by Blondeau, 1971; Vol. GA, cf. B. Laufer, 1911.

KTHZGM: *Slob-dpon Padma 'byung-gnas kyi skyes-rabs chos-'byung nor-bu'i 'phreng-ba rnam-thar Zangs-gling-ma*; Also called *gTer-mdzod rnam-thar Zangs-*

gling-ma
1. Vol. KA of Rin-chen gter-mdzod, 1a1-110a (incl. *Slob-dpon rin-po-che Padma 'byung-gnas kyi rnam-thar gsol-'debs* and *U-rgyan rnam-thar mdzad-pa bcu-gcig gi gsol-'debs byin-rlabs sprin-phung*, resp. by Nyang-ral and Ratna gling-pa).
2. Mod. book ed., pp. 287 (incl. the above and other small Padma-biographies, such as Tāranātha's notable **Yid-ches gsum-ldan**; pp. 239-287); Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1989. The version is used here.
Author: Apocrypha (*gter-ma*).
Date: *Re*discovered by *gter ston* mNga'-bdag Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (1124-1192 A.D.) traced in the bSam-yas Khams-gsum Zangs-khang gling chapel.
The oldest (original) Padma-biographical scroll (*bka' thang thams cad kyi rtsa ba'i phyi mo*) existing, being composed in forty-one chapters.

LAL: [*Ārya*] *Lalitavistara Mahāyānasūtra*: [*'Phags-pa*] *rGya-cher rol-pa Theg-pa chen-po'i mdo*
Ed. TTPE 763: bKa'-'gyur mDo-sde 1b1-246a5.

LP: *Lokaprajñāpti*[*śāstra*], *'Jig-rten* [*du*] *bzhag-pa* [*bstan-bcos*]
Edition: TTPE 5587: bsTan-'gyur, mNgon-pa'i bstan-bcos, mDo-'grel, LXII (KHU) 1a1-111b8.
Author: putative authorship Maudgalyāyana.
Tr. Cf. Vallée-Poussin, 1919; Denis, 1980.

MBNTH: *Mi-rje-lhas mdzad byang-chub sems-dpa' chen-po Chos-rgyal Mes-dbon rnam-gsum gyi rnam-par thar-pa rin-po-che'i phreng-ba*
1b1-151a4 (= 1.1-302.4), in *Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-po'i rgyab-chos*, vol. 7, Paro 1980.
Author: Myang (or Nyang)-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (1124-1192/1204)?
To be ascribed, in all probability, to Nyang-ral, but the colophon (151b4 = 301.3) is incomplete, while one folio is missing, but it is mentioned that it was the work [(*bya'i dpe*) = compilation?] of a certain bTsun-pa Shākya Rin-chen of 'Bri-khung, whom, Szerb, 1990, *op. cit.* XXVI, n. 56, makes an approx. contemporary of *spyang-snga* Grags-pa 'byung-gnas (1175-1255 A.D.). See below.
Date: ? ca. 1200 A.D. (written/compiled simultaneous with or slightly posterior to Nyang-ral's **CHBYMTNYP**, q.v.)
Gauged from the content, Nyang-ral's *Mes-dbon rnam-gsum gyi rnam-thar* appears to be nothing but a condensed or abbreviated version of the *magnum opus* **CHBYMTNYP**, as large parts of the text and topics both sequentially and textually are completely congruous. But it shows also a

close affinity to **KCHKKHM**. The topical concordance corroborates the impression that **MBNTH** in all likelihood, whether formally compiled or copied from **CHBYMTNYP** by bTsun-pa Shākya Rin-chen or not, should be considered to stand close to the tradition of Nyang-ral. However, as seen e.g. from note 1094 and in particular *ab* note 1240 in this present book, it is clear that **MBNTH** displays a few independent traits, such as e.g. at places to be closer to the extant version of **BZH** than **CHBYMTNYP**.

MṆKB: *Chos-skyong-ba'i rgyal-po Srong-btsan sgam-po'i bka'-'bum*, alias *Ma-ṇi bka'-'bum*: 3 Glegs-bam:
stod kyi cha:
[I.] *dkar-chag* + *Bla-ma'i brgyud-pa* 1b1-12a1 (1b1-11a6)
II. Vol. **E** (= A-E)
mdo-skor:
A. *Sangs-rgyas stong-rtsa'i zhal-gdams zhes-bya-ba Lo-rgyus chen-mo* (36 *le'u*) 12a1-97b2 (1b1-82a1);
B. *Ārya-Karaṇḍavyūha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra* (lacking in Punaka ed.) (82a2-140b4);
Ba. *'Phags-pa byang-chub sems-dpa' sPyan-ras-gzigs dbang-phyug phyag-stong spyan-stong dang ldan-pa thogs-pa mi-mnga' ba'i thugs-rje chen-po'i sems rgya-cher yongs-su rdzogs-pa zhes-bya-ba'i gzungs* (lacking in Punaka ed.) (140b4-185a5);
C. *Chos-skyong-ba'i rgyal-po Srong-btsan sgam-po'i mdzad-pa rnam-thar gyi skor* 97b2- 211a6 (185a5-286a1):
Ca. *Sangs-rgyas Shākya thub-pa'i bstan-pa la mdzad-pa'i lo-rgyus* (16 *skabs*) 97b2-140a4 (185a6-222b5);
Cb. *Sangs-rgyas gzhan gyi bstan-pa la mdzad-pa'i lo-rgyus* (11 *skabs*) 140a4-167b5 (222b5-247b2);
Cc. *rGyal-bu 'Jig-rten dbang-phyug gi skyes-rabs* 167b5-183b5 (247b2-261b6);
Cd. *rGyal-po'i mdzad-pa nyi-shu rtsa gcig-pa* (21 *le'u*) 183b5-211a6 (261b6-286a1);

sgrub-skor:
D. *Thugs-rje chen-po'i sgrub-thabs kyi cho-ga skor* 1b1-36a6 (286a1-335a3);
E. *bShad-thabs kyi yan-lag bShad-'grel chen-mo spyi'i khog-dbub sogs* (or *Thugs-rje chen-po nor-bu'i rgyan gyi bshad-'grel chen-mo*) 36a6-102a6 (335a3-377a6);

smad kyi cha:
III: **WAṂ** (= F-G)
zhal-gdams-skor:
F. *Chos-skyong-ba'i rgyal-mo Srong-btsan sgam-po'i bka'-'bum smad kyi*

cha zhal-gdams kyi skor A collection of *zhal-gdams* subsumed under twenty-three headings comprising 131 *zhal-gdams*. 1b1-306a6 (1b1-288b6); G. *sGrub-thabs kyi phran* (incl. *Gab-pa mngon-phyung gi skor*) 1b1-47a6 (288b6-331a5);

Numerous redactions of **MṆKB** circulate. The one used here is a somewhat abbreviated ed.: The two-vol. print of the Punakha-blocks (folio-indication in parentheses is to the ed. Ra-[mo]-che sPyi-khyab-khang, not used in this study).
Author: Apocrypha (*gter-ma*). Putative authorship Srong-btsan sgam-po. Non-Tantric Vita-cycle. **MṆKB** represents a corpus of variously transmitted text-cycles. The *sūtra*-cycle (A+B (minus C) +G) was discovered or compiled (*spyan drangs*) by gTer-ston rJe-btsun Shākya bzang-po; the *sādhana*-cycle (D+E) by Mahāsiddha dNgos-grub and the bulky instruction-cycle (*zhal-gdams-skor* (F)) was recovered by mNga'-bdag Myang (or Nyang)-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer. But a study of its compilation and transmission is yet to be done.
Date: Some of its core material, albeit mythographical, no doubt hail from the late dynastic period, but the detailed and elaborate composition of **MṆKB** and the dates of the gTer-ston-s suggest a date for the overall compilation of **MṆKB** between 1170-1200 A.D.

MYDTH: *Bod kyi rgyal-rabs gSer gyi phreng-ba grags-pa las mNga'-ris stod mar-yul bdag-po'i deb-ther*
1. Mod. book ed. pp. 153-194, *Gangs-can rig-mdzod* IX, Bod-ljongs Bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrun-khang, Lhasa, 1990.
Author: Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755 A.D.)
Date: ? ca. 1740-50 A.D.

NGTMTPH: *sNgon gyi gtam me-tog phreng-ba*, alias *Ne'u chos-'byung*
1. Ed. Uebach, 1987. 2. Mod. print ed., pp. 3-54, *Gangs-can rig-mdzod* IX, Bod-ljongs Bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrun-khang, Lhasa 1990.
Author: Ne'u (or Nel-pa) Paṇḍi-ta Grags-pa smon-lam blo-gros
Date: 1283 A.D., col. *chu-mo-lug*
Tr. Uebach, 1987.

NGTSH: *Chos-'byung ngo-mtshar rgya-mtsho*
1. A two vol. reprod., The Sungrab Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang, Tashigong, 1972, vol. 1, pp. 1-728.
Author: sTag-lung-pa Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1571-1626)
Date: 1609 A.D.

PMKTH: *Pad-ma bka' yi thang-yig*, also *U-rgyan Gu-ru Padma 'byung-gnas kyi skyes-rabs rnam-par thar-pa rgyas-par bkod-pa* and also *Khri-srong lde'u-btsan bka'-chems* or *Shel-brag thang-yig*
1. A 258 folio-long Zhol-par-khang xyl.-print.
2. Mod. ed. Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1987, pp. 1-721 (based upon a sDe-dge xyl.print). The latter is used here.
Author: *gter ma*. Detected/compiled (*spyan drangs*) by the *Re*discoverer (*gter-ston*) U-rgyan gling-pa (1323-1367/74).
Date: According to the colophon (711.9-14), it was detected in the cave of Shel-brag, in a *chu-'brug* year, corresponding to 1352 A.D.
A bulky 108-chapters long versified biography of Gu-ru Rin-po-che or Padma Sambhava.
Tr. G.C. Toussaint, *Le Dict de Padma*, 1933 (English tr. by Douglas and Bays, Pt. I-II, Emeryville 1978). Cf. also the fine discussion in Vostrikov, 1970, pp. 32-45.

SKDRCHM: *Sa-skya gdung-rabs chen-mo*, also *'Dzam-gling byang-phyogs kyi thub-pa'i rgyal-tshab chen-mo dPal-ldan Sa-skya-pa'i gdung-rabs rin-po-che ji-ltar byon-pa'i tshul kyi rnam-par thar-pa ngo-mtshar rin-po-che'i bang-mdzod dgos-'dod kun-'byung*
Ed. 1b1-334a6; reprod. the Tib. Bonpo Monastic Centre, Dolanji, 1975:
Author: 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs Ngag-dbang kun-dga' bsod-nams grags-pa rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1576-1662)
Date: 1629 A.D., col. 334a2: *sa-mo-sbrul*.

SHBRS: *Shes-bya rab-gsal*
Edition: Sa-skya bka'-'bum, Pa, pod dang-po 1b1-35a6 [of Tōyō Bunko).
Author: Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa Bla-ma Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280).
Date: 1278 A.D.
Tr. C. Hoog, 1983.

SKGPDR: *Sa-skyong rgyal-po'i gdung-rabs 'byung-khungs dang 'bangs kyi mi-rabs chad-tshul nges-par gsal-ba'i sgron-me*
Ed. *dbu-can* MS, 1b1-54a, ed. Aris, 1986, pp. 1-76.
Author: Ngag-dbang (Wa-gindra) of the Byar clan.
Date: 1728 A.D.
Tr. Aris, 1986.

STSGPNTH: *Chos-skyong-ba'i rgyal-po Srong-btsan sgam-po'i rnam-tharmdor-bsdus nyer-mkho gsal-ba'i me-long zhes bya-ba 'Gro-kun ma-rig mun-sel*

Ed. pp. 1b1-28b6 (455-510). A work belonging to the Library of Gar-zhva Jo-bo at Khang-gsar mKhar in Lahul; ed. The Tib. Bonpo Monastic Centre, H.P. 1973. An abbreviated (almost verbatim) version of a part of the *rnam-thar* tradition of Srong-btsan sgam-po found in **MṆKB** and **KCHKKHM**.

TSLKHKCH: *lHa-ldan sprul-pa'i gTsug-lag-khang gi dkar-chag Shel-dkar me-long*
vol. *Dza* of gSung-'bum;
1. Grünwedel ed., 1919;
2. Ed. and repr. Ngawang Delek Demo;
3. Mod. book. ed. pp. 1-52, Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, Lhasa, 1987.
Grünwedel's ed., although fully unreliable, is used here.
Author: V. Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617-1682)
Date: 1645 A.D.; col. *sa-skyong* (*pārthiva*) = *shing-bya*
Tr.(!), cf. Grünwedel, 1919.

YLJBCHBY: *Yar-lung Jo-bo'i chos-'byung*
1. Ed. mod. print, pp. 1-196, Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1987. Used here.
2. Ed. mod. print, pp. 1-186; Bod-ljongs mi-dmangs dpe-skrun-khang, Lhasa, 1988.
The text is identical with the work denoted '*Deb-ther rdzongs dmar-ma*', MS, 1b-9Ob, British Museum OR 6751.
Author: Yar-lung Jo-bo rJe-rgyud Shākya Rin-chen-sde, alias Shākya dPal bzang-po
Date: 1376 A.D. (*me-pho-'brug*), col. p. 196.

Secondary

dKon-mchog tshe-brtan, 1983,
"sKu-zhabs Ren Na'e-chang la Srong-btsan sgam-po'i khrungs-'das lo-tshigs dang bcas-pa'i skor gleng-mol zhu-ba", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1983 (2), pp. 69-88.

bKra-shis tshe-ring, 1992,
"bTsan-po'i lo-rgyus las 'phros-pa'i khrims-lugs skor rags-tsam gleng-ba", *Krung-go'i Bod kyi shes-rig*, 1992 (1), pp. 91-104.

"Khra-'brug gtsug-lag-khang", *Nyi-gzhon*, 1982 (2), pp. 74-75.

Khri-drung Blo-bzang thub-bstan, 1988,
"'Phags-mchog lo-ke shva-ra bod du gdan drangs-pa'i lo-rgyus", *Bod-ljongs nang-bstan*, 1988 (1), pp. 102-106.

mKhar-rme'u bSam-gtan rgyal-mtshan (= Karmay, S.G.), 1990,
"bTsan-po lHa-sras Dar-ma dang de'i rjes-su byung-ba'i rgyal-rabs mdor-bsdus", *Krung-go'i Bod kyi shes-rig*, 1990 (1), pp. 81-103.

mGon-po rgyal-mtshan (ed.), 1981,
Bod kyi skad las gsar-rnying gi brda'i khyad-par ston-pa legs-par bshad pa Li-shi'i gur-khang [by sKyogs-ston Rin-chen bkra-shis], Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, Beijing.

rGyal-mo, 1985,
"rGyal-po Dri-gum btsan-po yab-sras dang de'i byung-ba mdor-bsdus", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jub*, 1985 (4), pp. 60-71.

lCang-ra Ngag-dbang tshe-dpal, 1986,
"bTsan-po Khri-srong lde'u-btsan", *Bod-ljongs nang-bstan*, 1986 (2), pp. 13-16, 23.

[Cha-ris] Ban-de-sgom, 1989,
"mGar Khri-'bring btsan-brod ces-pa ming la rags-tsam dpyad-pa", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1989 (3), pp. 50-53.

Cha-ris Ban-de-sgom, 1990,
"Bod btsan-po'i rgyal-rabs su lDeng-khri zhes-pa'i btsan-po zhig byung min skor rags-tsam gleng-ba", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1990 (2), pp. 135-

Chab-'gag rTa-mgrin, 1989(a),
"Blon-po mGar-stong-btsan gyi mdzad-rjes skor cung-zad dpyad-pa", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1989 (1), pp. 35-50.

Chab-'gag rTa-mgrin, 1989(b),
"Blon-po Ru-las-skyes kyi rigs-rus dang mdzad-rjes la dpyad-pa", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1989 (3), pp. 105-113.

Chab-'gag rTa-mgrin, 1990(a),
"Khri-srong lde-btsan rgya-tsha yin-nam skor gleng-ba", *Krung-go'i Bod kyi shes-rig*, 1990 (1), pp. 23-30.

Chab-'gag rTa-mgrin, 1990(b),
Gyim-shing Kong-jo Bod kyi btsan-po su la bsus-pa'i skor gleng-ba", *Krung-go'i Bod kyi shes-rig*, 1990 (4), pp. 101-107.

Chab-spel Tshe-brtan phun-tshogs, 1982,
"lHa-sa gTsug-lag-khang gi lo-rgyus rags-bshad", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1982 (1), pp. 10-44.

Chab-spel Tshe-brtan phun-tshogs, 1984(a),
"sPu-rgyal zhes-pa'i tha-snyad la dpyad-tsam byas-pa", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1984 (1), pp. 1-4.

Chab-spel Tshe-brtan phun-tshogs, 1984(b),
""gSar-du rnyed-pa'i gna'-rabs kyi bang-so'i tshogs" zhes-pa'i rtsom-rig bklags rjes kyi bsam-tshul", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1984 (3), pp. 14-20.

Chab-spel Tshe-brtan phun-tshogs, 1986,
"gNya'-khri btsan-po ni Bod rang gi mi-zhig yin", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1986 (3), pp. 26-45.

Chab-spel Tshe-brtan phun-tshogs, 1988,
"bTsan-po'i dus kyi brag-brkos yig-ris gcig gsar-du mtshams-sbyor zhus-pa", *Krung-go'i Bod kyi shes-rig*, 1988 (1), pp. 44-53.

Chab-spel Tshe-brtan phun-tshogs (ed.), 1989(a),
Bod kyi snga-rabs khrims-srol yig-cha bdams-bsgrigs, *Gangs-can rig-mdzod*, VII, Bod-ljongs Bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrun-khang, Lhasa, pp. 1-406.

Chab-spel Tshe-brtan phun-tshogs (ed.), 1989(b),
Bod kyi lo-rgyus rags-rim g.Yu yi phreng-ba, (stod-cha), Bod-ljongs dpe-skrun-khang, Lhasa.

Chab-spel Tshe-brtan phun-tshogs (ed.), 1990,
Bod kyi lo-rgyus deb-ther khag-lnga, *Gangs-can rig-mdzod*, IX, Bod-ljongs Bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrun-khang, Lhasa, pp. 1-16, 1-397.

Chab-spel Tshe-brtan phun-tshogs, 1992,
Bod kyi lo-rgyus deb-ther kha-cig dang 'brel-yod gnad-don zhig gleng-ba, (yet? unpubl. paper delivered at the IATS-Conference in Fagernes, Norway, 1992), pp. 1-6.

Chos-'phel rdo-rje, 1983,
"Bod 'dir mi'i rigs byung-ba dang Bod kyi btsan-po'i thog-ma'i rus-rgyud skor gang-dran gleng-ba", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1983 (3), pp. 12-18.

'Jam-dbyangs, 1984,
"bSam-yas kyi rdo-ring dang dril-bu'i skor gleng-ba", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1984 (4), pp. 50-56.

'Jigs-med rnam-rgyal, 1987,
"'lJang-tsha lha-dbon" zhes-pa yod-med dang Khri-srong lde-btsan Kim-shing Kong-jo'i sras yin-min skor cung-zad gleng-ba", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1987 (2), pp. 107-114.

rTa-mgrin, 1987,
"Bod-rje dgu-pa ni "Lo-ngam rta-rdzi" yin dgos", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1987 (3), pp. 96-106.

bsTan-'dzin 'od-zer, 1986,
"sPur-rgyal zhes-pa'i tha-snyad thogs tshul la cung-zad dpyad-pa", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1986 (3), pp. 53-57.

Thub-bstan phun-tshogs, 1990,
"Bod sil-bu'i skabs kyi dus-tshigs 'ga'-zhig la dpyad-pa", *Krung-go'i Bod kyi shes-rig*, 1990 (1), pp. 57-62.

Thub-bstan phun-tshogs, 1990,
"Chos-rgyal Srong-btsan sgam-po nas Glang-dar-ma'i bar gyi rgyal-rabs lo-tshigs la dpyad-pa", *Bod-ljongs zhib-'jug*, 1990 (2), pp. 1-17.

Thub-dbang (ed.),1983,
Bod kyi gna'-rabs yig-cha gces-bsdus, Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, pp. 1-182.

Dung-dkar Blo-bzang 'phrin-las, 1981,
Deb-ther dmar-po, Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, Beijing.

Dung-dkar Blo-bzang 'phrin-las, 1982,
"Srong-btsan sgam-po'i legs-mdzad kyi byung-ba cung-cad brjod-pa dByar-dus thog-ma'i 'brug-sgra", *Nyi-gzhon*, 1982 (1), pp. 63-68; 1982 (2), pp. 54-61.

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